

AN
A P O L O G I E
OF THE POWER AND
PROVIDENCE OF GOD
IN THE GOVERNMENT
OF THE WORLD.

OR
AN EXAMINATION
AND CENSURE OF THE
COMMON ERROVR TOVCHING
NATVRES PERPETVALL AND
VNIVERSALL DECAY, DIVI-
DED INTO FOVRE BOOKES:

WHEREOF

*The first treates of this pretended decay in generall, together with some prepara-
tives thereunto.*

*The second of the pretended decay of 1^h: Heavens and Elements, together with
that of the Elementary bodies, man only excepted.*

*The third of the pretended decay of mankind in regard of age and duration, of
strength and stature, of arts and wits.*

*The fourth of this pretended decay in matter of manners, together with a large
proofe of the future consummation of the World from the testimony of the
Gentiles, and the vses which we are to draw from the consideration thereof.*

By G. H. D. D.

George Hakewill
ECCLESIASTES 7. 10.

Say not thou, what is the cause that the former dayes were better then these, for thou
dost not enquire wisely concerning this,



OXFORD,

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AN EXAMINATION
AND CENSURE OF THE
COMMON ERROR TOUCHING
NATURES PERPETUAL AND
UNIVERSAL DECAY, DIV.
DED INTO FIVE BOOKS.

WHITE RICE

I think, and the other which we are to demand for the satisfaction thereof.
 proof of the former communication of it, & will from the testimony of the
 fourth of the pretended clerk as matter of manner, together with a large
 strength and name of ours, and with
 the third of the pretended clerk as matter of writing of age and manner, of
 that of the pretended clerk, & better mannerly covered.
 The second of the pretended clerk of the Element, together with
 various & various.
 & the first of the pretended clerk in general, together with four prop-

By C. H. D. D.

806 not coming which concerned me.



OXFORD

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TO MY VENERABLE
MOTHER THE FAMOUS
AND FLOURISHING VNI-
VERSITIE OF OXFORD.



ERE I destitute of all other arguments to demonstrate the providence of God in the preservation of the World, and to proue that it doth not universally and perpetually decline, this one mightfully suffice for all, that thou, my Venerable Mother, though thou waxe old in regard of yeares, yet in this latter age in regard of strength and beauty, waxest young againe. Within the compasse of this last Centenarie and lesse, thou hast brought forth such a number of wortheie Sonnes for piety, for learning, for wisdom, and for buildings hast bin so enlarged and enriched, that he who shall compare thee with thy selfe, will easily finde, that though thou be truly accounted one of the most auncient Universities in the World yet so farre art thou from withering and wrinkles, that thou art rather become fairer and fresher, and in thine issue no lesse happy then heretofore.

The three last Cardinals that this Nation had were thine, if that can adde any thing to thine honour. Those thine unnatural Sonnes, who of late dayes forooke thee, & fledde to thine Enemies campe, Harding, Stapleton, Saunders, Raynolds, Martyn, Bristow, Campian, Parsons, even in their fighting against thee, shewed the fruitfulness of thy wombe, and the efficacie

The Epistle Dedicatory.

of that milke which they drew from thy breasts. What one Colledge euer yeelded at one time and from one Countrey three such *Divines* as *Jewell*, *Raynolds*, and *Hooker*, or two such great wits & *Heroicall* spirits as *Sir Thomas Bodley*, and *Sir Henry Sauill*. How renowned in forraine parts are thy *Moore*, thy *Sidney*, thy *Cambden*? what rare Lights in the Church were *Humfries*, *Foxe*, *Bilson*, *Field*, *Abbot*? What pillars those five *Sonnes* of thine who at one time lately possessed the five principall Sees in the Kingdome? So as if I should in this point, touching the *Worlds pretended decay* be cast by the votes of others, yet my hope is, that by reflecting vpon thy selfe, I shall be cleared and acquitted by thine.

And in confidence heereof I haue to thy *censure* submitted this ensuing *Apologie*, which perchaunce to the *Vulgar* may seeme somewhat strange, because their cares haue bin so long inured vnto, and consequently their fancies fore-stalled with the contrary opinion. But to thee I trust, who judgest not vpon report, but vpon tryall, neither art swayed by number and lowdnes of voyces, but by weight of argument, it will appeare not onely just and reasonable in that it vindicates the glory of the Creator, and a truth as large and wide as the world it selfe, but profitable and vsfull for the raising vp of mens mindes to an endeavour of equalling, yea and surpassing their noble and worthy *Predecessours* in knowledge and vertue; it being certaine that the best *Patternes* which wee haue in them both, either extant at this present, or recorded in monuments of auncienter times, had neuer beene, had they conceiued that there was alwayes an inevitable declination as well in the *Arts* as matter of *Manners*, and that it was impossible to surmount those that went before them.

I do not belecue that all Regions of the World, or all ages in the same Region afford wits alwayes alike: but this I think, neither is it my opinion alone, but of *Scaliger*, *Vives*, *Budeus*, *Bodine*, and other great *Clearkes*, that the witts of these latter ages being manured by industry, directed by precepts, regulated by methode, tempered by dyet, refreshed by exercise, and encouraged by rewardes, may bee as capable of deepe speculations, and produce as masculine and lasting birthes, as
any

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any of the ancienter times haue done. But if we conceiue the to be *Gyants*, & our selues *Dwarfes*, if we imagine all Sciences already to haue receiued their utmost perfection, so as wee need not but translate and comment vpon that which they haue done, if we so admire and dote vpon Antiquitie as wee emulate and envy, nay scorne and trample vnder foot whatsoever the present age affords, if wee spend our best time and thoughts in clyming to honour, in gathering of riches, in following our pleasures, and in turning the edge of our wits one against another, surely there is little hope that wee shall euer come neare them, much lesse match them. The first step to inable a man to the atchieuing of great designs is to be perswaded that by endeavour he is able to atchieue it, the next not to bee perswaded that whatsoever hath not yet beene done, cannot therefore be done. Not any one man, or nation, or age, but rather *mankinde* is it which in latitude of capacity answeres to the vniversality of things to be knowne. And truly had our Fathers thought so reverently of their predecessours, and withall of themselves so basely, that neither any thing of moment was left for them to be done, nor in case there had beene, were they qualified for the doing thereof, wee had wanted many helpes in learning, which by their travell wee now inioy. By meanes whereof I see not but wee might also aduance, improue and inlarge our patrimony, as they left it enlarged to vs. And thereunto the Arts of *Printing* and *Nauigation*, the frequency of goodly *Libraries*, and liberality of *Benefactors*, are such inducements & furtherances, that if wee excell not all ages that haue gone before vs, it is only because we are wanting to our selues.

And as our helpes are more & greater for *knowledge & learning*, so likewise for *goodnes & vertue*, I meane, since the beames of *Christian Religion* displayed themselves to the World, which for the rooting out of vice & planting of vertue no *Christian*, I hope, will deny to be incomparably more effectually then any other Religion that euer yet was heard of in the World: Or if others should chance to make a doubt of the certainty of this truth, yet cannot you who preach it, & publish it to others. Doubtlesse being rightly applyed without apish superstition

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on the one side, or peevish singularity on the other, it workes vpon the Conscience more forceably, & consequently hath a greater power of making men not outwardly & formally, but really & inwardly vertuous. And if we should look back into *Histories*, & compare time with time, we shall easily finde that where this Profession spread it selfe, men haue generally beene more accomplished in all kind of morall & civill vertues then before it took place.

It is true indeed that in proceſſe of time, thorow the *ambition, covetousnes, luxury, idleneſſe, & ignorance* of them who should haue bin lights in the Church, it too much degenerated from its *Originall* purity, & therevpon manners (being formed by it) were generally tainted, this corruption like a leproſie diffuſing it ſelfe from the head into all the body. But together with the reviving of the *Arts & Languages*, which for ſundry ages lay buried in barbariſme, the ruſt of *ſuperſtition* was likewiſe in many places ſcoured off from Religion; which by degrees had crept vpon it, & fretted deepe into the face of it; and the *Arts* being thus refined, & Religion reſtored to its primitiue brightnes, manners were likewiſe reformed euen among them, at leaſt in part & in ſhevv, who as yet admit not a full reformation in matter of Religion. A ſoule ſhame then it were for vs who profeſſe a thorow reformation in matter of doctrine, to be thought to grow worke in matter of manners, GOD forbid it ſhould be ſo, I hope it is not ſo, I am ſure it ſhould not be ſo: That grace of God which hath appeared more clearly to vs then to our fore-fathers, teaching vs to adorne our profeſſion with a gracious and vertuous conuerſation, to deny vngodlineſſe and worldly luſts, and to liue ſoberly, and righteouſly, and godly in this preſent world: ſoberly in regard of our ſelues, righteouſly in regard of others, and godly in regard of religious exerciſes.

If then we come ſhort of our *Auncestors* in knowledge, let vs not caſt it vpon the deficiency of our wits in regard of the *Worlds decay*, but vpon our own ſloth; if we come ſhort of them in vertue, let vs not impute it to the *declination of the World*, but to the malice and faintneſſe of our owne wills; if we feele the ſcourges of God vpon our Land by mortality, famine, vnfearonable weather, or the like, let vs not teach the people that they

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they are occasioned by the *Worlds old age*, and thereby call into question the *providence*, or *power*, or *wisedome*, or *iustice*, or *goodnes* of the Maker thereof; but by their and our *sins*, which is doubtles both the truer & more profitable doctrine, & withall more consonant to the Sermons of *Christ* & his *Apostles*, & the *Prophets of God* in like cases. And withall let vs freely acknowledge that *Almighty God* hath bestowed many blessings vpon these latter ages, which to the former he denyed, as in sending vs vertuous and gracious Princes, and by them the maintenance of piety, & peace, & plenty, & the like. Lest thorow our ingratitude he withdraw them from vs, and make vs know their worth by wanting them, which by injoying them wee vnderstood not.

But I will not presume to advise where I should learne, only I will vnfaignedly wish and heartily pray, that at leastwise your *practise* may still make good mine *opinion*, maintained in this Booke, & refute the contrary & common error opposed therein, that you may still grow in knowledge and grace, and that your vertues may alwaies rise & increase together with your buildings.
These latter without the former, being but as a *body without a soule*.

*Yours to doe you service to the utmost
of his poore abilitie*

G. H.

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Your to doe you service to the utmost

of his more abiding



THE PREFACE.



Ruth it is, that this ensuing Treatise was long since in my younger yeares begunne by me for mine owne private exercise and satisfaction, but afterward considering not onely the rarity of the subject, and variety of the matter, but withall that it made for the *redeeming of a captivated truth*, the *vindicating of Gods glory*, the *advancement of learning*, & the *honour of the Christian & reformed Religion*, by the advise and with the approbation and incouragement of such speciall friends, whose piety, learning, and wiledome I well know, and much reverence, I resolved (*permissu superiorum* and none otherwise) to make it publique for the publique good, and the encountering of a publique errour, which may in some sort be equalled, if not preferred before the quelling of some great monster. Neither doe I take it to lye out of my *profession*, the principall marke which I ayme at throughout the whole body of the Discourse, being an *Apologeticall defence of the power & providence of God*, his *wisedome*, his *truth*, his *justice*, his *goodnes & mercy*, and besides, a great part of the booke it selfe is spent in pressing *Theologicall* reasons, in clearing doubts arising from thence, in producing frequent testimonies from *Scriptures*, *Fathers*, *Schoolemen*, and *moderne Divines*, in proving that *Antichrist* is already come from the writings of the *Romanists* themselves, in confirming the article of our faith touching the Worlds future, and totall consummation by fire, and a day of finall judgement from discourse of reason and the writings of the *Gentiles*, and lastly by concluding the whole worke with a pious *meditation* touching the yles which we may and should make of the consideration thereof, serving for a terrour to some, for comfort to others, for admonition to all. And how other men may stand affected in reading, I know not, sure I am that in writing, it often lifted vp my soule in admiring and praying the infinite *wisedome* and *bounty* of the *Crator* in maintaining and managing his owne worke, in the government and preservation of the *Universe*, which in

truth

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Psal. 8. 1.
Psal. 92. 4, 5, 6.

111. 3. 3.

truth is nothing else but (as the Schooles speake) *continuata productio*, a continued production: & often did it call to my mind those holy raptures of the Psalmist; O Lord our governour, how excellent is thy Name in all the world? Thou Lord hast made me glad through thy workes, & I will reioyce in giving praise for the operations of thy hands, O Lord, how glorious are thy workes, & thy thoughts are very deepe. An unwise man doth not well consider this, & a foole doth not well understand it. And againe, The workes of the Lord are great, sought out of all them that haue pleasure therein, His worke is worthy to be praised & had in honour, & his righteousness endureth for ever.

And though whiles I haue laboured to free the world from old age, I feele it creeping vpon my selfe, yet if it shall so please the same great and gracious Lord, I intend by his assistance sparing mee life & health hereafter to write Another *Apologie of his power & providence in the government of his Church*, which perchaunce by some may be thought both more proper for mee, and for these times more necessary, though he that shall narrowly obserue the prints of the *Almighties* footsteppes, traced throughout this ensuing discourse, may not vnjustly from thence collect both comfort and assurance, that as the Heauens remaine vnchangeable, so doth the Church triumphant in Heauen, & as all things vnder the cope of heauen vary and change, so doth the militant heere on earth; it hath its times and turnes, sometimes flowing and againe ebbing with the sea, sometimes waxing, and againe waning with the *Moone*, which great light, it seemes, the *Almighty* therefore set the lowest in the heavens, and nearest the Earth, that it might dayly put vs in minde of the constancy of the one, and inconstancy of the other, her selfe in some sort partaking of both, though in a different manner; of the one in her substance, of the other in her visage.

And if the *Moone* thus change, and all things vnder the *Moone*, why should we wonder at the chaunge of Monarchies and Kingdomes? much lesse petty states and private families: they rise, and fall, and rise againe, and fall againe, that no man might either too confidently presume, because they are subject to continuall alteration, or cast away all hope, and fall to despaire, because they haue their seasons and appointed times of returning againe.

Sen.

*Nemo confidat nimium secundis,
Nemo desperet meliora, lapsus:
Miseret hac illis, prohibetque Clotho
Stare fortunam.*

Let him that stands take heed lest that he fall,
Let him that's false hope he may rise againe;
The providence diuine that mixeth all,
Chaines joy to griefe by turnes, & losse to gaine.

I must confesse that sometimes looking stedfastly vpon the present
face

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face of things both at home and abroad, I haue beene often put to a stand, and staggered in mine opinion, whether I were in the right or no; and perchance the state of my body, and present condition, in regard of those faire hopes I sometimes had, served as false perspective glasses to looke through, but when againe I abstracted and raised my thoughts to an higher pitch, and as from a vantage ground tooke a larger view, comparing time with time, and thing with thing, and place with place, and considered my selfe as a member of the *Universe*, and a *Citizen of the World*, I found that what was lost to one part, was gained to another; and what was lost in one time, was to the same part recouered in another; and so the ballance by the diuine providence over-ruling all, kept vpright. But comonly it fares with men in this case, as with one who lookes onely vpon some libbet, or end of a peece of *Arras*, he happily conceiues an hand or head which he sees, to be very vnartificially made; but vnfoling the whole, loone findes that it carries a due and iust proportion to the body; so, *qui de pauca respicit, de facili pronuntiat* (saith *Aristotle*) he that is so narrow eyed as he lookes onely to his owne person or family to his owne corporation or nation, or the age wherein himselfe liues, will peradventure quickly conceiue, and as some pronounce, that all things decay and goe backward, which makes men murmure and repine against *Ged*, vnder the names of *Fortune* and *Destinie*, whereas he that as a part of mankind in generall, takes a view of the *unversall*, compares person with person, family with family, corporation with corporation, nation with nation, age with age, suspends his judgement, and vpon examination clearly findes, *that all things worke together for the best to them that loue God*: and that though some members suffer, yet the whole is no way thereby indammaged at any time, and at other times those same members are againe relieved, as the Sunne when it sets to vs, it rises to our *Antipodes*, and when it remooues from the *Northerne* parts of the world, it cherishes the *Southerne*, yet staves not there, but returnes againe with his comfortable beames to those very parts which for a time it seemed to haue forsaken: *O that men would therefore praise the Lord for his goodnesse, and declare the wonders that he hath done for the children of men!* or at leastwise cry out in admiration with the Apostle, *O the depth of the riches both of the wisdome and knowledge of our God, how vnsearchable are his pathes, and his wayes past finding out!* Rom. 8. 28.

Yet the next way, in some measure to finde them out, (so farre as is possible for vs poore wormes heere crawling in a mist vpon the face of the Earth) is, next the sacred Oracles of supernaturall and revealed Truth, to study the great Volume of the *Creature*, and the *Histories* not onely of our owne, but of forraigne Countreyes, and those not onely of the present, but more auncient times. *Enquire I pray thee of the former age, and prepare thy selfe to the search of their Fathers, for wee are but of yesterday, and know nothing, because our dayes vpon earth are but a shadow.* Iob. 8. 8.

If then to make my party good, and to waite vpon Divini-

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ty, I haue called in subsidiary aydes, from *Philosophers*, *Historiographers*, *Mathematitians*, *Grammarians*, *Logicians*, *Poets*, *Oratours*, *Souldiers*, *Travellers*, *Lawyers*, *Physitians*, and if I haue in imitation of *Tertullian*, *Cyprian*, *Eusebius*, *Augustine*, *Lactantius*, *Arnobius*, *Minutius*, endeavoured to cut the throates of the *Paynims* with their owne swords, and pierced them with their owne quills, I hope no learned man, or lover of Learning will censure me for this. *Philosophie* and the *Arts* I must account a part of mine owne profession; and for *Physicke* and the *Laves*, I haue therein consulted the chiefe, as well in this *Vniuersity*, as out of it, of mine owne acquaintance, nay in *History*, the *Mathematiques* and *Divinity* it selfe, I haue not onely had the approbation of the publique professours therein; for the maine points in my booke, which concerne their severall professions, but some peeces I must acknowledge as receiued from them, which I haue made bold to insert into the body of my discourse, let no man think then that I maintaine a paradoxe for ostentation of wit, or haue written out of spleene, to gall any man in particular, nor yet to humour the present times; the times themselues, mine indisposition that way, and resolution to sit downe content with my present fortunes; if they serue not to giue others satisfaction therein, yet doe they fully to cleare mee to my selfe, from any such asperision: yet thus much, I hope, I safely may say without suspicion of flattery, that by the goodnesse of GOD, and our gracious Sovereigne vnder GOD, wee yet enjoy many great blessings which former ages did not, and were wee thankfull for these as we ought, and truely penitent for our excesse in all kinde of monstrous finnes (which aboute all, threatens our ruine) I nothing doubt but vpon our returne to our God by humiliation and newnesse of life, he would soone dissolve the cloud which hangs ouer vs, and returne vnto vs with the comfortable beames of his favour, and make vs to returne each to other with mutuall imbracements of affection and duty, and our Armies and Fleetes to returne with spoyle and victory, and reduce againe as golden and happy times, as euer wee or our fore-fathers saw: but if we still goe on with an high hand, and a stiffe necke in our prophanesse, our pride, our luxury, our vncharitablenesse, our vnnaturall divisions in Church and Common-wealth, there needes no propheticall spirit to divine what will shortly become of vs; *Turne vs, O turne vs againe O Lord God of hostes, shew the light of thy Countenance and wee shall bee whole*; shew the light of thy Countenance and wee shall be provident in counsell, successfull in warre, sober in peace, a terrour to our enemies, and a comfort to our allies and confederates. *Turne thee againe thou God of hostes, looke downe from heaven, behold & visite this vine and the place of the vineyard that thy right hand hath planted: and the branch that thou madest so strong for thy selfe*.

We need goe no farther then the nation of the *Jewes* for a notable instance in this kinde; who at times more zealous then they in the worship of God & the exercises of Religion? and who againe at other times more rebellious? It is said of them in the *Psalme*, *then beleueed they*

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they his words; but presently it followes in the very next verse, *they soone forgot his words*: & according to their obedience or rebellio, so were they either prosperous or vnfortunate in the course of their affaires; during their faith & fidelity towards God, every man of them was in warre as a thousand strong, & as much as a great Senate for counsel in peaceable deliberations; contrarywise, if they swerved (as often they did) their wonted courage and magnanimity forsooke them vtterly; their souldiers and military men trembled at the sight of the naked sword, when they entred into mutuall conference; and late in counsell for their owne good, that which children might haue seene, their gravest Senatours could not discerne, their *Prophets* saw darkenesse in steed of visions, and the wise and prudent were as men bewicht.

If then wee come short of that courage and valour, which made our Auncestours so renowned by sea and land, not onely in *France*, and *Spaine*, and the *Netherlands*, but in *Palestina* it selfe, sure it is not, because the *World declines*, but because our *luxury* increales; the most evident *symptome* of a declining state; for as all *Empires* have risen to their greatnesse by *verue*, and specially by *sobriety* and *frugality*; so is it cleare that by vice, and specially by *luxury*, which of necessity drawes on softnes and cowardise, they haue all againe declined and come to nothing; and out of their ashes haue others sprung vp, which likewise within a while (such a *circulation* there is in all things) haue bin turned into ashes againe.

As when the winde the angry Ocean moves,
Waue hunteth waue, and billow billow shoves:
So doe all Nations juttle each the other,
And so one people doth pursue another,
And scarce a second hath the first vnhouse'd,
Before a third him thence againe hath rowf'd.

Bern in his
Colonica.

*Sic Medus ademit
Assyrio, Medoq; tulit moderamina Perses,
Subjecta Persen Macedo, cessurus & ipse
Romanis.*

Claudian l. 3. in
laude Stibiconis

Thus did the *Medes* root out th' *Assyrian* race,
The *Persian* quickly foyl'd the *Medes*, in place
Of him subdu'd, vp starts the *Macedo*,
Who eftsoones yeeldes vnto the *Romane* foe:

And lastly the *Romanes* themselues as by vertue and piety, in their superstitious way they wanne, and mightily enlarged their Empire; so being come to the top, they lost it againe by vice and irreligion: so true is that of the *Comickall Poet*.

Hac nisi vrbe aberant, centuplex

Plautus in
Per/a.

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Murus rebus seruandis parum est.

Vnlesse these vices banisht bee,
What euer forts you haue,
An hundred walls together put,
Will not haue power to saue.

With whom accords the Tragicall

Seneca in Thy-
este.

--- *Vbi non est pudor,*

*Nec cura iuris, sanctitas, pietas, fides,
Instabile regnum est.*

Where is no modestie, nor equitie,
Nor sanctitie, nor pietie,
No nor fidelitie,
In such a Kingdome certainlie
There can be no stability.

*Who so is wise then will ponder these things, and they shall understand the loving
kindnesse of the Lord.*

Againe, for matter of learning and knowledge if we come short of the
Ancients, we need not impute it to natures decay, our owne riot, our
idlenesse and negligence in regard of them, will sufficiently dis-
charge nature, and justly cast backe the blame vpon our selues.

L. Viri de
caus. corrupt.
arum. lib. 1.

*Falsa est enim atque inepta illa quorundam similitudo, quam multi tanquam acu-
tissimam atque appositissimam excipiunt, nos ad priores collatos, esse ut na-
nos in humeris gigantum: non est ita, nec nos sumus nani, nec illi homi-
nes gigantes, sed omnes ejusdem stature, & quidem nos altius erecti eorum
beneficio: maneat modo in nobis quod in illis, studium, attentio animi, vi-
gilantia, & amor veri: quæ si absint, iam non nani sumus, nec in gigan-
tum humeris sedemur, sed homines iuxta magnitudinis humi prostrati.* For
a false and fond similitude it is of some, which they take vp as a most
witty and proper one, that wee being compared to the Ancients, are
as Dwarfes vpon the shoulders of Giants: it is not so, neither are we
Dwarfes, nor they Giants, but wee are all of one stature, saue that
wee are lifted vp somewhat higher by their meanes, conditionally
there be found in vs the same studiounesse, watchfulnesse and loue of
trueth, as was in the: which if they be wanting, then are we not dwarfs,
nor set on the shoulders of giants, but men of a cōpetent stature groue-
ling on the earth.

We wonder (as well wee may) at *Aristotles* wit expressed in his vo-
luminous workes, but his indefatigable paines in study, we consider
not, holding in his hand when he layde him downe to rest, a ball of
brasse, which as soone as slepe overtooke him, fell into a basin of
brasse, purposely set vnder, that so being awakened with the noyse
thereof, he might againe returne to his booke: and though he were, as
witnesseth *Censorinus*, of so crasie a body, (that it is more strange hee
should liue to his *Climactericall* yeare, then that he then died) yet by the

in-

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invincible strength of his minde, did he wade through a world of difficulties, and hath thereby left such fruites thereof to the world, as hath deservedly wonne him immortall honour. *Seneca* a man of an admirable vivacity of spirit, writes of himselfe, that one day he heard *Attalus* the Philosopher in his publike Lectures, commend a bedde which yeelded not to the body, and therevpon addes, *tali vtor etiam senex, in qua vestigium apparere non possit*; such a one doe I now vse, though well stricken in yeares, in which my body leaues no print behinde it: hee likewise by the perswasion of the same *Attalus* abstained from Oysters, from wine, from bathings, he fed sometimes vpon a crust of drye bread, sometimes vpon wilde fruit, taken from the hedge, and quenched his thirst with faire running water, and this hee did for loue of knowledge, in a most luxurious age, liuing in the court it selfe, abounding in riches and honour, and hauing all kindes of pleasures at commaund. The like doth *Plinius Caelius* in his Epistle to *Marcus*, write of his vncler Tutor to the Emperour *Vespasian*, as was *Seneca* to *Nero*: to his rare naturall endowments, hee added incessant watchfulnesse, and labour in reading and writing, his diet was sparing and thinne, his sleepe short and little, in so much that his Nephew *Cacilius* freely confesseth of himselfe: *soleo ridere cum me quidam studiosum vocant, qui, si comparer illi, sum desidiosissimus*: I am wont to smile when they tearme me a hard student who being compared with him, am in truth a very truant. But to come neerer home, King *Alfred* thought to be founder or restorer of the Vniuersity of *Oxford* is reported to haue cast the naturall day, consisting of 24 houres, into three parts, whereof the one he spent in affaires of state, a second in the service of his body, and the residue in prayer, study, and writing, which spaces of time, hauing then none other engine for that purpose, he measured by a great waxe light divided into so many parts, receiuing notice by the keeper thereof, as the seuerall houres passed in burning.

Such examples as these of the *Auncients* wee admire, wee commend, wee willingly reade and recite, but follow the fashion of our owne times.

Laudamus veteres sed nostris vivimur annis.

The common complaint is, that we want time, but the trueth is, *Non parum habemus temporis, sed multum perdimus*, we doe not so much want *Seneca*. as waste it, either *male agendo*, or *nihil agendo*, or *aliud agendo*, either in doing naughtines, or nothing, or impertinencies; we doe *bonas horas male collocare*, trifle out our pretious houres in eating & drinking, & sleeping, and sporting, and gaming, and dressing our bodies, and then giue out & perswade our selues, that *Nature* forsooth is decayed, that our bodies cannot endure that study which our Predecessours did: and truely I thinke many justly complaine of weake and crasie bodies, but withall that more haue made them so, by intemperance then study, or found them so by nature; let vs then lay the fault where it is, and accuse our selues

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selues, not *Nature*, or rather God vnder that name. And yet what the bodies of men euen in these latter ages being thoroughly put to it, are able to endure, the extant workes of *Tostatus*, *Erasmus*, *Gesner*, *Calvin*, *Luther*, *Baronius*, *Bellarmino*, and others sufficiently testifie; it is to this effect a true speech of *Arnoldus Clapmarus* in his *nobile triennium*, *incredibile est quantum brevissimo tempore humana possit assequi industria*, it is incredible what the industry of man in a very short time may attaine vnto. Master *Foxe* in his Latine Epistle to the Reader, prefixed before his *Acts and Monuments*, reports of himself, that having but a sickly body, in lesse then eighteene moneths space he read authours, conferred copies, searched records, gathered matters, digested it into order, reuised it, &c. for that great worke, and this to bee true, saith he, *noverunt ij qui testes adfuerunt & temporis conscij, & laboris socij*, they know full well who were present as witnesses, being both privie to my time, and companions of my labour. And *Ioseph Scaliger* in the life of his father *Iulius* tels vs likewise of himselfe, that when he began first with the Greeke tongue in one & twenty dayes he learned over all *Homer* with the comment, and within foure moneths (to vse his owne words) he deuoured all the rest of the Greeke Poets. They were doubtlesse great matters, which *Peter Ramus* went through in a short time, as appeares in his life; yet not so much by the quickenesse and strength of wit (though therein he excelled) as by his assiduity and temperance, which was such that he would drinke no wine, till by his Physitians he was injoynd so to doe; and from his youth to his dying day never vsed by his good will any other bedding then straw, and in his studies so watchfull hee was, that if he heard in the morning the smiths or carpenters, or other artificers at worke before he were stirring, hee would blame himselfe of negligence and sloathfulnes, that they should prevent him, and be more diligent in their mechanicall trades, then he in the studie of the liberall sciences: And (to adde one more) of our rare Iewell, Doctour *Humphreyes* testifies, that he was, *& studiosorum calcar, et studiorum norma, et indefessa diligentia singulare specimen*, a spur to students, a rule of studies, and a singular president of vnwearied studiousefnesse; and againe, *victus nimis scholasticus et simplex fuit, corpus macilentum et perimbecillum, ut mireris tot laboribus exhauriendis potuisse sufficere*: his diet was very sparing, and somewhat too scholer-like, his bodie thinne and very weake, so as a man might iustly wonder, how it could indure and bring about such and so many labours.

And certaine it is (what ever our wits pretend to the contrarie) that never any became excellent in any profession, or was famous for any notable worke, who was not abstemious or industrious.

Multa tulit fecitq; puer, sudavit et alsit.

Hee did both doe and suffer many things.

Both heate and cold: &c.

And I verily thinke did the students in our Vniuersities, carefully and con-

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constantly obserue those houres for prayer (especially in the morning) which our wise and godly founders by their locall statutes require in our severall Colledges, we should soone by Gods blessing find a change both in manners and learning; and thereby stop the mouthes of such both at home and abroad, as cry out that wee haue lost our ancient reputation, and that the Iesuites by the strictnes of their discipline haue gotten the start of vs, and wonne the spurres from vs. *Antiquitus strictissime fuit observatum ut exceptis graduatis, nemo animi, vel etiam negotij cuiusquam sui causa à Collegio suo sine superioris petita et obtenta licentia, (socio etiam assignato) egredi posset, ingredi civium domos, prandium aut carnem apud eos sumere, non nisi maxima urgente causa, & quasi ex speciali indulto, cuiquam licuit: popinas autem intrare, & in hospitij publicis convivari, vel in adibus alicujus civis pernoctare piaculum erat, nam in his si quis deliquisset, ex Academia nisi magna aliqua ratio subsuisset cum dedecore eiciebatur.* I neede not English it, but with it practised. And conclude this point with that of *Quintilian*, *Orat. 2.5.* which cannot too often bee remembred; *Non enim nos tarditatis natura damnavit, sed ultra nobis quod oportebat indulgimus, ita non tam ingenio nos illi superarunt, quam proposito.* Nature hath not made vs more vncapable then our Auncestours, but we haue beene too indulgent to our selues, by which meanes it comes to passe that they surmount vs not so much by the goodnes of wits, as studiousnesse and endeavour.

Pisius Relat. Hist. tom. 1 c. 9 de Acad. Oxon.

Now for the worke it selfe I am well assured (as all other Bookes and actions) it will be diversly censured as men stand diversly affected: if but three guests meet at a feast, they will hardly accord in one dish; & truely I thinke that as mens fancies (could they be seene) would bee found to differ more then their faces, so are their judgments more different then their tastes: but this common courtesie (due by the Lawes of civility and humanity) I shall craue (which I hope no ingenuous mind will deny mee) that I bee not condemned before I bee vnderstood.

Ne mea dona tibi studio disposita fideli,

Lucret. lib. 1.

Intellecta prius quam sint, contemptarelinguas.

Doe not cast off with surly scorne

What heere I offer thee, -

Before thou vnderstand aright.

What heere is said by me.

Legant & postea despiciant, ne videantur non ex iudicio, sed ex odij presumptione ignorata damnare: first read, and then despise lest thou seeme to condemne that which thou knowest not, rather out of malicious prejudice, then advised judgment, and if vpon a serious perusal and ballancing of mine arguments any shall yet vary from mee, I quarrell him not, but hope wee may both injoy our opinions without any

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any breach of *faith* or *charity* ; onely I say that the question is surely noble, and worthy to be discuffed by a more learned penne, as being a disquisition touching the shippe wherein wee all sayle whether it bee staunch or no, and heerein will be the tryall, *Opinionum commenta dies delet, natura indicia confirmat* ; time weares out dreames of fancy, but strengthens the dictates of Nature and Trueth ; as the Sunne beames being imprisoned, as it were, for a time, worke thorough a thicke mist, though with some difficulty ; but being once broken through, and the mist dispelled, they shine out and continue cleare.

Hieronymus.

I haue walked (I confesse) in an vntraden path, neither can I trace the prints of any footsteppes that haue gone before mee, but onely as it led them to some other way, thwarting, and vpon the by, not directly : some parts belonging to this discourse, some haue slightly handled, none thoroughly considered of the whole : which I speake not to derogate from their worth (it being *puerilis iactantiae accusando illustres viros suo nomini famam quarere* ; a childish kinde of bragging to hunt after applause by contradicting famous men) but onely to shew that whiles they intended another thing, they might happily in this bee carried away with the common streame : for surely such a sweete harmony there is betweene all the members of this body, such a coherence and mutuall dependance betwixt all the linkes of this chaine, that hee who takes a view of the whole, will easily graunt that hee might bee deceiued by looking vpon some parts thereof.

Yet some perchaunce will conceiue, I might haue delivered my minde with lesse expence of wordes and time, and truely I must acknowledge that *in multiloquio non deeris peccatum* ; it cannot bee but in speaking so much, somewhat should bee spoken amisse. Yet withall it must bee remembred, that being to grapple with such a Giantlike monster, I could not thinke him dead till I had his head off: and that which to some may seeme superfluous or impertinent, will happily by others bee thought not vnprofitable or vnpleasant, the paines is mine, and if it bee over-done, done I am sure it is, if I haue sayde more then enough, enough is said to serue the turne.

And if any shall haue a minde to publish any thing against that I haue written, I shall desire it may bee done fairely, not by sucking of the soares, and flying over the sound parts, nor by nibbling vpon the twigges, and vtmost branches, but by striking at the roote or body of the tree, or at leastwise some of the principall limbes thereof, and in the meane season, I say with Saint *Augustine*, *Quisquis hac Lib. 1. de tri. c. 3. legis: ubi pariter certus est, pergat mecum; ubi pariter hesitat, quarat mecum; ubi errorem suum cognoscit, redat ad me; ubi meum, revoces me: whosoever thou art that reads this discourse, where thou art assured go on with me, where thou art in doubt, search with me, where thou dost acknowledge thine error, returne to me, where thou findest mine, recall me, and conclude with Lactantius: Etiam si nulli alij, nobis certe proderis, delectabis, se-*
consci-

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*conscientia, gaudebitque mens in veritatis se luce versari, quod est anima
pabulum incredibili quâdam jucunditate perfusum : if this Treatise profite
none else, yet shall it mee, my conscience shall comfort it selfe,
and my minde bee refreshed in the light of Trueth,
which is the foode of the soule, mixed
with delight incredible.*

[* *]

*Rode caper vites, tamen hic, cum stabis ad aras,
In tua quod fandi cornua possit, erit.*



and my mind be refreshed in the light of Truth,
which is the food of the soul, mixed
with delight, and credible.

[]

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OF THE VALUE OF THE ROMAN SESTERCE, compared with our English coyne now in vse.

BEcause in the fourth and last booke of this ensuing treatise in discovering of the *Romane luxurie*, frequent mention is made of their excessive expences, and the ordinary computation of their Authors, whose testimonies I vse, is by *Sesterces*. I held it requisite for the better vnderstanding of those summes by such who are not acquainted with the *Romane* coynes, in this table to expresse the value of the *Sesterce*, and withall to reduce some of their most noted summes to our *sterling*, that so the Reader desirous to know any particular summe, may either finde it expressed in this Table, or easily find it out by proportioning the summe he desires to know with the neereſt vnto it either aboue or vnder.

The *Sestertius* was among the *Romans* a coyne so common, that *nummus* and *Sestertius* came at length to be vied promiscuously the one for the other; so called it was *quasi Semistertius*, because of three *asses* it wanted halfe a one, and is thus commonly expressed *11 S*, or thus *HS*, by which is vnderstood two *asses* and an halfe. For the value of it, ten *asses* make a *denarius* or *Roman* pennie, so tearmed because it contained *dena era*, which were the same with their *asses*; so as the *Sesterce* containing two *asses* and an halfe, must of necessity be found in the *denarius* foure times; now the *denarius* being the eight part of an ounce, and an ounce of silver being now with vs valued at five shillings; it followes from thence that the value of the *denarius* is seaven pence halfe penny; & consequently of the *Sesterce* being the fourth part thereof, *pennie halfe pennie farthing halfe farthing*. Touching their manner of counting by *Sesterces*, a controversie there is betwixt *Budens* and *Agricola*, whether *Sestertius* in the masculine and *Sestertium* in the neuter be to bee valued alike, which *Agricola* affirms, *Budens*, vpon better reason in my iudgement, denies, and to him I incline, holding with him that *Sestertium* in the neuter contains a thousand *Sestertios*: But heere two things are specially to be noted; first, that if the *nummerall*, or word that denoteth the number being an *adiectiue* and of a different case, be joyned with *Sestertium* (by an abbreviatio put for *Sestertiorum*) in the genitiue case plurall, then doth it note so many thousand *Sesterti*; for example, *decem Sestertium* signifieth *decem millia* tenne thousand *Sesterces*. Secondly, if the *nummerall* joyned with *Sestertium* be an *adverb*, then it designeth so many hundred thousand, *ex: gr: decies Sestertium* signifies *decies centena millia*, ten hundred thousand or a million of *Sesterces*; and sometimes the substantiue *Sestertium* is omitted but necessarily vnderstood; the adiectiue then or aduerbe set alone being of the same value as if the substantiue were expressed, as thus, *decem* standing by it selfe is fully as much as *decem Sestertium*, & *decies* in like case, as if it were *decies Sestertium*, which I haue premised that the reason of my readding the *Latin* summes might the better be conceived, now to the table.

Sesterces	Are worth	In English monies.	Sesterces	Are worth	In English monies.
Twenty		0-3-1 ^d -0b	A Million,		.7812-10-0-0
A hundred		0-15-7-0b.	Five Millions,		39062-10-0-0.
Five hundred,		3-18-1-0b.	Ten Millions.		78125-0-0-0.
A thousand,		7-16-3-0.	Twenty Millions,		156250-0-0-0.
Five thousand,		39-1-3-0.	Fiftie Millions,		390625-0-0-0.
Ten thousand,		78 2-6-0.	A hundred Millions,		781250-0-0-0.
Twenty thousand,		156-5-0-0	Two hundred Millions		1562500-0-0-0.
Fiftie thousand,		390-12-6-0.	Five hundred Millions,		3906250-0-0-0.
A hundred thousand,		781-5-0-0.	A thousand Millions,		7812500-0-0-0.
Five hundred thousand,		3906-5-0-0.			

*A Talent is 750 ounces of silver, which after five
shillings the ounce, is 187 pounds.*



Boethius Lib. 3. Metro. 9.

O Qui perpetua mundam ratione gubernas,
 Terrarum Caeliq; Sator qui tempus ab ævo
 Ire jubes: stabilisque manens das cuncta moveri;
 Da Pater angustam menti conscendere sedem,
 Da fontem lustrare boni, da luce reperta
 In te conspicuos anima defigere visus.
 Disyce terrena nebulas & pondera molis,
 Atque tuo splendore mica. Tu namque serenum,
 Tu requies tranquilla p̄ys, Te cernere, finis,
 Principium, vector, dux, semita, terminus, idem.

T Hou that madest heaven & earth, whose wisdom still doth guide
 The world, by whose commaund time euermore doth slide:
 Thou that vnmov'd thy selfe, causdest all things to moue:
 Graunt, Father, I may climbe these sacred seates above,
 Graunt, I of good may view the spring, that finding light,
 My minde perpetually on thee may fixe her sight.
 Dispell these cloudes, discharge this loade of lumpish clay,
 And spread thy beames: for thou to Saints the clearest day,
 The calmest quiet art, and thee to comtemplate
 Port, passage, leader, way, beginning is and date.





AN
**APOLOGIE OF THE
 POWER AND PROVIDENCE
 OF GOD IN THE GOVERNMENT
 OF THE WORLD:**

OR,

*An Examination and Censure of the common
 error touching Natures perpetuall and
 universall decay.*

L I B. I.

Which treates of this pretended decay in generall, together with some preparatiues thereunto.

C A P. I.

Of diuerse other opinions justly suspected, if not rejected, though commonly received.

S E C T. I. *In Divinitie.*



THE opinion of the Worlds decay is so generally receiued, not onely among the Vulgar, but of the Learned both Diuines and others, that the very commonnes of it, makes it currant with many, without any further examination: That which is held, not onely by the multitude, but by the Learned, passing smoothly for the most part without any checke or controule. *Nec alius promior fidei lapsus, quàm ubi rei falsa grauis author extitit,* saith Pliny, Men doe not

any-where more easily erre, then where they follow a guide, whom they presume they may safely trust: They cannot quickly be perswaded.

A

ded, that he who is in reputation for knowledge and wisdom, and whose doctrine is admired in weighty matters, should mistake in points of lesser consequence; and the greatest part of the World, is rather led with the names of their Masters, and with the reverend respect they beare their persons or memories, then with the soundnesse and truth of the things they teach. Wherein that of *Vadianus* in his Epistle of *Paradice*, is, and ever will be verified. *Magnos errores magnorum virorum auctoritate persuasi transmittimus*: We deliuer ouer as it were by tradition from hand to hand, great errors being thereunto induced by the authority of great men. Whiles we are young, our judgment is raw and greene, and when we are old, it is forestalled, by which meanes it comes often to passe that *inter iuvenile iudicium & senile preiudicium veritas corrumpitur*, betweene the precipitancie & rashnes of youth to take whatsoever is offered, and the obstinate stiffenes of age in refusing what it hath not formerly beene acquainted with, truth is lost. The evidencing of which assertion, is the proper subject of this Chapter, wherein I hope I shall make it appeare that many opinions are commonly receiued, both in ordinary speech, & in the writings of learned men, which notwithstanding are by others either manifestly convinced, or at leastwise justly suspected of falshood and error, and this aswell in *Divinity* as in *Philosophy* and *History*.

- 1 First then in *Divinity* (not to meddle with doctrinall points in controverfie at this day) it is commonly receiued and beleueed, that *Iudas* among the other Apostles receiued the blessed Sacrament at our Lords hands, of which notwithstanding, saith the learned *Zanchius*, *Et si multi magni viri hoc docuerint & scripserint, ego tamen nullo modo concedo, aut concedere possum, quia aperte pugnat cum historia Iohannis Evangelista*: Though many great Clarks haue taught and written it, yet my selfe neither doe nor can by any meanes grant it, in asmuch as it plainly contradicts the History of *Iohn* the Evangelist.

In quantum
preceptum.

Cap. 13. 30.

- 2 That *Melchizedek* spoken of in the Epistle to the *Hebreues*, was *Sem* the sonne of *Noah*: Yet *Pererius* in his Commentarie on the 14 of *Genesis*, endeauours to ouerthrow it by many weighty reasons drawne from the Text.

3
Comment. in
Gen. cap. 3.

That our first Parents stood but one day in *Paradice*, of which opinion the same Author affirms, *Peruulgata est, eademque ut multorum sic imprimis nobilium & illustrium Authorum firmata consensu*; it is commonly receiued and strengthened by the consent of many worthy and famous Authors: yet labours he to disproue it, in as much as so many, and so different acts are by *Moses* recorded to haue passed betweene their Creation and Ejection, as could not well be dispatched within the compasse of one day. And *Tostatus*, though he were first of the common opinion, yet afterward vpon better advice he changed it.

4
Gen. 49. 10.

That the Prophecie of old *Iacob*, *The Scepter shall not depart from Iudah untill Shiloh come*, was fulfilled in *Herods* raigne at the birth of *CHRIST*: by the continuance of the gouernment in the Tribe of *Iudah* till the raigne of *Herod*, reputed the first stranger that tooke vpon him the Kingly office among the *Iewes*: but *Cansabon* in his Exercitations prooues that

Exercit. 1. ad
appar. Amal.
6. 2.

neither

neither the kingly government was continued in that Tribe; in as much as it was often interrupted, and at length ended in *Zedechiah*, nor that *Herod* was a stranger, in as much as himselfe, his father and his Grandfather were all circumcised, and yet he confesses of the cōmō opinion, *hæc sententia ab insignibus pietate & doctrina viris profecta, ubi semel est admissa sine ulla controversia aut examine apud omnium atatum eruditos præter admodum paucos semper deinceps obtinuit*; this opinion first set on foot by men of singular pietie and learning, and being once generally embraced without any question or examination of it, afterward prevailed with the learned of all ages, some few onely excepted.

That *Iephthah* slew his daughter, and sacrificed her to the Lord, but *Iunius* in his annotations on that place thinkes he only consecrated her by vowing her virginity, which may well stand with the nature of the originall word, and the contrarie cannot well stand either with *Iephthahs* faith or Gods acceptance.

5
Iud. 11. 38.
Hebr. 11. 32.
Deut. 12 31.

That the Ark rested vpon the hils of *Armenia*; whereas *Sir Walter Rawleigh* is cōfident that therein most writers were vtterly mistaken. Neither was he led so to thinke (as he professeth) out of humour or singularity, but therein groundeth himselfe vpon the originall, and first truth, which is the word of God; and after vpon reason and the most probable circūstances therevpon depending. And in truth, he that shall consider that the sonnes of *Noah* cōming out of the *Arke*, travelled from the East into the land of *Shinar* (where they built the tower of *Babell*), and that *Armenia* lies to the Northwest of that plaine, will easily conceiue that it could not well bee, that the *Arke* should rest vpon those hils; but the chiefe occasion of the mistake seemes to be in the vulgar translation, which hath rendred *Armenia* instead of *Ararat*.

6
History of the world, part. 1.
lib. 1. cap. 70.

That of the three sonnes of *Noah*; *Sem*, *Cham* and *Iaphet*, *Sem* was the eldest, *Cham* the second, and *Iaphet* the yongest; whereas *Iunius* is of opinion that *Iaphet* was the eldest, grounding himselfe vpon the text, *Genesis* 10. 21. *Cham* the youngest, which he proues from *Genesis* 9. 24. and that *Iaphet* was the eldest is not his opinion alone, but of *Lyrannus*, *Tostatus*, *Genebrard* and the Hebrew doctors.

Gen. 11. 2.

That the fruit of the tree of knowledg of good and evill, was an apple: whereas the text specifies no such matter; and it should seeme by the circumstances thereof, that it was rather som other kind of fruit more pleasant both to the tast and sight.

8
Gen. 3. 6.

That the waters of the red sea were of colour red: whereas travellers into those parts by sight find the contrary: it rather borrowing that name from the red bankes and cliffs about it, as both *Castro mari* and *Barros* are of opinion; or from the Coasts of *Idumæa* by which it passeth, as *Scaliger* first observed and after him *Fuller*.

9
Vide Agatharchidem de rubro mari.
Dec. 2. lib. 80. cap. 1.

To these may be added that it is commonly belieued that *Moses* had hornes when he came downe from the mountaine, because they read in the vulgar Latine, *Ignorabat quod cornuta esset facies sua*: He knew not that his face was horned; whereas the sense is, he knew not that his face shined, the same word in the Hebrew signifying both an horne and a shining beame.

10
Ex od. 34. 19.

11 That our Saviour wore his haire long, because we read he was a *NaZarite*; whereas the truth is, that he was a *NaZarite*, or rather a *NaZarene*, as with *Beza* our last translatours read it, by education, not by profession and institution, in regard of the place in which he was nursed and conuersed, not any vow wherevnto he was bound.

12 And lastly that *Absolon* was hung by the haire of the head, whereas the text sayes in plaine termes, *his head caught hold of the oke*: in like manner (it seemes) as *Henry* Grand-child to the Conquerour is sayd to haue ended his dayes in the new Forrest.

SECTION 2. In Philosophy.

SEcondly in Philosophy it is commonly receiued that the heart is the seate and shopp of the principall faculties of the soule: nay diuine scripture applying it selfe to the ordinary opinion therein, in many places attributes wisdom and vnderstanding to the heart: whereas that noble pare of Physitians *Hippocrates* and *Galen* haue made it euident by experimentall proofes, that those diuine powers of reasoning and discourse are seated in the braine, in as much as they are not hindered by the distemper of the heart, but of the braine, nor recovered being lost by medicaments applyed to the heart, but to the braine.

2 That the three principall faculties of the soule, the vnderstanding, the imagination and memorie are distinguished by three severall Cells or Ventricles in the braine, the imaginatio (as is conceiued) being confined to the forepart, the memory to the hinder part, and iudgment or vnderstanding to the middle part thereof, which opinion *Laurentius* confutes, and *Fernelius* derides, making them all to be dispersed thorow all the receptacles of the braine, in as much as sometime when the whole braine is disaffected, the operation but of one of those faculties is hurt; and sometimes againe when but one ventricle is hurt, the operation of all the three faculties are hindred: Neither ought it to seeme more strange that the same ventricle in the braine should be capable of all these three functions, then that the same bone or sinew and every part and particle thereof should haue in it (in regard of the nourishment it receiues, and the excrement it driues forth,) an attractiue, a retentiue, an assimilatiue and an expulsiue vertue.

3 That one had by nature is more vsfull and more properly made for action then the other: whereas we find no such difference betwixt the two eyes, the two eares, the two nostrills; and if men were left to themselves, as many I think if not more, would vse the left hand, as now by education and custome do the right: And in truth I am of opinion that God and nature haue giuen vs two hands, that we should vse both indifferently, that if neede required, the one might supply the losse or defect of the other. Such would *Plato* haue the Cittizens of his common-wealth to be, and such do I take those seauen hundred *Beniamites* to haue beene mentioned in the 20th of *Judges* & if either had should in nature be preferred before other, mee thinkes in reason it should be that which is nearest the heart the fountaine of life and activitie.

That

That in nature there is an East and a West, which as to mee it seemes cannot be, since that which to vs is East, is West to our *Antipodes*, and that which is East to them, is West to vs.

4

That the radicall moisture, and primogeniall heat naturally ingrafted in vs wastes alwayes by degrees from the time of our conception, as oyle in a lampe or wax in a taper: whereas notwithstanding till wee come to the age of consistence, we still grow in bulke, in strength and stature: which for mine owne part I cannot conceiue how it should bee: if from our infancie our naturall heat and moysture still decreased.

5

That a man hath a naturall speech of his owne as he is a man, (some thinke *Hebrew*) which language he would speake by nature if he were not taught some other: but this is a dreame, and hath beene twise confuted by a double experiment. The first was by *Psammaticus* a king of *Egypt*, who desiring to vnderstand which was mans most ancient and naturall language, caused two children to be sequestred from all societie of men, and to be nourished by two she goates, forbidding all speech vnto them: which children continuing for a long time dumb, at last vttered *Bec Bec*: the King being informed that in the *Phrygian* language *Bec* signified *Bread*, imagined that the children called then for bread, and from thence collected that because they spake that language which no man had taught them, therefore the *Phrygian* language was the naturall speech of man. A weakke prooffe & feely conceit. For the children *Bec* (as is probably collected) was onely that language which they learned of their Goate-Nurces when they came to suck their tetts, who receiuing from them some ease by their sucking, saluted them with *Bec*, the best language they had, from whome the children learned it, and so much as they heard, so much just they vttered, and no more: and if they had not heard it, they could never haue pronounced it, as we may evidently see in men that are borne deafe, and by another experiment tryed vpon other infants, (which is our second instance) by *Melabdim Echebar*, whom they call the *Greate Magore* or *Mogul*. He likewise vpon the forenamed error, that man hath a certaine proper language by nature, caused thirtie children to be brought vp in dumbe silence, to finde out the experience, whether all of them would speake one and the same language, hauing inwardly a purpose to frame his religion conformable to that nation whose language should be spoken, as being that religion which is purely naturall vnto man. But the children proued all dumbe, though they were so many of them, and therefore they could not speake, because they were not taught: whereby it appeareth that the speaking of any language is not in man by nature. The first man had it by divine *Infusion*, but all his posteritie onely by *Imitation*.

Herodotus, lib. 2.

Purcas Pilgr. li. 1. cap. 8.

SECT. 3^{ia}. In history Ecclesiasticall.

THirdly in History, which is Ecclesiasticall, Ciuill or naturall. In History Ecclesiasticall it is commonly receiued that Symon Peter encountered with Symon Magus, and that the Magitian vndertaking to fly vp into

Epist. 86. Causa-
lano.

Hist. Natu. Lib.
2. 22.

Juven. Sat. 10.

Exer. 1^a. ad ap.
annal. cap. 10.
Ephes. 3. 9.
Coloss. 1. 26.
Rom. 16. 25.

3
De Eccl. Rom.
Idol. 1. 10. cap.
5^o.

4

the ayre, the *Apostle* so wrought by prayer and fasting that he came tumbling downe and brake his neck: but of this story sayth *S^t. Augustine*, *Est quidem & hac opinio plurimorum, quamvis eam perhibeant esse falsam plerique Romani*: many are of this opinion, yet most of the *Roman* writers hold it but as a tale. And in another place he calls it *Græcam fabulam*, an invention of the *Græcians* who were so fruitful in these kind of fables, that *Pliny* himselfe could say of them, *mirum est quo procedat Græca credulitas, nullum tam impudens mendacium est ut teste careat*; it is a wonder to see whither the credulity of the *Greekes* carry them, there being no lye so shamefull, but it findes a patron among them: Nay, the very *Latin* Poet tooke notice of their immoderate libertie this way.

---Et quicquid Græcia mendax
Audet in historia.

What dares not lying Greece
Insert in histories.

2 That the *Sybils* clearely foretold many things touching the name, the forerunner, the birth and death of *Christ*, the coming of *Antichrist*, the overthrow of *Rome*, & the cōsumatiō of the world, which notwithstanding, (as *Causabon* hath learnedly obserued) seemes to be contrary to the word of God, that so profound mysteries should be revealed to the *Gentiles*, so long before the incarnation of *Christ*; specially since they write more plainely and particularly of those matters, then the Prophets of God themselves among the *Iewes*; and the greatest *Clarkes* among the *Gentiles* *Plato*, *Aristotle*, *Theophrastus*, and others, curious searchers into all kinds of learning, never so much as once mention either their names or their writings, nor any of these mysteries. While the Church of *Christ* was yet in her infancie many such kind of bookes were forged therby to make the doctrine of the Gospell more passible among the *Gentiles*; and no marvell then that these of the *Sybils* passed for current among the rest.

3 That *Saint George* was a holy Martyr, and that he conquered the dragon; whereas *D^r. Reynolds* proues him to haue beene both a wicked man and an *Arrian* by the testimonie of *Epiphanius*, *Athanasius* and *Gregory Nazianzen*. And *Baronius* himselfe in plaine tearmes affirms, *apparet totam illam de actis Georgij fabulam fuisse commentum Arrianorum*. It appeares that the whole story of *George* is nothing else but a forgery of the *Arrians*; yet was he receiued (as we know) as a Canonized Saint through *Christendome*, & to be the Patron both of our nation and of the most honorable order of Knighthood in the world.

4 That the wise men which came out of the *East* to worship our Saviour, were *Kings* and from hence (their bodies being translated to *Cullen*) they are at this day commonly called the three Kings of *Cullen*, and the day consecrated to their memory is by the French termed *Le jour de trois Rois*, the day of the three Kings. yet *Mantuan* a Munke feares not to declare his opinion to the contrary, and giues his reason for it.

Nec reges ut opinor erant, neque enim tacuissent

Historia

*Historia sacra Authores Genus illud honoris,
Inter mortales quo non sublimius ullum,
Adde quod Herodes ut magnificentia Regum
Postulat, hospitibus tantis regale dedisset
Hospitium, secumque lares duxisset in amplos.*
Had they beene Kings nor holy History,
Would haue conceal'd their so great Majesty,
Higher then which on Earth none can be named;
Herods magnificence would eke haue framed
Some entertainment fitting their estates,
And harbour'd them within his Royall gates.

SECT. 4. In History Ciuill.

IN History Ciuill or Nationall, it is commonly receiued, that there were foure, and but foure *Monarchies* succeeding one the other; the *Assyrian*, the *Persian*, the *Grecian*, and the *Roman*; Yet *Iohn Bodin* a man of singular learning, specially in matter of History, dares thus to begin the seuenth Chapter of his *Method*. *Inveteratus error de quatuor Imperijs, ac magnorum Virorum opinione pervulgatus tam aliè radices egit, ut vix evelli posse videatur*, that inveterate error of foure Empires made famous thorow the opinion of great men, hath now taken such deepe roots, as it seemes it can hardly be pluckt vp; & thorow a great part of that Chapter labours he the Confutation of those who maintaine that opinion.

That the *Saxons* called the Remainder of the *Brittaines*, *Welch*, as being *strangers* vnto them: whereas that word signifies not a *strangers* either in the high or low Dutch, as *Verstigan* a man skilfull in those Languages hath obserued; & that the *Saxons* gaue them the name of *Welch*, after themselves came into *Brittaine*, is altogether vnlikely. For that inhabiting so neere them as they did, to wit, but ouer against them on the other side of the Sea, they could not want a more particular and proper name for them, then to call them strangers. It seemes then more likely that the *Brittaines* being originally descended from the *Gauls*, the *Saxons* according to their manner of speech, by turning the *G* into *W*, instead of *Gallish* termed them *Wallish*, and by abbreviation *Walch* or *Welch*, as the *French* at this day call the *Prince of Wales*, *Prince de Galles*.

That *Brute* a *Troian* by Nation, and great grand-childe to *Aeneas*, arrived in this Iland, gaue it the name of *Brittaine* from himselfe, here raigned, and left the gouernment thereof diuided among his three sonnes, *England* to *Loegrinus*, *Scotland* to *Albanak*, and *Wales* to *Camber*: Yet our great *Antiquary* beating (as he professeth) his braines and bending the force of his wits to maintaine that opinion, hee found no warrantable ground for it. Nay by forcible arguments (produced as in the person of others disputing against himselfe) he strongly proues it (in my judgment) altogether vnfound and vnwarrantable, *Boccace*, *Vives*, *Adrianus Iunius*, *Polydorus*, *Buchanan*, *Vignier*, *Genebrard*, *Molinaus*, *Bodine*, and other Writers of great account, are all of opinion, there was no such man

Cambden: Britan, de primis incolis.

In gramario.
Anno 1440.

man as this supposed *Brute*: And among our owne ancient Chronicles, *John of Wethamsted*, *Abbot of S. Albion* holdeth the whole narration of *Brute* to haue beene rather Poëticall, then Historicall, which me thinkes is agreeable to reason, since *Cæsar*, *Tacitus*, *Gildas*, *Ninius*, *Bede*, *William of Malmesbery*, and as many others as haue written any thing touching our Countrey before the yeare 1160, make no mention at all of him, nor seeme euer so much as to haue heard of him. The first that euer broached it was *Geffry of Monmouth* about foure hundred yeares agoe, during the raigne of *Henry the second*, who publishing the *Brittish story* in Latine, pretended to haue taken it out of ancient monuments written in the *Brittish* tongue: but this Booke asloone as it peeped forth into the light, was sharply censured both by *Giraldus Cambrensis*, and *William of Newberry* who liued at the same time; the former tearming it no better then *Fabulosam historiam*, a fabulous history, and the latter, *ridicula figmenta*, ridiculous fictions, and it now stands branded with a blacke cole among the bookes prohibited by the Church of *Rome*.

De Gigantibus
Cap. ultimo.

Cap. 4.

9.4.

4.3.

4 That the *Pigmies* are a Nation of people not aboue two or three foot high, and that they solemnely set themselues in battle array to fight against the *Cranes* their greatest enemies: of these uorwithstanding witnesseth *Cassanion*, *Fabulosa illa omnia sunt quæ de illis vel Poeta, vel alij Scriptores tradiderunt*: all those things are fabulous, which touching them either the Poëts or other writers haue deliuered. And with him fully accordeth *Cardan* in his eight Booke *De rerum varietate*: *Apparet ergo Pigmearum historiam esse fabulosam, quod & Strabo sentit, & nostra ætas, cum omnia nunc firmè orbis mirabilia innotuerint, declarat*. It appeares then that the Historie of the *Pigmies* is but a fiction, as both *Strabo* thought, and our age, which hath now discouered all the wonders of the world, fully declares. *Gellius* also, & *Rhodogin* referre these *Pigmies* (if any such there be) to a kinde of Apes.

S E C T. 5. In History Naturall.

1

IN *Naturall History*, it is commonly receiued, that the *Phoenix* liues five hundred or six hundred yeares, that there is of that kinde but one at a time in the World, that being to die, he makes his nest of sweet spices, and by the clapping of his wings sets it on fire, and so burnes himselfe: and lastly, that out of the ashes arises a worme, and from that worme another new *Phoenix*: Neither am I ignorant that sundry of the Fathers haue brought this narration to confirme the doctrine of the Resurrection: but rather as I belecue, to fight against the *Gentiles* with their owne weapons, and to pierce them with their owne quils, or from thence to borrow an illustration, then as giuing credit to the truth of the story, which was originally coyned in *Egypt* as fruitfull in fables, as *Africa* in monsters, and from thence deriued to the *Greeks* and *Romans*; one of them is said to haue beene brought to *Rome* by the commaund of *Claudius Cæsar*, and exposed to publique view, as appeareth vpon record, *Sed quem falsum esse nemo dubitaret*, saith *Pliny*, no man need make any doubt of it but that he was counterfeited, and in the same

Nat. hist. 10.2.

same Chapter, *haud scio an fabulose unum in toto orbe nec visum magnopere*, I doubt it is but a fiction, that there is but one of the kinde, in the whole World, and that so seldome seene. With whom accord *Tacitus*, & *Car-* Lib. 6. Annal.
dan, & *Scaliger*, and reason it selfe drawne both from *Divinity* and *Phi-* cap. 7.
losophy, from *Divinity*, in as much as two at least of euery kinde came in- Lib. 10. de sub-
to the *Arke*, male and female, as they at first were created : from *Phi-* Exercit. 233.
losophy : in as much as without more *individuals* then one the whole kind by a thousand casualties must needs be in daunger of vtter extinguish-
ment, and therefore where we finde but one of a kinde, as the *Sunne* and the *Moone*, God and Nature haue set them out of gunshot, farre enough from any reach of malice or feare of danger.

That the whelpes of *Beares* are at first littering without all forme or fashion, and nothing but a little congealed blood, or lump of flesh, which afterward the dame shapeth by licking, yet is the truth most e-
vidently otherwise, as by the eye-witnesse of *Ioachimus Reticus*, and o- Gesnerus.
thers, it hath beene proued. And heerein as in many other fabulous nar-
rations of this nature, (in which experience checkes report) may wee
justly take vp that of *Lucretius*,

----- *Quid nobis certius ipsis*
Sensibus esse potest, quo vera & falsa noverimus.

What can more certaine be then sence,

Discerning truth from false pretence.

That the *Bever* being hunted and in danger to be taken, biteth off his stones, knowing that for them onely his life is sought, and so often esca-
peth; hence some haue deriued his name, *Castor à castrando seipsum*, from
gelding himselfe, and vpon this supposition, the *Egyptians* in their *Hie-*
rogliphicks, when they will signifie a man that hurteth himselfe, they pic-
ture a *Bever* biting off his owne stones, though *Alciat* in his *Emblemes*
turne it to a contrary purpose, teaching vs by that example to giue a-
way our purse to theeues rather then our liues, & by our wealth to re-
deeme our danger: but this relation touching the *Bever* is vndoubtedly
false, as both by sence and experience, and the testimony of *Dioscorides* Lib. 3. cap. 23.
it is manifested. First, because their stones are very small, and so placed
in their body as are a *Bores*, and therefore impossible for the *Bever* him-
selfe, to touch or come by them; and secondly, they cleaue so fast vnto
their backe, that they cannot be taken away, but the beast must of ne-
cessity loose his life; and consequently most ridiculous is their narrati-
on, who likewise affirme, that when he is hunted, hauing formerly bit-
ten off his stones, he standeth vpright, and sheweth the hunters that hee
hath none for them, and therefore his death cannot profit them; by
meanes whereof they are averted and seeke for another.

That *Swans* a little before their death sing most sweetly, of which 4
notwithstanding *Pliny* thus speakes, *Olorum morte narratur flebilis cantus*, 23.
falso ut arbitror aliquot experimentis. *Swans* are said to sing sweetly be-
fore their death, but falsely, as I take it, being led so to thinke by some
experiments. And *Scaliger* to like purpose, *designi verò cantu suauissimo*
quem cum mendaciorum parente Græcia iactare ausus es ad Luciani tribunal Exercit. 232.
apud quem aliquid novi dicas, statuo te. Touching the sweete singing of the
B Swan,

Swan, which with Greece the mother of lies you dare to publish, I cite you to Lucians tribunal, there to set abroad some new stuffe. And *Ali-*
 Lib. 10. c. 14. *an cantandi studiosos esse iam communi sermone pervulgatum est: ego vero cig-*
num nunquam audivi canere fortasse neque alius; that Swans are skilfull in
 singing is now rise in every mans mouth, but for my selfe I never heard
 them sing, and perchance no man else.

5 That the Salamander liues in the fire, yet both Galen and Dioscorides
 De Temp. lib. 3. refute this opinion. And Mathiolus in his commentaries vpon Dioscorides
 lib. 2. cap. 56. affirms that by casting many Salamanders into the fire for tryall, hee
 Des erreurs Po- found it false. The same experiment is likewise avouched by Iouberius.
 pulaires.

6 That the Mandrakes represent the shape and partes of a man, yet the
 In comment: in same Mathiolus, a very famous Physitian affirms of them, *Radices porro*
 Dioscoridem. *Mandragora humanam effigiem representare ut vulgò creditur fabulosum*
est; that the rootes of the Mandrake represent the shape of a man as it is
 commonly beleueed is fabulous; calling them cheating knaues and
 quacksalvers that carry them about to be sold, therewith to deceiue
 barren weeman.

7 That Vipers in their birth kill their mother of whome they are bred;
 Exercit. 201. Scaliger out of his owne experience assures vs the contrary, *Viperas* saith
 hee, *ab impatientibus mora fatibus numerosissimis, atque idcirco erumpenti-*
bus rumpi atque interire falsum esse scimus, qui in Vincentij Camerini lignea-
theca vidimus enatas Viperillas parente salva; that Uipers are rent and
 flaine by the number of their yong ones impatient of delay and stri-
 uing to get forth, we know to be false, who in a wooden boxe belong-
 ing to Vincentius Camerinus haue seene the yong newly brought forth,
 together with theould one, safe and sound. True indeed it is that the
 Vide Angelum Abbatiū de Viper bringing somtime twentie or more, and being delivered but of
 Viperæ nativa one a day the hindermost impatient of so long delay sometimes gnawes
 & Bustamenti- thorow the tunicle or shell of the egg in which they are inclosed, and
 tinum de ani- so come forth with part of it vpon them; which Aristotle truly affirming
 mentibus. S. S. therevpon it seemes hath growne the mistake that they gnaw thorow
 the belly of the damme which is vndoubtedly false. The derivaton then
 of the word *Vipera quasi vi pariens*, is but a trick of wit grounded vpon
 an erroneous supposition; it being rather (as I conceiue) from *vinum*
pariens, there being no other kind of serpēt which brings forth her yong
 hatched out of the egg, but only the Viper.

8 That the Hare is one yeare a male and another a female: wheras Ron-
 deletius affirms that they are not stones which are commonly taken
 to bee so in the female; but certaine little bladders filled with matter,
 such as are vpon the belly of a Bever, wherein also the vulgar is decei-
 ued, taking those bunches for stones, as they do these bladders. Now the
 vse of these parts both in Bevers and Hares is this, that against raine
 both the one and the other sexe suck there out a certaine humour and
 annoint their bodies all over therewith, which serues them for a de-
 fence against raine.

9 That a Wolfe if he see a man first suddenly strikes him dumb, whence
 came the proverbe *Lupus est in fabula*: and that of the Poet,

Lupi Marim videre priores,

The Wolues saw Moeris first.

Yet

Yet Phillip Camerarius professes, *fabulosum esse quod vulgo creditur, hominem à lupo prauisum subito consternari & vocem amittere*, That it is fabulous which is commonly beleueed that a man being first seene by the Woolfe is therevpon astonished and looſeth his voyce; And that himſelfe hath found it by experience to be a vaine opinion. which Scaliger likewise affirms vpon the ſame ground. *Vtinam tot ſerulis caſtigarentur mendaciorum aſſertores iſti quæ à Lupis viſi ſumus ſine iactura vocis*. I with thoſe Patrons of lies were chaſtiſed with ſo many blowes as at ſundry times I haue beene ſeene of woolues without any loſſe of my voyce.

Meditat. Hiſtor. cap. 23.

Exercit. 344.

That men are ſometimes transformed into Woolues, and againe from Wolues into men: touching the falſhood wherof Pliny himſelfe is thus confident, *homines in Lupos verti rurſumque reſtitui ſibi, falſum eſſe confidenter exiſtimare debemus, aut credere omnia quæ fabuloſa tot ſeculis comperimus*: that men are changed into Wolues and againe reſtored to themſelues, that is to the ſhape of men, wee ought aſſuredly belecue to be falſe, or to giue credit to whatſoever wee haue found fabulous in the courſe of ſo many ages. Now that which hath given occaſion to this opinion might be as I ſuppoſe either an *illuſion* of Sathan in regard of the beholders, or a ſtrong melancholy *imagination* in the patients, or the education of men among Wolues from their very infancy. For that the Devil can at his pleaſure tranſubſtantiare or transforme one ſubſtance into another I ſhould it no ſound divinitie.

10

Nat. hiſt. liber 8. cap. 22.

That the Pellican turneth her beake againſt her breaſt therewith pierceth it till the blood gush out wherewith ſhee nourisheth her young: wheras the Pellican hath a beake broad and flat, much like the ſlice of Apothecaries and Surgions with which they ſpread their plaiſters, no way fit to pierce, as Laurentius Ioubertus Counſellour and Phiſition to Henry the fourth of France in his booke of *Popular errors* hath obſerued.

11

Laſtly that the Mole hath no eyes, nor the Elephant knees; both which notwithstanding by dayly and manifeſt experience are found vntrue.

SECTIO 6.

An Application of what hath beene ſayd to the preſent purpoſe.

Many more inſtances might bee giuen both in *Divinitie*, *Philophy* and *Hiſtory*, to ſhew that t'is a thing neither new nor vnjuſtifiable by the praſtiſe of wiſe men to examine and impugne receiued opinions, if they be found erroneouſ, ſuch as I take this to be of *Natures univerſall decay*. So that I hope it ſhall neither ſeeme vnpleaſing nor vnprofitable nor yet impertinent that I haue dwelt ſo long vpon this point. I know that of Chryſoſtome to be moſt true. *The hardeſt leſſon is to vnlearn*, and therefore haue I harped ſo long vpon this ſtring to make it cleare that men may erre, ſpecially where that falls out which Iuſtin in his dialogue with Tryphon hath obſerued, that *poſteriores ſequun-*

tur priores securi examinis, that the latter follow the former without examination, Custome with most men preuailes more then Truth: though *Christ* hath said, as *Tertullian* rightly noteth, *I am Truth and not Custome*: yea such is the force thereof, that according to the inbred notions and præconceptions, which it hath formed and imprinted in our mindes for the most part we shape the discourse of Reason it selfe. Thus *Pythagoras* by bringing vp his Schollers in the speculatiue knowledge of numbers, made their concepts so strong, that when they came to the contemplation of things naturall, they imagined that in euery particular thing they euen beheld as it were with their eyes how the element of number gaue essence and being to the workes of Nature. A thing in reason impossible, which notwithstanding thorow their misfashioned præconceite, appeared vnto them no lesse certaine then if Nature had written it in the very foreheads of all the Creatures of God.

*Dnaucus de
Beneficijs, 8. 6.*

Divine is that speech of *Aristotle* in his *Metaphysicks*; *Quantam autem vim habeat consuetudo leges declarant, in quibus fabulose & pueriles narrationes plus valent cognitione vera earum rerum propter consuetudinem*. What is the strange force of Custome, the Lawes themselues declare; in which childish and fabulous narrations are preferred before the true knowledge of the same things, and that onely through custome. From whence (to draw neerer to our present purpose) the great Lawyer *Panormitan* wishes that the severity of the ancient *Canons* bee not too far pressed vpon delinquents, because men of latter ages (saith he) are no way matchable with the Ancients, as not in strength nor stature, so neither in wit nor manners. But I much maruell that so great a Clarke should be so easily carried away with so vaine a shew, and by making men beleue that they were not able to obserue the *Canons*, make them vnable indeed: which together with the greedy desire of gaine, hath beene no doubt the ground, or at least the pretence of such a multiplicity of dispensations in latter ages; men choosing rather to stretch their purse-strings, and to buy out a dispensation for their money then to improve their endeavours for the doing of that which the *Canon* requires. And hence the *Lenten fast* duly kept with much ease by our Predecessors, is with most men now adayes made so impossible, notwithstanding the observation thereof conduce so much to the publique good.

C. A P. 2.

Of the Reasons inducing the Author to the writing and publishing of this Discourse.

S E C T. 1.

Whereof the first is the redeeming of a captivated truth.

SVch is the admirable beauty and soueraignty of Truth in it selfe, and such infinite content doth it yeeld the Soule being found and embraced, that had I proposed no other End to my selfe in this ensuing Treatise then the discovery and vnfolding thereof, I should hold it alone a very ample recompence, and sufficient reward of my labour.

bour. The *Greekes* call it *ἀληθεία*, which by an easie and vnstrained derivation implies the *breath of God*: so that as *Minerva*, by which is meant the *Arts*, is fained to haue sprung from the head of *Iupiter*: so *Truth* vndoubtedly flowes from the mouth of the *Creator*; not onely that *supernaturall* and revealed *Truth*, which concernes our spirituall & *supernaturall* good, but that likewise which concernes our good either *morall* or *naturall*. For as *euery good thing*, so far as it is good, is from *God*, the Author and originall cause of all goodnes: so euery *Truth* is from the same *God*, the Fountaine of all *Truth*: Howbeit hee impart the diuerse kinds thereof after a different manner; the *Truth of Experience* by sense, of *Reason* by discourse of the intellectuall power, of *Religion* by faith. These are as seuerall lines drawne from the same Center, or seuerall beames from the same Sunne: All which notwithstanding in their seuerall rankes and degrees carry in them, or rather haue stamped and printed vpon them some character or resemblance of the Diuine Excellencie.

And as *Truth* is the *breath of God*, so is the *Soule* of man too, which may well be thought to be in part the cause that the *Soule* is so wonderfully taken and affected with the loue and liking of it. All the Kingdomes in the World, and the glittering pomp of them cannot so much refresh and delight a studious minde, as this one inestimable Iewell of *Truth*, which *Lucretius* hath liuely described:

Suauem mari magno turbantibus aequora ventis, &c.

It is a view of delight, saith he, to stand or walke vpon the shore side, & to see a ship tossed with tempests vpon the Sea; or to be in a fortified towre, and to see two Armies joyne battle vpon a plaine: but it is a pleasure incomparable for the minde of man to be settled, landed, and fortified in the certainty of *Truth*, and from thence to descry and behold the errors, perturbations, labours and wandrings vp and downe of other men. We see in all other pleasures there is satiety, and after they be vsed their verdure departeth, which sheweth well they be but deceits of pleasure, and not pleasures, and that it was the novelty that pleased, and not the quality. But of the Contemplation of *Truth* there is no satiety, but satisfaction and appetite are perpetually interchangeable; and certainly the more contentment and comfort doe we reape therein, For that the apprehension of *Truth* helps to reape that Image of God which by the fall of man was in that very part sorely battered and brui'd, I meane in regard of the knowledge of naturall *Truths*, but in regard of *supernaturall* vtterly defaced.

Now such being the condition of *Truth*, both in regard of *God*, it selfe, and vs, we may not part with it vpon any termes, nor can we purchase it at too deare a rate; *Buy the truth, but sell it not*. Some perchance in this very point may suppose, that the opinion maintaining *Natures decay* argues in the maintainers more modesty and humility, and is apter to breed in men a religious feare and devotion, being perswaded as well by sense and reason, as by Scripture and faith, that the World must haue an end, and that in appearance the end thereof cannot be far off. Which though it were so, yet may it not be vpheld with an vntruth,

Recte placet laudem humilitatis in parte non ponere falsitatis, ne humilitas constituta in parte falsitatis perdat premium veritatis, saith S. Augustine. *Lib de Nat. & Gratia 36.* Wee desire not to settle the praise of humility vpon false grounds, lest being built vpon falshood, it loose the reward of Truth. If euill be in no case to be done that good may come thereof, no, nor the least euill for the greatest good; if a lye may not be made for the winning of a mans Soule, no, nor for the gaining of a world of Infidels to the faith, as *Diuines* truly teach, then may not the defence of any vntruth bee vnderaken, what faire pretence soeuer of piety, or charity, or humility it may put on. For as we are to speake *veritatem in charitate*, the truth in loue, so are we to follow *charitatem in veritate*, loue grounded vpon truth. It being one of the properties of true charity to reioyce in truth. Truth then and true piety, Truth and true charity, Truth and true humility, being inseparable companions, let none presume to put them asunder, whom God hath thus linked and ioyned together. Will yee talke deceitfully for Gods cause, saith Iob, will ye make a lye for him? if we may not vtter an vntruth for Gods cause and the advancement of his glory, much lesse for the best good of man, the glory of God being as much and more to bee preferred before the best spirituall good of man, as mans spirituall good before his temporall. *Absit a me vt veritatem per mendacium velim iri confirmatam,* saith Chrysostome, farre bee it from mee to attempt the strengthning of truth by falshood. The reason hereof is well yeilded by S. Augustine, *fraeta vel leuiter imminuta autoritate veritatis omnia dubia remanebunt*, the credite and soueraignty of Truth being neuer so little crackt, or the practise of lying neuer so little countenanced, a man can build vpon nothing, but all things will be full of doubt and distrust. And againe, *nunquam errari tutius existimo, quam cum in amore nimio veritatis, & reiectione nimia falsitatis erratur*, a man cannot lightly erre more safely then in too much loue of Truth and hatred of lies, whether they arise from error and mistake, or malice and forgerie, whether they consist in the disagreement and disconformitie betwixt the speech and the conceptions of the minde, or the conceptions of the minde and the things themselves, or the speech and the things.

SECT. 2.

The second is the vindicating of the Creators honour.

AS my first Reason for the writing and publishing this Discourse was for the redeeming of a captivated truth: so my second is for the vindicating of the Creators honor, the reputation of his wisdom, his iustice, his goodnes, and his power; being all of them in my judgment by the opinion of Natures decay not a little impeached and blemished. His wisdom, for that intending (as by the sacred Oracles of his word hee hath in sundry passages cleerely manifested it) to put an end to the World by fire, it cannot, I thinke be well conceiued why hee should ordaine or admit such a daylie vniverfall and irrecoverable consumption in all the parts of Nature which without fire, or any other outward meanes would vndoubtedly bring it to that finall period.

His

His *injustice*, for that withdrawing from latter ages that strength and ability of performing religious duties, and practising morall vertues, which to the former he granted, yet to demaund and expect no lesse from the latter then he did from the former, what is it but to *reape where he sowed not*, to require as much of him that had but *fine talents*, as of him that had *tenne*, or to deale as *Pharaoh* did with the *Israelites*, still to exact the same taske of bricke, and yet to withhold the wonted allowance of straw. Neither can we with that confidence reprehend the reigning vices of the times if we cast the reason thereof not so much vpon the voluntary malice and depravation of mens wils, as vpon the necessitie of the times praordained by God, which vpon the matter, what is it but to lay the burden vpon God, and to accuse him, that so we may free and excuse our selues?

His *Bounty* and *Goodnesse*, as if out of a niggardly and sparing disposition he envied the succeeding generations of the World that happines which vpon the preceding he freely and richly conferred; whereas I am rather of opinion, that as in *holy Scripture*, for the most part, he accepted and preferred the younger brother before the elder, and as *Christ our Saviour* turned the water into wine toward the end of the feast, which farre excelled that in the beginning: so the gifts and graces of God, haue beene more plentifully powred out vpon mankind in this latter age of the World, then euer since the first *Creation* thereof. As was foretold by the *Prophet* in the old Testament, and remembered by the *Apostle* in the New; And it shall come to passe in the last dayes (saith God) I will powre out of my Spirit vpon all flesh.

Lastly, the reputation of his *Power*, is thereby most of all stained and wounded, as if his *treasurie* could at any time be emptied and drawne dry, as if he had but one blessing in store, or were forced to say with old *Isaak* when he had blessed *Jacob* with corne and wine haue I blessed him, & what shall I doe now to thee my son? No no, his arme is not shortned neither is his mighty power any way abated; yet they who thus complaine of *natures decay*, what doe they else but implicitly impeach and accuse his *Power*, which in truth is nothing else but *Natura Naturans* (as the *Schooles* phrase it) *Active Nature*, and the creature the workmanship therof, *Natura Naturata*, *Nature Passiue*; That which the *Samaritans* ignorantly and blasphemously spake of *Symon Magus*, may properly and truly bee spoken of *Nature*, that it is the *Great power of God*, or the *power of the Great God*, as is diuinely observed by the witty *Scaliger* against *Cardan* in that exercitation which in its front beares this inscription, opposed to *Cardanes* assertion: *Non ex fatigatione mundum solutum iri*, that the world shall not desolue by being tired, *quasi natura* (saith hee) *sit asinus ad molas, non autem Dei Opt. Max. potestas, quae eodem nutu gubernat infinito quo creauit*, we may not conceiue that *Nature*, is as an ass wasted and wearied out, at the mill, but the power of the Mighty God which governes all things with the same infinite comānd, wherewith they were created. And with him accords *Valesius* discourfing of the Worlds end towards the end of his booke de *Sacra Philosophia*; *Quae à Deo ipso per se ac sine causa secunda compacta sunt, non possunt ab alia*

alia causa solui, sed solum ab eo ipso à quo sunt coagmentata: Those things which are made of God himselfe immediately by himselfe without the concurrence of second causes, cannot be vnmade by any inferiour cause, but by him alone by whome they were first made. And againe, *Certe ita est, virtutem divinam apponi necesse est, vt deleatur quod Deus ipse fecit*; there needes no lesse then a divine power for the abolishing of that which the Diety it selfe hath wrought, which he seemes to haue borrowed from Plato in *Timæo* where he thus speakes of the world *Ita apte coheret vt dissolvi nullo modo queat, nisi ab eodem à quo est colligatus*, so proportionably doth each part answer other, that it is indissoluble, but onely from his hand who first framed it. As then *Allmighty God* created all things of nothing by the power of his word. So doth he still vphold them and will till the dissolution of all things in their essences, faculties, and operations by the Word of his Power, reaching from one end to the other mightily, and disposing all things sweetely. Indeed with the workes of man it is not so, when he hath employed about them all the cunning, and cost, and care that may be, he can neither preferue them nor himselfe, both they and he moulder away and returne to their dust, but I know saith the Preacher that whatsoever God doth, it shall be for ever, nothing can be put to it, nor any thing taken from it. Add the sonne of Sirach. Hee garnished his workes for ever and in his hand are the cheife of them vnto all generations, they neither labour nor are weary, nor cease from their workes, none of them hindreth another, and they shall never disobey his word.

Heb. 1. 3.
Wisedom. 8. 1.

Ecclef. 3. 14.

16. cap. 27. 28.
yer.

SECTIO 3.

The third is for that the contrary opinion, quales the hopes, and blunts the edge of vertuous endeavours.

MY third reason for the penning and publishing of this discourse is that the contrary opinion therevnto seemes not a little to rebate and blunt the edge of mens vertuous endeavours. For being once thoroughly perswaded in themselves, that by a fatall kind of necessity and course of times, they are cast into those straites, that notwithstanding all their striving and industry, it is impossible they should rise to the pitch of their noble and renowned predecessours, they begin to yeeld to the times and to necessity, being resolved that their endeavours are all in vaine, and that they strue against the streame, nay the Master himselfe of Morallitie, the great Patriarch of Philosophers, hath told vs, that *circa impossibilia non est deliberandum*, it is no point of wisdom for a man to beat his braines, and spend his spirits about things meereley impossible to be atchiued, and which are altogether out of our reach. The way then to excite men to the imitation of the vertue, and the exploits of their famous Ancestours is not (as I conceiue) to beate downe their hopes of paralleling them, and so to clip the wings of their aspiring desires: but rather to teach them that there wants nothing therunto but their owne endeavour, and that if they fall short, the fault is not in the age, but in themselues. The spies that were sent by Moses to discover the land of Canaan, at their returne told the people, that the inhabitants

Numb. 13. 28.
33.

tants the of were much stronger then themselves, that they were *Gyants* the sonn-s of *Anak*, and themselves but as *Grashoppers* in comparison of them, by meanes of which report, the harts of the people melted within them, and they were utterly discouraged from marching forward, though the discoverers reported withall, that the land from whence they came flowed with milke and honey, and the pomegrannats, the figgs, the wonderfull clusters of grapes brought from thence, for a tast and evidence of the goodnesse of the soyle pleased them exceeding well. Thus when our Ancestors are painted forth as *Gyants*, not onely in stature and strength, but in wit and vertue, though the acts wee find recorded of them, please vs marvellous well, yet wee durst not venture, or so much as once thinke vpon the matching of them, because we are taught and made to belecue, that wee forsooth are but as pigmies, and dwarfes in regard of them; and that it were as possible to fit a childs shooe to *Hercules* foote, as for vs any way to come neere them, or to trace their steps, *Possunt, quia posse videntur*. They can because they seeme they can.

Certainly the force of imaginatiō is wōderfull, either to beget in vs an abilitie for the doing of that which we apprehēd we cā do, or a disability for the not doing of that which we cōceiue we cā not do: which was the reasō that the *Wizards* and *Oracles* of the *Gentiles* being cōsulted, they ever returned either an hopefull answer, or an ambiguous, such as by a favourable cōstructiō, might either include or at leastwise not vtterly exclude hope. *Agessilaus* (as I remēber) clapping his hāds vpon the *Altar*, & taking it off againe, by a cūning diuice shewed to his souldiers, *victory*, stāped vpon it, whereby they were so encouraged, and grew so cōfident, that beyong all expectation, they indeed effected that wherof by this sleight, they were formeily assured. *Prognostications* and *Prophecies* often helpe to further that which they foretell, and to make men such as they beare thē in hand they shall be, nay by an vnayoydable destinie must bee. *Francis Marquesse* of *Saluzze* yeeldes vs a memorable example in this kind, who being Lieutenant Generall to *Francis* the first *Guicciardin*. King of *France* over all his forces which hee then had beyond the mountaines in *Italy*, a man highly favoured in all the Court, and infinitely obliged to the King for his *Marquesite* which his brother had forfeited, suffered himselfe to be so farr afrighted and deluded, as it hath since been manifestly proued, by *Prognostications*, (which then throughout all *Europe* were giuen out to the advantage of the *Emperour Charles* the fifth and to the prejudice of the *French*,) that hauing no occasiō offered, yea his owne affections contradicting the same, hee first began in secret to complaine to his private friends of the inevitable mileries which he foresaw prepared by the *Fates* against the Crowne of *France*. And within a while after (this impression still working into him) he most vnkindly revolted from his Master, and became a turne-coate to the *Emperours* side, to the astonishment of all men, his owne greate disgrace, and the no lesse disaduantage to the *French* enterprize. on the other side I doubt not but that the prophecies of *Sananarola*, as much assisted *Charles* the eight *Idem*. to the conquest of *Naples*, which he performed so speedily and happily, as

as he seemed rather with chalke to marke out his lodgings, then with his sword to winne them.

To like purpose was that Custome among the Heathen of deriving the pedegree of valiant men from the Gods, as Varro the most learned of the Romanes hath well observed. *Ego huiusmodi à Dis repetitas origines utiles esse lubens agnosco, ut viri fortes etiamsi falsum sit, se ex Dis genitos credant; ut eo modo animus humanus veluti diuine stirpis fiduciam gerens, res magnas aggrediendas presumat audacius, agat vehementius; & ob hæc impleat ipsa securitate facilius.* I for my part (sayth he) judge those pedegrees drawne from the Gods not to be vnprofitable, that valiant men (though in truth it be not so) beleeuing themselues to be extracted from diuine races, might vpon the confidence thereof vndertake high attempts the more boldly, intend them the more earnestly and accomplish them the more securely and successiue. And of the *Druides* Caesar hath noted, that among other doctrines they taught the soules immortality by propagation, because they taught, *hoc maxime ad virtutem excitari homines metu mortis neglecto*, that by meanes of this apprehension men were notably spurred forward and whetted on to the aduenturing and enterprising of commendable actions, through the contempt of death: Which same thing *Lucan* hath likewise remarked.

---Vobis auctoribus umbra

*Non tacitas Erebi sedes, ditisq; profundi
Pallida regna petunt; regit idem spiritus artus
Orbe alio: longa, (conitis si cognita) vita
Mors media est; certe populi quos despicit Arctos,
falices errore suo, quos ille timorum
Maximus, haud vrget Lethi metus; inde ruendi
In ferrum mens prona viris, animaq; capaces
Mortis, et ignavum est reditura parcere vita.*

--Your doctrine is

Our ghost's goe not to those pale realmes of Stygian Dis,
And silent *Erebus*: the selfe same soules doth sway
Bodies else-where, and death (if certaine trueth you say)
Is but the mid't of life. Thrice happy in your error
Yee Northerne wights whom Death the greatest Prince of ter-
Nothing affrights. Hence are your Martiall hearts inclin'd (ror
To rush on point of sword, hence that vndanted mind
So capable of Death, hence seemes it base and vaine
To spare that life which will eft soones returne againe.

By all which wee see the admirable efficacy of the imagination, either for the elevating or depressing of the mind, for the making of it more abject and base, or more actiue and generous, and from thence infer that the doctrine of *Natures* necessary decay rather tends to make men worse then better, rather cowardly then couragious, rather to draw them downe to that they must be, then to lift them vp to that they should and may bee, rather to breed sloath then to quicken industry. I will giue one instance for all, and that home-bredde, the reason why we haue at this day, no Vineyards planted, nor wine growne in

England

England as heretofore, is commonly ascribed to the decay of Nature; either in regard of the heavens or Earth or both, and men possessed with this opinion sit downe and try not what may be done; whereas our great *Antiquary* imputes it to the *Lazines* of the Inhabitants rather than to any defect or distemper in the *Climat*, and withall professes that he is no way of the mind of those grudging sloathfull husbandmen, (whom *Colpimella* censures) who thinke that the earth is growne weary and barren with the excessiue plenty of former ages. I haue somewhere read of a people so brutish and barbarous that they must first be taught and perswaded that they were not beasts but men, and capable of reason before any serviceable or profitable vse could be made of them. And surely there is no hope, that ever wee shall attaine the height of the worthy acts and exploits of our Predecessours, except first we be resolved that Gods Grace and our own endeavours concurring there is a possibility wee should rise to the same degree of worth. *Si hanc cogitationem homines habuissent ut nemo se meliorem fore eo qui optimus fuisset arbitraretur, si ipsi qui sunt optimi non fuissent*, if men had alwayes thus conceived with themselves that no man could be better then he that then was best, those that now are esteemed best, had not so beene. They be the words of *Quintilian*, and therevpon hee inferres, as doth the *Apostle* 1. *Corinth. 12.* at the last verse, *Nisi mur semper ad optima, quod facientes, aut eodem in summum, aut certe multos infra nos videbimus*, Let vs cover earnestly the best gifts, and propose to our selues the matching at least, if not the passing of the most excellent patterns, by which meanes we shaltheither gaine the toppe, or see many beneath vs. *Non enim nos tarditatis natura damnavit, sed ultra nobis quam oportebat indulimus, ita non tam ingenio illi nos superarunt quam proposito*, saith the same *Author* in another place. Nature hath not made vs more vncapable the our Ancestours, but wee haue beene too indulgent to our selues, by which meanes it comes to passe that they surmount vs not so much in wit as in endeavour.

Camden in
Glocester-
shire.

Ord. 12. 10.

Libra. 6. 5.

S E C T. 4.

The fourth is that it makes men more carelesse as in matter of repentance, so likewise both in regard of their present fortunes, and in providing for posterity.

AS the opinion of the worlds universall decay quailles the hopes and blunts the edge of mens endeavours, so doth it likewise of our exhortations and threatnings, when men are perswaded that famines and pestilences, and vnseasonable weather, and the like, are not the scourges of God for sinne, but rather the diseases of wasted & decrepit Nature, not procured so much by the vices and wickednesse of men, as by the old age and weakenesse of the world. And this opinion being once thoroughly rooted and settled in them, they neither care much for repentance, nor call vpon God for grace, thereby either to prevent these heavy iudgements, hanging over their heads, or to remoue them having seized vpon them, but the Prophets of God (I am sure) tooke another course, they told not the people that these

plagues

plagues were the lymptomes and characters of the worlds declining and decreasing, but the markes and rods of Gods vengeance for their transgressions and rebellions, and that the onely way both to prevent and remoue them, was to remoue their haynous and grievous sinnes out of Gods sight, the onely meanes to turne them from themselves, was for themselves to returne and be reconciled to their God. besides the same opinion serues to make men more carelesse both in regard of their present fortunes, and in providing for posterity. For when they consider how many thousand yeares nature hath now beene as it were in a fever *Hectique*, daily consuming and wasting away by degrees; they inferre that in reason thee cannot hold out long, and therefore it were to as little purpose to plant trees, or to erect lasting buildings, either for *Civill*, *Charitable*, or *Pious* vses, as to provide new apparell for a sicke man, that lies at deaths dore, and hath already one foote in the graue: *I beseech you brethren saith the Apostle by the comming of the Lord Iesus, and by our gathering together vnto him, that yee be not soone shaken in mind or be troubled, neither by spirit nor by word nor by letters as from vs, as though the day of Christ were at hand. Let no man deceiue you by any meanes.* What a solemne preface doth he make vnto it? and with how serious a conclusion doth he seale it vp? Now among other reasons yeilded by *Diuines* for this his earnestnes heerein, one speciall one is, that men might not lavish out, and scatter their estates, vpon a vaine supposition of the approach of that day. As *Phillip Camerarius* a learned man, & counsellour to the state of *Norinberg*, reports vpon his owne knowledge, that a *Parish Priest* in those parts skilfull in *Arithmetique* presumed so farre vpon his Calculations and the numerall letters of that prediction in the Gospell, *Videbunt in quem pupugerunt*, they shall looke vpon him whom they pierced, that hee confidently assured his parishoners, not onely of the yeare, but the very day and houre of the worlds end, and our Saviours comming to judgement. Wherevpon such as gaue credit to him carelessly wasted their meanes, perswading themselves that they should now haue no further vse of them. At the day & houre prefixed they all met in a Chappell to heare their *Prophet* preaching and praying, during which time there arose a great tempest with fearefull thunder and lightning, in so much as all present looked out euery minute, for the fulfilling of the prophecie: but a while after the storme cleering vp, and the day appearing faire, the silly people finding themselves to be thus abused, for very indignation they rush vpon their false prophet, and would haue slaine him or vsed him shamefully as he deserved, had he not slipped out of their fingers, and the fury of the enraged multitude beene appeased by some of the wiser sort. The like is reported by *Espencans* out of *Bullinger* of the *Hutites* a branch of the sect of *Anabaptists*, in his Commentaries on the third chapter of the second epistle to *Timothie*: so dangerous a thing it is to pre-determine the last day, or to set a period to the course of nature. It is most certaine that wee are by many hundreths of yeares neerer the worlds end, then was the *Apostle* when he wrote that exhortation to the *Thessal*: and yet when that end shall bee, is still as vncertaine to

2. The. 2. 1.

Medit. Hist. cap.
41.

1562.

vs, as it was to them. Vpon which point St. *Augustine* I remember hath an excellent meditation, comparing the severall ages of the world to the ages of man; not so much as I conceiue in regard of growth or declination, as in regard of progression, making the *infancie* thereof from *Adam* to *Noah*, the *Childhood* from *Noah* to *Abraham*, the *Youth* from *Abraham* to *Dauid*, the *mans estate* from *Dauid* to *Christ*, the *old age* from *Christ* to the end of it. And as the duration in all the other ages of man is certaine, but the lasting of *old age* vncertaine: so is it in the World. And as *Chrysostome* well noteth, we call not the end of the yeare the last houre, or day or weeke thereof, but the last moneth or quarter: so we call this last age of the World the End thereof. But how long this age shall last, it is still doubtfull, it being one of those secrets which the Almighty hath lockt vp in the cabinet of his owne counsell, a secret which is, neither possible neither profitable for vs to know, as being not by God revealed vnto vs in his Word, much lesse then in the booke of Nature.

It is agreed vpon on all sides by Diuines that at least two signes fore-running the Worlds end, remaine vnaccomplisht; the *Subversion of Rome*, and the *Conversion of the Iewes*. And when they shall be accomplished God onely knowes, as yet in mans judgment there being little appearance of the one or the other. *It is not for vt to know the times and seasons which the Father hath put in his owne power: In his owne power they are,* they depend not vpon the law of Nature, or chaine of second Causes, but vpon his will and pleasure, who as he made the World by his word, so by his becke can and will vnmake it againe. *Sola religione mihi persuaderetur mundum capisse, atque finem incendio habiturum,* saith *Scaliger*: it is onely faith and religion that assures man that as the World had a beginning, so it shall haue an end; And *Divine Barras*, A&I. 7.

*L'immuable decret de la bouche diuine,
Qui Causera sa fin, Causa son origine.* Exercit. 63.

Th'immutable diuine decree, which shall
Cause the Worlds end, caus'd his originall. Sept. 30. 1.

Let not then the vaine shadowes of the Worlds *fatall decay* keepe vse i-ther from looking backward to the imitation of our noble *Predecessors*, or forward inproviding for *posterity*, but as our *predecessors* worthily provided for vs, so let our *posterity* blesse vs in providing for them, it being still as vncertaine to vs what generations are yet to ensue, as it was to our predecessors in their ages. I will shut vp this reason with a witty *Epigram* made vpon one who in his writings vndertooke to foretell the very yeare of the Worlds consummation. Owen vpon Napier.

*Nonaginta duos durabit mundus in annos,
Mundus ad arbitrium sistat obitque tuum.
Cur mundi finem propiorem non facis, ut ne
Ante obitum mendax arguerere? sapis.*

Ninety two yeares the World as yet shall stand,
If it doe stand or fall at your command.

But say, why plac'd you not the Worlds end nigher?
Lest ere you died you might be prou'd a lyer.

S E C T. 5.

The fifth and last reason is the weake grounds which the contrary opinion is founded upon.

THE fifth and last reason which moued me to the vndertaking of this Treatise was the weake grounds which the contrary opinion of the Worlds decay is founded upon. I am perswaded that the fictions of Poets was it which first gaue life vnto it. Homer hath touched vpon this string, with whom Virgill accords; and they are both seconded by Lucretius and Horace: But aboue all, that pretty invention of the foure Ages of the World, compared to foure mettals, Gold, Siluer, Brasse, and Iron, hath wrought such an impression in mens mindes, that it can hardly bee rooted out. For ancient Philosophers and Diuines, I finde not any, that are so much as alleadged in defence of it, but Pliny and Cyprian, to whom some haue added Gellius and Augustine: but how truly it shall appeare Godwilling when we come to speake of their testimonies in their proper places. And for Scripture prooffe, it is both very sparing and wrested.

That which aboue all (as I conceaue) hath made way for this opinion is the morosity and crooked disposition of old men, alwayes complaining of the hardnesse of the present times, together with an excesssiue admiration of Antiquity, which is in a manner naturall and inbred in vs, *vetera extollimus, regentium incuriosi*, The ancient we extoll being carelesse of our owne times. For the former of these, old men for the most part being much changed from that they were in their youth in complexion and temperature, they are fill'd with sad melancholy thoughts, which makes them thinke the World is changed, whereas in truth the change is in themselues. It fares with them in this case as with those whose taste is distempered, or are troubled with the Jaundise, or whose eyes are bloodshot, the one imagining all things bitter or sowre which they taste, and the other red or yellow which they see.

--- Terraque Urbesque recedunt.

Themselues being launched out into the deepe, the trees and houses seeme to goe backward, whereas in truth the motion is in themselues, the houses and trees still standing where they were. Seneca tels vs a pleasant tale of Harpasse his wiues foole, who being become suddenly blind, shee deemed the roome in which she was to be darke; but could by no meanes be perswaded of her owne blindness. Such for the most part is the case of old men, themselues being altered both in disposition of body, and condition of minde, they make wonderfull narrations of the change of times since they remember: which because they cannot bee controlled, passe for currant.

The other pioniere, as I may so call it, which by secret vndermining makes way for this opinion of the Worlds decay, is an excesssiue admiration of Antiquity, together with a base and envious conceit of what-focuer the present age affords, or possibly can afford in comparison thereof. *Vetulam praeferunt immortalitati*, they preferre the wrinkles of

Anti-

Tacitus Ann.
lib. 2. verbiis ul-
timis.

Virg. Aen. 3.

Epist. 50.

Cicero of Vlysses.

Antiquity before the rarest beauty of the present times, the common voice euery where is, and euer hath beene, and will be to the Worlds end

*Felix nimium prior atas
Contenta fidelibus arvis --
-Vtinam quoque nostra redirent
In mores tempora priscos.*

Boetius lib. 2.
metro 5.

Thrice, happy former ages and blessed
With faithfull fields content and pleased.--
Would our times also had the grace
Againe old manners to embrace.

yet if we will speake properly and punctually, Antiquity rather consists in the old age, then infancie, or youth of the World. But take it as commonly vnderstood, I thinke it will not be denied by any that vnderstand the course of times, but that in latter ages many abuses haue beene reformed, many Arts perfected, many profitable Inventions discovered, many noble and notable acts atchieued,

*Multa dies varisque labor mutabilis ævi
Rettulit in melius.*

Time and much toile of this vnsteddie World
Hath bettered many things.

As truly *Virgil*, and elegantly *Claudian*,

--- *Rerumque remotas*

Ingeniosa vias paulatim explorat egestas.

De raptu Pro-
serp. lib. 3.

Wittie necessity by degrees traceth out

Of things the prints and windings most remote.

But let vs heare what the wisest man that euer liued of a meere man hath determined in this point. Say not thou what is the cause that the former dayes were better then these: for thou dost not enquire wisely concerning this. Vpon which words saith *Isidorus Clarus*, *Quia manifestum est habuisse priora tempora, sicut & hac nostra habent incommoda sua*, because it is evident that former times had their mischiefes and miseries waiting vpon them as well as ours. Yet because for the most part, the best of former times is recorded, and the worst concealed from vs, as the Sieue lets goe the finest flower, but retaines the bran; or because wee are generally more sensible of the crosses, then the blessings of our owne times; or lastly because the sight and presence of things diminisheth that reputation which we conceiued of them. Such is the disease and malignity of our nature, *Vitium malignitatis humane*, as *Tacitus* calls it, *ut vetera semper in laude, presentia sint in fastidio.*

Eccles. 7. 10.

Minus presen-
tia famam.
Lib. de Orato-
ribus.

--- *Et nisi quæ terris semota suisque*

Temporibus defuncta videt, fastidit & odit.

Sed redit ad fastos & viriutem imputat annis,

Attrahiturque nihil nisi quod Libitina sacravit.

Horace lib. 2.
ep. 1.

Sauē what remoued is by place, nor lacks

Antiquity to warrant it, he lothes and hates:

Vertue he counts by yeares and Almanacks,

Wonders at nought but what death consecrates.

But

But as the same Poet wittily speakes comparing the *Gracians* with the *Romans*, the same may wee demaund comparing our selues and latter ages generally with the *ancients*.

Quod si tam antiquis novitas inuisa fuisset

Quam nobis, quid nunc esset vetus, aut quid haberet

Quod legeret tereretq; viritum publicus usus?

If ancients had envied as much as wee

Things that are new, what now would ancient be,

Or could be read and vsed publicklye?

Essays, l. 2. c. 10

It was the cunning of *Michael Montaigne* as himselfe witnesseth to vse a similitude of *Plutarches* or a sentence of *Senecaes* as his owne that so it might appeare how men censured that in him, which in those ancient Authours they highly applauded: but very witty was the deuice of *Michael Angelo* a most famous moderne painter, who drawing a table after the *Antique* manner hid it in a corner of a friends house where he thought it would soone be discovered, and withall set his owne name in a corner of it, but in letters scarce discernable. The table being found he was quickly sent for, shewed him it was by the master of the house and commended for an exquisite peece farre beyond any of the present age; but when the Authour of it chalenged it to be his owne, and for prooffe thereof shewed him his name in it, hee craued pardon of him and acknowledged his errour. Such is the advantage which antiquity hath against the present times, that if wee meete with any thing which excells, wee thinke it must bee ancient, or if with any thing that is ancient, it cannot but excell: Nay therefore we thinke it excells because wee thinke it ancient though it be not so.

Phaedrus l. 9. Fabul. in prologo.

Vt quidam artifices nostro faciunt seculo,

Qui pretium operibus maius inveniunt, novo

Si marmori adscripserunt Praxitelem, suo

Detrito, Myronem argento.

As some artificers in these our dayes

Who sell their workes at a farre dearer rate,

If on new marble they *Praxiteles*,

Or *Myron* write, vpon their battered plate.

De Causis corrupt. Art. lib. 7.

I haue seene, sayth *Ludouicus Vives*, the verses of a man then living, which because they were found in a very ancient Librarie, covered with dust and eaten with mothes, he that tooke them vp, in a manner adored them bare-headed, as being *Virgills*, or some one of that age. And another with disdain cast away an epistle of *Tullies*, before which there was of purpose prefixed a french name: *Addito etiam conuitio barbariei Transalpinae*: adding this scoffe withall that it favoured of transalpine barbarisme. Which perverse and partiall iudgement I conceiue not to spring so much from a due respect to the ancient Authours, as an envious disesteeming of the present. To the best and wisest while they liue, the world is continually a froward opposite, a curious observer of their defects, and imperfections, their vertues it afterward as much admireth.

Hooker 57

Hor. l. 3. od. 24.

Virtutem incolumem odimus,

sublatam

Sublatam ex oculis quarimus inuidi.

Vertue growning in our sight w' envy
Remov'd from hence wee straight wayes deifie.

When *Hercules* had vanquished so many fierce monsters

Comperis inuidiam supremo sine domandam.

He grapled last with envy as the worst.

Esse quid hoc dicam vivis quod fama negatur

Et sua quod rarus tempora lector amat.

Hi sunt invidia nimirum (Regule) mores

Præferat antiquos semper ut illa novis.

Whence is't that Poets liuing are misprized,
And few doe like the workes of their owne times?

Through Envie (*Regulus*) are they despised,

Which still to new preferres the elder rimes.

Men read the Authors of their owne times either as *inferiours* or
punies to themselues with a kind of scorne to learne of them.

— Quia turpe putant parere minoribus, & quæ

Imberbes didicere, senes perdenda fateri.

To younger then themselues to yeeld great shame they hold,

And what they learn'd in youth t'vnlarne when they are old.

Or as their *Equalls*, in whose persons or manners because happily
they espy some imperfections, they judge accordingly of their workes.

For as dead flies cause the oyntment of the Apothecary to send forth a stin- *Eccles. 10. 1.*

king savour : so doth a little folly him that is in reputation for wisdom.

Which was in a manner the Apostles case, his letters (say they) are
weighty and powerfull: but his bodily presence is weake, and his speech contemp- *2. Cor. 10. 10.*

tible. And no doubt but to those who thus conceived of him, his ve-
ry letters were not so powerfull and weighty, as otherwise they would
haue beene; And as now they are to vs, who know not what his per-
son or speech was. Or if no exception bee to be taken to them, yet we
hold it a kind of disreputation or disparagement vnto vs, by yeelding
them their due (though worthily and justly merited,) to præferre them
before ourselues, which is the onely reason, that the same men, being
while they liue mightily maligned and impugned, they are after their
death, and that many times by the same corrivals, as highly honoured
and commended.

Vrit enim fulgore suo, qui prægravat artes

Infra se positas, extinctus amabitur idem.

Horat. l. 2. ep. 1.

Who others doth in acts and skill surmount,

With brighter beames inferiour spirits doth vex,

But being dead is held of great account.

Which *Martial* verifies in the practice of *Vacerra*.

Miraris veteres Vacerra solos,

Nec laudas nisi mortuos Poetas,

Ignoscas petimus Vacerra, tanti

Non est ut placeam Tibi perire,

Old Poets only thou doest praise,

And none but dead ones magnifie:

Lib. 3. epig. 69.

Pardon *Vacerra*, thee to please
I am not yet in mind to die.

Hee is a happy man saith the great *Scaliger*, (and that not so much out of his reading as his owne sense and feeling,) who while hee liues is made partaker of those deserved prayles.

In fine Cyclo-
Elementorum.

Quas vita non dat, funus ac cinis dabunt.

What life graunts not, death and the graue will giue.

Quintie Orat.
12.10.

Even *Tully* himselfe, the patterne of eloquence to all succeeding ages, and one of the most absolute, and eminent in his profession, that euer the world yeelded, was notwithstanding sharply censured, and taunted at, by his coeualls, *ut tumidiorem et Asianum et redundantem, et in repetitionibus nimium, et in salibus aliquando frigidum, et in compositione fractum, exultantem ac pene quod procul absit, viro molliorem*: as swelling after the Asiaticque manner, too redundant and frequent in repetitions, in jests somtime too cold, and in the composure of his matter broken and effeminate. And to like purpose *Velleius Paterculus* speaking of a notable exploit of *Sextius Saturninus*, obserues the same humorous disposition in those of his time, *Quod ego factum*, saith hee, *cuiuslibet veterum Consulium gloria comparandum reor, nisi quod naturaliter audita visis laudamus libentius, & presentia invidia, preterita veneratione persequimur, et his nos obrui, illis instrui credimus*, which noble exploit of his I could justly compare with the most famous and glorious acts of the ancient Consuls; but that out of a naturall inclination wee more willingly commend things wee receiue by heare-say then by sight, prosecuting things present with envie, but being past with veneration; as being perswaded that wee are affronted by the one, but instructed by the other.

Lib. 2. c. 92.

Lib. 6. Ep. 21.

For my selfe I professe with *Pliny* the younger, *Sum ex ijs qui minor antiquos, non tamen ut quidam, temporum nostrorum ingenia despicio, neq; enim quasi lassa aut effeta natura, ut nihil iam laudabile pariat*: I am one of the number of those who admire the ancients, yet not as some, doe I despise the wits of our times, as if *Nature* were tired and barren and brought forth nothing now that were praise-worthy. To which passage of *Pliny* *Vines* seemes to allude, *male de natura censet quicumq; uno illam aut altero partu effetam arbitratur*, hee that so thinkes or sayes, is doubtles injurious and ingratefull both to God and nature, And *qui non est gratus datis, non est dignus dandis*, hee that doth not acknowledge the peculiar and singular blessings of God bestowed vpon this present age in some things beyond the former, is so farre from meriting the increase of more, as hee deserues not to enjoy these. And commonly it falls out that there the course and descent of the graces of God ceases, and the spring is dried vp, where there is not a corespondent recourse and tide of our thankfullnes. Let then men suspend their rash judgments. *nec perseverent suspicere preteritos, despiciere presentes*, onely to admire the ancients and despise those of the present times. Let them rather imitate *Lampridius* the Oratour, of whom witnesseth the same *Sydonius* that he read good Authours of all kindes, *cum reverentia antiquos, sine invidia recentes*, the old with reverence, the new without envy. I will conclude this point and this chapter with that of *Solomon*, Hee

Sydonius, l. 3. ep.
8.

Lib. 3. ep. 11.

Eccles. 3. 11.

hath

hath made every thing beautifull in his time: answerable wherevnto is that of the sonne of Syrach (which may well serue as a Commentary vpon those workes of Solomon) *All the workes of the Lord are good, and hee will giue every needfull thing in due season: so that a man cannot say, this is worse then that, therefore prayse yee the Lord with the whole heart and mouth, and blesse the name of the Lord.* Ecclesiasticus, 39:33-34-35.

C A P. 3.

The Controversy touching the worlds decay stated, and the methode held thorow this ensuing Treatise proposed.

S E C T. I.

Touching the pretended decay of the mixt bodies.

LEast I should seeme on the one side, to fight with shaddowes, and men of straw made by my selfe, or on the other to maintaine paradoxes, which daily experience refutes, it shall not bee a misse in this Chapter, to vnbowell the state of the question, touching the *Worlds decay*, and therewithall to vnfold and lay open the severall knots, and joynts thereof, that so it may appeare wherein the aduerse party agrees, and wherein the poynt controverted consists, where they joyne issue, and where the difference rests. It is then agreed on all hands, that all subcœlestiall bodies, *individualls*, I meane, vnder the circle of the moone, are subiect not onely to *alteration*, but to *diminution* and decay, some I confesse last long, as the Eagle and Rauē among *birds*, the Elephant and Stagge among *beasts*, the Oake among *Vegetables*, stones and mettalls among those treasures which Nature hath laid vp in the *bosome of the earth*: yet they all haue a time of *groweth* and increafe, of *ripenesse* and perfection, and then of *declination* and decreafe, which brings them at last to a finall and totall *dissolution*. *Beasts* are subject to diseases, or at least to the spending of those naturall spirits wherewith their life and being as the Lampe with oile is mainetained. *Vegetables* to rottennesse, *stones* to mouldering, and *mettalls* to rust and canker, though I doubt not but some haue layen in the bowells of the earth vntainted since the *worlds Creation*, and may continue in the same case till the *Consummation* thereof: Which neede not seeme strange, since some of the *Aegyptian Pyramides* (stones drawne from their naturall beds and fortresses and exposed to the invasion of the aire and violence of the weather) haue stood already well nigh *three thousand* yeares, and might for ought wee know stand yet as long againe And I make no question but *glasse* and *gold* and *christall* and *pearle* and *pretious stones* might so be vied that they should last many thousand yeares if the world should last so long. For that which *Poets* faine of *time* that it eates out and deuoures all things, is in truth but a *poeticall fiction*, since *time* is a branch of *Quantity*, it being the measure of motion, and *Quantity* in it selfe is no way *actiue*, but meerely *passiue*,

as being an accident flowing from the matter. It is then either some inward conflict, or outward assault which is wrought in time that eates them out. Time it selfe without these is toothlesse, and can neuer doe it. Nay euen among *Vegetables* it is reported by *M. Camden* that whole trees lying vnder the Earth haue beene and daylie are digged vp in *Cheshire, Lancashire, & Cumberland*, which are thought to haue layen there since *Noahs* flood, And *Verstigan* reports the like of *firre* trees digged vp in the *Netherlands*, which are not knowne to grow any where in that Countrey, neither is the soyle apt by nature to produce them, they growing in cold hillie places, or vpon high mountaines, so that it is most likely, they might from those places during the deluge by the rage of the waters be driuen thither. Yet all these consisting of the Elements, as they doe, I make no doubt, but without any outward violence in the course of nature by the very inward conflict of their principles whereof they are bred, would by degrees, though perchance for a long time insensibly, yet at last feele corruption. For a Body so equally tempered, or euenly ballanced by the Elements, that there should be no *predominancie*, no struggling or wrastring in it, may be imagined, but surely I thinke was neuer really subsisting in Nature, nor well can be.

S E C T. 2.

Touching the pretended decay of the Elements in regard of their quantity and dimensions.

I Come then in the next place from the *mixt Bodies* to the *Elements* themselves whereof they are mixed. Of these it is certaine that they decay in their parts, but so as by a *reciprocall compensation* they both loose and gaine, sometime loosing what they had gotten, and then again getting what they had formerly lost, *Egregia quadam est in elementis quaternarum virium compensatio, aequalibus iustisque regulis ac terminis vices suas dispensantium*, saith *Philo* in his book *de Mundi incorruptibilitate*, there is in the Elements a singular retribution of that foure-fold force that is in them, dispensing it selfe by euen bounds and iust rules. The Element of the *fire*, I make no doubt, but by condensation it sometimes looses to the *aire*, & the *aire* againe by rarefaction to it. Again the *aire* by condensation looses to the *water*, & the *water* by rarefaction to it. The *earth* by secret conveyances sucks in & steales away the *waters* of the *Sea*, but returns them againe with full mouth. And these two in croach likewise & make in rodes interchangeably each vpo other. The ordinary depth of the sea is comonly answerable to the ordinary hight of the main land aboue the water: and the whirlepooles & extraordinary depths answerable to the hight of mountaines aboue the ordinary hight of the Earth. The *Promontories* and necklands which butt into the *Sea*, what are they but *solide creekes*, and the *creekes* which thrust forth their armes into the Land, but *fleeing promontories*. The *Ilands* what are they but *solide lakes*, and the *lakes* againe but *fleeing Ilands*. Nay, *Ilands* sometimes are swallowed vp by the *Sea*, sometimes new rise out of the *Sea*. Sometimes parts of the *Continent* are recouered out of the *Sea*, as was a place in *Egypt* called

called *Delta*, *Ammania regio*, and others, nay the greatest part of the *Netherlands* was so recouered, as appears by their finding innumerable shels of sea-fish almost in euery place where they dig, and other parts againe irrecoverably lost by the inundation thereof as it fell out in the same Countreies about foure hundred yeares since in the raigne of our King *Henry* the first, the steeples and towres which yet appeare about the water shewing to Passengers the revenge of that vnmercifull Element vpon a part for the losse of the whole land. *Helice* likewise and *Bura* cities of *Greece* were drowned (as it seemes) in *Ogyges* flood, of which the Poet

*Si queras Helicen & Buram Achaidos Vrbes
Inuenies sub aquis.*

Ouid. Met. 15.

Bura and *Helice* on *Achayan* ground,
Are fought in vaine, but vnder water found.

And *Seneca* in the sixth booke of his *Naturall questions* thus speakes of these two Cities, *Helicen, Burimque totas mare accepit, supra oppida duo navigatur, duo autem quæ novimus, quæ in nostram notitiam memoria literis servata perduxit, quam multa alia alijs locis mersa sunt?* *Helice* and *Buris* the Sea hath wholly swallowed vp, so that now wee faile ouer two Townes, two I say which are come to our knowledge by the memory of ancient records, but how many other tow we may bee swallowed vp in diuers other places, which we neuer heard of? *Inter insulas nullam Delos*, saith *Tertullian* in his booke de *Pallio*, among the Ilands there is now no such thing to be found as *Delos*: and againe *Acon* in *Atlantico Lybiam aut Asiam adequans queritur nunc*. *Acon* in the *Atlanticke* Sea equalling *Africke* or *Asia* is now found wanting. The story of *K. Arthur*, and the Knights of the round table is but an idle Booke, yet it was not (it seemes) without cause that he calls the *Cornish Tristram*, *Sir Tristram de Lionesse*, inasmuch as Master *Carew* of *Antony* in his *Survey of Surry*, lib. 1. *Cornewall* witnesseth, that the Sea hath ravened from that shire that whole Countrey of *Lionesse*, and that such a Countrey of *Lionesse* there was, he very sufficiently proueth by many strong reasons. Sometimes dry Townes become Hauens, and sometimes againe Hauen-townes haue become dry, as *Hubert Thomas* a man of very good parts, chiefe Secretary to *Frederick* the third Count Palatine of *Rhene*, and Prince Elector, in his description of the Countrey of *Liege* affirmeth that the Sea hath in time come vp to the wals of *Tongres* now well nigh an hundreth English miles from the Sea; which among other reasons he proues by the great iron rings there yet to be seene, vnto which the ships that there sometimes arriued were fastned. Also *Forum Iulium*, a Towne seated in *litto-re Narbonensi*, the present estate whereof is described very well (as all other things) by that excellent Chancellour of *France*, *Michael Hospi-*

Epist. lib. 3.

*Apparet moles antiqui diruta portus,
Atque ubi portus erat siccum nunc litus & horti*

The ruines of an ancient haven appeares to be,
But where the haven was, now gardens may you see.

In like manner the river *Arno* now falleth into the sea fixe miles from

Survey of
Tuscany.

Pisa, whereby it appeareth that the Land hath there gotten much vpon the Sea in this coast, for that *Strabo* in his time reporteth it was but 20 furlongs (which is two miles and an halfe) distant from the Sea. Lastly, sometimes *Ilands* haue beene annexed to the Continent, as *Samos* which (as witnesseth *Tertullian*) is become sand, and *Pharos* which in *Homers* time was an *Iland*, but in *Plinies* annexed to the Continent by the slime of *Nilus*, and sometimes againe peeces haue beene cut off from the Continent, and made *Ilands*, as *Sicily* which was separated from the maine of *Italy*.

Virg. Æn. lib. 3.

*Hæc loca vi quondam & vasta convulsa ruina,
(Tantum ævi longinqua valet mutare vetustas)
Disiuisse ferunt, cum protinus utraque tellus
Vna foret, venit medio vi pontus & undis
Hesperium Siculo latus abscidit, arvaque & urbes
Littore diductas, angusto interluit æstu.*

These places by huge force with ruine violent,
(So great a change in things long tract of time can make)
Sundred they say, which erst were both one Continent
Till in betweene the Sea with force impetuous brake,
And with his mighty waues th' Hesperian did divide
From the Sicilian shore, and now twixt townes and fields
Thus rent asunder ebbes and flowes a narrow tide.

*Nat. quest. lib. 6
c. 29.
Camden.
Twine.
Verstigan.*

Sic & Hispanias à contextu Africa mare eripuit, saith *Seneca*. Thus did the Sea snatch away *Spaine* from the Continent of *Africa*. And this *Iland*, as many imagine, was likewise broken off from the Continent of *France*, grounding themselves partly vpon their priuate reasons, and partly vpon the authorities of *Antonius Volsus*, *Dominicus Marius Niger*, and *Servius Honoratus*, who seekes to proue it from that of *Virgil*

Eciog. 1.

Et penitus toto divisos orbe Britannos.

And Brittaines wholly from the World divided.
And of *Claudian* in imitation of *Virgil*,

----*Nostro diducta Britannia mundo.*

Britaine from our World seuer'd.

Of both these as well *Ilands* annexed to the Continent, as peeces of the Continent broken off from it by force of the Sea and made *Ilands*, *Pliny* hath written at large in the second Booke of his *Naturall History*, cap. 85. 86. 87. And *Ovid* in the 15 of *Met.* toucheth them both.

*Fluctibus ambitæ fuerant Antissa, Pharosque,
Et Phænissa Tyros, quarum nunc Insula nulla est.*

Antissa, *Pharos* and *Phænissian Tyre*,

Now are not, but with Seas surrounded were.

And on the other side,

*Leucada continuam veteres habuere coloni
Nunc freta circumeunt, Zancle quoque iuncta fuisse
Dicitur Italia: donec confinia pontus*

Abstulit, & media tellurem repulit unda

Th' old inhabitants of *Leucadian Iles*

Conjoynd to the Continent them found.

And

And Zancle joyned was to Italy,

Which now cut off by Sea the waues furround.

By reason of which mutuall traffique and interchange, the Elements may truly be said to remaine alwayes the same in regard of their intire bodies, as *Thesens* his ship so renowned antiquity was held by the schollers of *Athens* to be the same, though it were renewed in euery part thereof, and not a planke or pin remained of the first building. Or as a riuer may properly be said to be the same, though it vary from it selfe by the accesse of fresh supplies euery moment.

Rusticus expectat dum defluat amnis, at iste

Labitur & labetur in omne volubilis ævum.

*Horat. lib. 1.
ep. 2.*

The Clowne waites till the foord be slidden ali away,
But still it slides, and will for euer and a day.

SECT. 3.

*Touching the pretended decay of the Elements in
regard of their qualities.*

THere is no feare then of the naturall decay of the *Elements* in regard of their quantity and dimensions; all the controversie is in regard of their quality, whether the *aire* and *water* be so pure and wholesome, and the *earth* so fertile and fruitfull as it was some hundreths or thousands of yeares since. Touching the former, I thinke I shall make it appeare that the World in former ages hath beene plagued with more droughts, excessiue raines, windes, frosts, snowes, hailes, famines, earthquakes, pestilences, and other contagious diseases, then in latter times: all which should argue a greater distemper in the *Elements*, and for the fruitfulnessse of the *earth* I will not compare the present with that before the fall or before the floud: I know and beleue that the one drew on a curse vpon it, (though some great *Divines* hold that curse was rather in regard of mans ensuing labour in dressing it, then of the Earths ensuing barrennessse) and the other by washing away the surface and fatnesse thereof, and by incorporating the salt waters into it, much abated the natiue and originall fertility thereof, and consequently the vigour and vertue of plants as well in regard of nourishment as medicine. Upon which occasion it seemes after the Floud man had leaue giuen him to feede vpon the flesh of beasts and fowles and fishes, which before the floud was not lawfull. Neither can it be denied that Gods extraordinary fauour or curse vpon a land (beside the course of Nature) makes it either fruitfull or barren, *A fruitfull land maketh her barren*, saith the Psalmist, *for the wickednesse of them that dwell therein*; And on the other side, *he turneth the wilderness into a standing water, and dry ground into water springs*. And for grounds which are continually rent & wounded with the plowshare, worne and wasted with tillage, it is not to be wondered if they answer not the fertility of former ages: But for such as haue time and rest giuen to recover their strength, and renew their decayed forces, or such as yet retaine their virginity without any force offered vnto them, I doubt not but experience and tryall will make it good that they haue lost nothing

*Gen 3. 17. 18.
Pereius in locum.*

Gen. 9. 3.

Psalm 107 34.

35.

thing of their primitiue goodnesse, at leastwise since the floud, and consequently, that there is in the earth it selfe by long-lasting no such perpetuall and vniuersall decay in regard of the fruitfullnesse thereof, as is commonly imagined.

And if not in the earth it selfe, then surely not in the *trees* and *herbs*, and *planis* and *flowers* which suck their nourishment from thence as so many infants from their mothers breast: Let any one kind of them that ever was in any part of the world since the Creation be named that is vtterly lost; no, God and Nature haue so well provided against this that one seede sometimes multiplies in one yeare many thousands of the same kind. Let it be proued by comparing their present qualities with those which are recorded in ancient writers, that in the revolution of so many ages, they haue lost any thing of their wonted colour, their smell, their taste, their vertue, their proportion, their duration. And if there be no such decay as is supposed to be found in the severall kinds of *vegetables*, what reason haue wee to beleue it in *beasts*, specially those that make *vegetables* their food. If *Aristotle* were now aliue, should he need to compose some new treatise *De historia Animalium*? in those things where he wrote vpon certaine groundes and experimentall obseruations? haue the beasts of which he wrote any thing altered their dispositions? Are the wild become tame, or the strong feeble? no certainly. It was true in all ages both before and since which the Poet hath

Horat, Lib. 4.
Od. 4.

Fortes creantur fortibus, & bonis,

Est in iuuentis, est in equis patrum

Virtus, nec imbellem feroces

Progenerant aquila Columbam.

From nobles noble spirits proceed,

Steeres, Horses like their Sires do proue,

The Eagle feirce doth never breed

A timorous and fearefull Doue.

Hath the *Lyon* forgotten his Majestie, or the *Elephant* his sagacity, or the *Tyger* his fiercenesse, or the *Stagge* his swiftnesse, or the *Dogge* his fidelitie, or the *Foxe* his wiliness? were the *Oxen* then of the same Countrey stronger for labour, the *horses* better featured or more serviceable then now? doubtlesse these lessons as their *Mistresse* cannot but teach them, so these schollers cannot but learne them, neither is it in their power to forget them.

SECT. 4.

*Touching the pretended decay of mankind,
in regard of manners and the arts.*

With man it is otherwise: for he hauing a free will, (at leastwise in morall and naturall actions) by reason of that liberty varieth both from his kind and from himselfe, more then any other creature besides: And hence is it (other circumstances concurring) that in the same countrey men are sometimes generally addicted to vertue, sometimes to vice, sometimes to one vice, sometimes to another, sometimes

sometimes to civillity, sometimes to barbarisme, sometimes to studi-
ousnesse & learning, sometimes to ease and ignorance, sometimes they
are taller of stature, sometimes lower, & lastly, sometimes longer, some-
times shorter lived, & this I say ariseth partly from the *Libertie* of mans
will, & partly from *Gods providence* ouerruling & disposing all things ac-
cording to the secret counsell of his owne vnsearchable wisdome.

Signat tempora proprijs

Aptans officijs Deus,

Nec quas ipse coercuit

Miseri patitur vices.

*Boeth. de Con-
sol. Lib. 1. Met.
6.*

To proper offices

God hath each season bounded:

And will not that the courses

He sets them be confounded.

Hac omnia mutantur saith *S. Augustine*, *nec mutatur divina providentia ra-
tio, qua fit Vt ista mutantur*. All these things are changed, and yet the rea-
son of the Divine Providence, by which they are changed, changeth
not. To affirme then that humane affaires remaine allwaies in the same

estate, continually drawne out as by an even thread, without variati-
on, is *vntrue*: and on the other side to say that they allwayes degenerate
and grow worse and worse, is as *vnfound*. For surely had it beene so,
since the Creation or the fall of man, civill society, nay the world it-
self could not haue subsisted, but would long since haue beene

brought to vtter ruine and desolation. *Omne in prapiti vitium stetit,*
vice was at highest, and neere its downefall stood. And as *Bodin* hath

both rightly observed and learnedly expressed: *Quod si res humana in
deterius prolaberentur, jam pridem in extremo vitiorum ac improbitatis gradu*

*constitisset, quo quidem antea peruentum esse opinor. Sed cum flagitiosi ho-
mines nec ulterius progredi nec eodem loco stare diutius possent, sensim regredi*

*neceesse habuerunt, vel cogente pudore qui hominibus inest anatura, vel necessi-
tate, qd in tantis sceleribus societas nullo modo coli poterat, vel etiam qd verius*

est, impellente Dei bonitate. If men should allwaies grow worse & worse,
we had long since arrived to the vtmost point and highest pitch of vil-
lany, to which it may be men haue already attained, but when they

could neither make a farther progresse, nor longer abode in the same
state they must needs by degrees returne againe, either very shame cō-
straining thē, which is implated in man by nature, or meere necessitie in

as much as humane societie could not stand with such an high of wic-
kednesse, or else which I rather beleue, the Grace and Goodnesse of
God moving and leading them therevnto.

Vice sometimes aboundes in one nation, and sometimes in another,
and in the same nation the same vice doth not allwaies equally abound:

but it either riseth or falls, raignes or vanisheth according to the dispo-
sition of Rulers and execution of lawes: As is well and wisely noted

by a late *Historiographer* of our owne in the the very entrance of his
History of England, wee shall find (saith he) the same correspondencies to hold in

the actions of men, vertues and vices the same, though rising and falling ac-
cording to the worth or weakenesse of Governours; the causes of the ruines and

mutations

Plal. 106. 12.
V. 13. 14.

mutations of states to be alike, and the traine of affaires carried by president in a course of succession under the like colours; and that which he observes in the history of this nation is no doubt true in all. Wee neede go no farther then that of the Jewes for a notable instance in this kind: who at times, more zealous then they in the worship of God; and the exercises of religion? and who againe, at other times more rebellious? It is said of them in the psalme, *Then beleueed they his wordes*, but presently it followes in the very next verse, *They soone forgot his workes*: and according to their obedience or rebellion so were they either prosperous or vnfortunate in the course of their affaires: during their faith & fidelity towards God, every man of the was in warre as a thousand strong, and as much as a greate Senate for counsell in peaceable deliberations: contrariwise if they swerved, (as they often did) their wonted courage and magnanimity forsooke them vtterly, their souldiers and military men trebled at the sight of the naked sword, when they entred into mutuall conference & fate in councell for their owne good, that which children might haue seene, their grauest Senatours could not discern, their Prophets saw darkenesse in steed of *Visions*, and the wise and prudent were as men bewitcht.

De perfectione
Rerum Lib. 2.
Cap. 4.

1. de celo. &
1. Meteor.

Camden in Hi-
bernia.

Now that which is spoken touching the revolutions and returnes of vertues and vices, is likewise true in *Artes and sciences*. *Hinc factum est*, (saith *Contarenius*;) *vt quibusdam atatibus acerrima hominum ingenia vigere, alijs tanquā flaccescere videantur*. Hence it is that in some ages the wits of men seeme wonderfull sharpe; and againe in others flat and blunt. And it is a true observation which *Ramus* to this purpose hath, *commigrationes gentium varia commemorantur, commigrationes literarum & disciplinarum commemorari possent, non minores*. wee read of diuerse commigrations or remoualls of Nations, and surely no lesse of Arts and Sciences might be observed. Whervpon *Aristotle* who held the Arts Eternall, as hee did the world, yet tells vs there was allwayes a rising and a falling of them as of the starres: so as sometimes they flourished in one place and age, and sometimes in another: as the starres sometime shine in our Hemisphere, sometimes in the other. Where was there ever more learning and science then in Greece, and where is there now in the world more barbarisme? what most excellently learned men, pillars and lightes of the Church of Christ hath Africa brought forth as *Tertullian*, *Minutius*, *Optatus*, *Lactantius*, *Arnobius*, his Master *Fulgentius*, *St. Cyprian*, and *St. Augustine*? and with what learned men is Africa in our time acquainted? Contrariwise in the flourishing daies of the Romans how vtterly without all knowledg of letters were the Germans and Netherlanders, & how do they now a daies flourish in all kind of learning & cunning? While the Arts through the Christian world lay in a manner buried in negligence and obscuritie, then did their lustre shine forth most clearly in Ireland, thither did our English Saxons repaire as to a Faire or Market of good letters: Whence of the holy men of those times wee often read in our Ancient writers. *Amandatus est ad disciplinam in Hiberniam*. He was sent into Ireland to study there. And in the life of *Sulgen*, who liued about six hundred yeare agoe.

Exemplo

Exemplo Patrum commotus amore legendi

Iust ad Hybernos sophia mirabile claros:

*Jacobus Curio,
2. Rer. Coron.*

And for to skill and learning he aspired

Treading the steps of Ancestours he sayled

To Ireland, then for wisdom much admired.

And it may seeme that the *English Saxons* borrowed from them the manner of forming their letters; since they vied the same character which the *Irish* vse at this day, yet now when learning is as it were revived againe from the graue, thorow all Christendome, onely this part of it (which was then as another *Goshen* in *Aegypt*) remaines for the most part vnlightned, in the darkenes of *ignorance*, *incivility*, and *superstition*. Thus Almighty God in sundry ages and in severall places casts abroad the seedes of *learning* and *knowledge*, which in their due time grow vp and spread abroad to the glory of his owne name and the behoofe of mankind. Neither can I heere let passe the words of *Bodin* to like effect touching the *Arts* and *inventions* of wit as were those before alleadged touching *vertue* and *vice*; *Hæc illa est*, (saith hee) *rerum omnium tam certa conversio ut dubitare nemo debeat quin idem in hominum ingenijs, quod in agris eueniat qui maiori vberitate gratiam quietis referre solent*. This is that certaine wheeling about of all things, so that no man neede doubt but the same befalls mens wits that doth their groundes which are wont to recompence the favour of their rest with the more plenteous crope.

SECT 5.

Touching this pretended decay in regard of the duration of mens liues their strength and stature.

THE same vicissitude and revolution as is in *Arts* and *wits* is likewise to be found in the *ages* of men, and the *duration* of their liues; as my Lord of *S. Alban* hath truely noted, *decursum seculorum & successio propaginis nihil videntur omnino demere de diuturnitate vite*. The course of times and succession of progenies seeme to abate nothing from the lasting of mens liues. Certaine times there are in all Regions in which the thread of mens liues is either drawne out longer or contracted to a shorter scantling: For the most part they liue longer when the times are more *barbarous*, their diet more simple, and the exercise of mens bodies more in vse: but shorter when the times are more *Ciwill* and men more given to *luxury* and *ease*, which passe and returne by turnes, *Succession* it selfe effects nothing therein, alone. in case it did, the first man in reason should haue lived longest, and the son should still come short of his fathers age: so that whereas *Moses* tells vs that the *dayes of mans age* in his time were threescore yeares and tenne, by this reckoning they might well enough by this time be brought to tenne, or twenty, or thirty at most. It cannot be denied but that in the first ages of the world both before and after the *floud* men vsually lived longer then wee finde they haue done in latter ages: But that I should rather choose to ascribe to some extraordinary priuiledge then to the ordinary

*Historia vite &
Mortis, pag.
156.*

Pf. 90. 10.

course of nature. The world was then to be replenished with inhabitants, which could not so speedily be done but by an extraordinary multiplication of mankind: neither could that be done, but by the long liues of men. And againe Arts and Sciences were then to be planted, for the better effecting whereof, it was requisite, that the same men should haue the experience and observation of many ages. For as many *Sensations* breed an *experiment*, so doe many *experiments* a *Science*.

Aristotle.

Per varios usus artem experimentia fecit

Exemplo monstrante viam.

Mauius. l. 1.

Through much experience Arts invented were

Example shewing way.

Specially it was requisite men should liue long for the perfecting of *Astronomy*, and the finding out of the severall motions of the heavenly bodies, whereof some are so slow, that they aske a long time precisely to obserue their periods and reuolutions. It was the complaint of *Hippocrates*, *Ars longa vita brevis*. And therefore Almighty God in his wisdom then proportioned mens *liues* to the length of *Arts*; and as God gaue them this speciall priuiledge to liue long: so in likelihood hee gaue them withall a temper & constitution of body answerable therevnto. As also the *foode* wherewith they were nourished, specially before the *flood*, may well bee thought to haue beene more *wholesome* and nutritiue, and the plants more *medicinall*: And happily the *influence* of the heavens was at that time, in that clymate where the *Patriarches* liued, more favourable and gracious. Now such a *revolution* as there is in the *manners*, *wits*, and *ages* of men, the like may well bee presumed in their *strength* and *stature*. *Videtur similis esse ratio in magnitudine corporum sine statura qua nec ipsa per successionem propaginis desinit.* There seemeth to be the like reason in the groweth & bignesse of mens bodies, which decreaseth not by succession of offspring; but men are sometimes in the same nation taller, sometimes of a shorter stature, sometimes stronger, and sometimes weaker, as the times wherein they liue, are more temperate or luxurious, more given to labour or exercise, or to ease and idleness. And for those narrations which are made of the *Gyantlike* statures of men in former ages, many of them were doubtles merely *poeticall* and *fabulous*. I deny not but such men haue beene, who for their *strength* and *stature* haue beene the *miracles* of nature, the worlds wonders, whom God would therefore haue to bee, (saith *S. Austine*) that hee might shew, that as well the bignesse as the beautie of the body, are not to be ranged in the number of things good in themselves, as being common both to good and badde. Yet may wee justly suspect that which *Suetonius* hath not spared to write, that the bones of huge beasts, or sea-monsters, both haue and still doe, passe currant for the bones of *Gyants*. A very notable story to this purpose, haue wee recorded by *Camerarius* who reports that *Francis* the first, king of *France*, who reigned about an hundred yeares since, being desirous to know the truth of those things, which were commonly spread, touching the *strength* and *stature* of *Rouland*, nephew to *Charlelaine*, caused his sepulchre to be opened, wherein his bones and bow were found rotten, but his armour sound, though couered with

*Hist. vit. et mor-
is. pag. 158.*

*In Augusto, cap.
72.
Medit. Hist. cap.
82.*

with rust, which the king commaunding to bee scoured off, and putting it vpon his owne body, found it so fit for him, as thereby it appeared that *Rouland* exceeded him little in bignesse and stature of bodie, though himselfe were not excessiue tall or bigge.

S E C T. 6.

The precedents of this chapt: summarily recollected, and the methode observed in the ensuing treatise proposed

NOW briefly and summarily to recollect and as it were to winde vp into one clue or bottome what hath more largely beene discoursed thorow this chapter, I hold first that the heavenly bodies are not at all, either in regard of their substance, motion, light, warmth or influence in the course of nature at all impaired, or subject to any impairing or decay: Secondly, that all individuals (vnder the Cope of heaven) mixed of the elements are subject to a naturall declination and dissolution: Thirdly, that the quantity of the Elements themselves is subject to impairing in regard of their parts, though not of their intire bodies: Fourthly, that the ayre and earth and water and diuerse seasons diuersely affected sometime for the better, sometime for the worse, and that either by some speciall fauour or judgement of God, or by some cause in nature, secret or apparent: Fifthly, that the severall kinds of beasts, of plantes, of fishes, of birds, of stones, of mettalls, are as many in number, as at the Creation, & every way in Nature as vigorous, as at any time since the flood: Sixthly, and lastly that the manners, the wits, the health, the age, the strength, and stature of men daily vary, but so as by a vicissitude and reuolution they returne againe to their former points from which they declined & againe decline, and againe returne, by alternatiue and interchangeable courses, *Erit hic rerum in se remeantium orbis, quamdiu erit ipse orbis*, This circle and ring of things returning alwayes to their principles will neuer cease as long as the world lasts. *Lipsius de cons. 1. 16.*

*Repetunt proprios cuncta recursus
Redituq; suo singula gaudent
Nec manet vlli traditus ordo
Nisi quod fini iunxerit ortum
Stabilemque sui fecerit orbem.*

*Boetius l. 3.
Met. 2.*

To their first spring all things are backward bound
And every thing in its returne delighteth
Th' order once settled can in nought be found
But what the end vnto the birth vniteth
And of its selfe doth make a constant round.

And consequently there is no such vniverfall and perpetuall decay in the frame of the Creatures as is commonly imagined, and by some strongly maintained.

The methode which I propose is first to treat heereof in generall that so a cleerer way, and easier passage may be opened to the particulars; then of the Heavens as being the highest in situation, and the noblest in outward glory and duration, as also in their efficacie, and vniversality of operation

H. scilicet, 2, 21.

operation, and therefore doth the Prophet rightly place them next God himselfe, in the order of Causes, it shall come to passe in that day, saith the Lord, that I will heare the heavens, and they shall heare the earth, and the earth shall heare the corne, and the wine, and the vile, and they shall heare Israell. From that we may descend to the foure Elements, which as a muscicall instrument of foure strings, is both tuned and touched by the hand of heaven: And in the next place those bodies, which are mixed and tempered of these Elements, offer themselves to our consideration, whether they bee without life, as stones and mettalls, or haue the life of vegetation only, as Plants; or both of vegetation and sense, as beasts and birds and fishes; and in the last place, man presents himselfe vpon this Theater, as being created last, though first intended, the master of the whole family, & chiefe Commaunder in this great house, nay the master-peece, the abridgment, the mappe and modell of the Vniuerse. And in him wee will examine this pretended decay, first in regard of age and length of yeares, secondly in regard of strength and stature, thirdly in regard of wits, and Arts, and fourthly and lastly in regard of manners and conditions, to which all that is in man is or should bee finally referred, as all that is in the world is, vnder God, finally referred to man. And because it is not sufficient to possesse our owne fort, without the dismantling and demolishing of our enemies, a principall care shall bee had throughout the whole worke, to answer, if not all, at least the principall of those objections which I haue found, to weigh most with the aduerse part. And in the last place, least I should any way bee suspected to shake or vndermine the ground of our Christian religion, or to weaken the article of our beliefe touching the consummation of the world, by teaching that it decayes not, to wipe off that aspersion, I will endeavour to prooue the certainty thereof, not so much by Scripture, which no Christian can be ignorant of, as by force of Reason and the testimony of Heathen writers; and finally I will conclude with an exhortation grounded therevpon for the stirring of men vp, to a preparation of themselves against that day, which shall not only end the world, but iudge their actions, and dispose of the everlasting estate of their persons.

CAP. 4.

Touching the worlds decay in generall.

SECT. I.

The three first generall reasons that it decayes not.

The first reason drawne from the power of that Spirit which quickens and supports it.

THe same Almighty hand which created the worlds massie frame and gaue it a being out of nothing, doth still support and maintaine it, in that being, which at first it gaue, and should it withdraw himselfe but for a moment, the whole frame would instantly returne into that nothing, which before the Creation it was, as Gregorie hath rightly observed, *Deus suo presentiali esse, dat omnibus rebus esse ita quod si se rebus subtraheret, sicut de nihilo facta sunt omnia, sic in nihilum diffuerent*

diffluent universa. God by his presentiall Essence giues vnto all things an Essence, so that if hee should withdraw himselfe from them, as out of nothing they were first made, so into nothing they would be againe resolved. In the preservation then of the *Creature*, wee are not so much to consider the *impotencie*, and weakenesse thereof, as the *goodnesse*, *wisedomes*, and *power* of the *Creator*, in *whom*, and by *whom*, and for *whom*, they live and move and have their being. The spirit of the Lord filleth the world, (saith the Authour of the *wisedome of Solomon*, and the secret working of the spirit, which thus pierceth through all things, hath the Poet excellently exprest,

Aeneid 6.

Principio calum ac terras camposque liquentes

Lucentemque globum Luna, Titaniacque astra

Spiritus intus alit, totamque infusa per artus

Mens agitat molem & magno se corpore miscet.

The heaven, the earth, and all the liquide maine,

The Moones bright globe, and starres Titanian

A spirit within maintaines, and their whole masse,

A minde which through each part infus'd doth passe,

Fashions and workes and wholly doth transpierce

All this great Body of the Vniverse.

This Spirit the *Platonists* call the Soule of the World, by it, it is in some sort quickned and formaliz'd, as the body of man is by its reasonable Soule. There is no question then, but this Soule of the World, (if wee may so speake) being in truth none other then the *immortall Spirit* of the *Creator*, is able to make the body of the World *immortall*, and to preserve it from dissolution, as he doth the *Angels*, and the *spirits of men*: and were it not that he had determined, to dissolve it by the same *supernaturall* and extraordinary power, which at first gaue it existence, I see not but by the *ordinary* concurrence of this spirit, it might euerlastingly endure: and that consequently (to driue it home to our present purpose) there is no such *universall* and *perpetuall* decay in the course of Nature, as is imagined, and this I take to be the meaning of *Philo*, in that booke which he hath composed *De Mundi incorruptibilitate*, of the Worlds incorruptibility; there being some who haue made the World eternall without any beginning or ending, as *Aristotle*, and the *Peripateticks*, others giue it a beginning, but without ending, as *Plato* and the *Academicks*, whom *Philo* seemes to follow; and lastly others both beginning & ending, as *Christians* and other Sects of Philosophers, whom *Aristotle* therefore flouts at, saying that he formerly feared his house might fall downe about his eares, but that now he had a greater matter to feare, which was the dissolution of the world. But had this pretended *universall* & *perpetuall* decay of the World beene so apparant as some would make it, his flout had easily beene returned vpon himselfe, & his opinion by dayly & sensible experience as easily confuted, which wee may well wonder none of those Philosophers who disputed against him, (if they acknowledged and beleueed the truerth thereof) should any where presse in defence of their owne opinions, it being indeed the most vnanswerable and binding argument that possibly could be enforced

Heb. 11. 3.

ced against him, were there that evident certaintie in it as is commonly imagined, whereas he in the sharpnesse of his wit seeing the weakenesse thereof, would not so much as vouchsafe it a serious answer, but purs it off with a jeast. For mine owne part I constantly beleue that it had a beginning, and shall haue an ending, and hold him not worthy the name of a Christian who holds not as much: yet so as I beleue both, to bee in matter of *faith*; *through faith we vnderstand that the Worlds were framed by the word of God*; and through the same *faith* we likewise vnderstand that they shall be againe *unframed* by the same word. Reason may grope at this truth in the darke, howbeit it can neuer cleerely apprehend it; but inlightned by the beame of *faith*. I deny not but *probable*, though not *demonstratiue* and convincing arguments, may be drawn from discourse of reason to proue either the one or the other, and among the rest that taken from the Worlds *decay*, to proue the finall consummation thereof, I take to be most *unsound*, in as much as it begs a *principle*, which is not to be graunted, and supposeth such a *decay*, which in my judgment to the worlds end and the day of Judgment will neuer be soundly and sufficiently proued.

Ruvio de celo
& mundo lib. 1.
cap. 12.

2. reason fra
the conside-
ration of the
seuerall parts
of the World.

Eccles. 1. 4.

I remember the *Philosophers* propose a question, *Vtrum Mundus solo generali concursu Dei perpetuo durare possit?* Whether the World by the ordinary and generall cooperation of Gods power and providence could still last or no: and for the most part they conclude it affirmatiuely, euen such as professed the Christian Religion, and for prooffe of their assertion they bring in effect this reason. The Heauens, say they are of a nature which is not capable in it selfe of *corruption*, the losse of Elements is recouered by *compensation*, of mixt Bodies without life by *accretion*, of liuing Bodies by *succession*, the fall of one being the rising of the other, as *Rome* triumphed in the ruines of *Alba*, and the depression of one *Scale* is the elevation of another, according to that of *Solomon*, *One generation passeth away, and another generation commeth, but the earth abideth for euer.*

Pontanus cap.
48 meteor.

-----*Mutantur in eum*
Singula, & inceptum alternat natura tenorem,
Quodque dies antiqua tulit, post auferet ipsa.

Each thing in euery age doth vary
And Nature changeth still the course she hath begun,
And will eftsoones vndoe what she erewhile had done.

3 Reason from
the like consi-
deration.

Again, all subcœlestiall bodies (as is eident) consist of *matter* and *forme*; Now the *first matter* hauing nothing contrary vnto it, cannot by the force of nature be destroyed, and being created immediatly by God, it cannot be abolished by any inferiour agent. And as for the *formes* of natural bodies, no sooner doth any one abandon the matter it informed but another instantly steps into the place thereof, no sooner hath one acted his part & is retired, but another presently comes forth vpon the stage, though it may bee in a different shape, and to act a different part, so that no portion of the matter is, or at any time can be altogether voide & empty, but like *Vertumnus* or *Proteus* it turnes it selfe into a thousand shapes, and is alwayes supplied and furnished with one forme or other.

Nec

*Nec sic interim mors res, ut materia
Corpora conficiat, sed cæcum dissipat ollis:
Inde alijs aliud coniungit, & efficit, omnes
Res ut convertant formas, mutantque colores
Et capiant sensus, & puncto tempore reddant:
Vt noscas referre, eadem primordia rerum.*

Death doth not so destroy things
As it the matter to nought brings.
It onely doth dissolve the frame,
And so it leaves to be the same,
And joyning other things it changeth
Their shape, forme, colour, and so rangeth
Their being at times, that you may know
They all from like principles doe flow.

Neither in trueth in the course of *Nature* can it possibly be otherwise, since it intends not the *abolition* of any thing, as being a defect, and contrary to it's owne good, but for the succession and *generation* of some other thing in the roome thereof. As *Nature* then cannot create by making something out of nothing: so neither can it *annihilate* by turning something into nothing. Whence it consequently followes as there is no *accesse*, so there is no *diminution* in the vniverfall, no more then there is in the Alphabet by the infinite cōbination & transposition of letters, or in the waxe by the alteration of the seale stamped vpon it. If a man should take but one drop of water in the whole yeare from the Ocean, or but one sand from the sea shore, or but one grasse from the earth without any new supply, nay without a supply proportionable, that the additiō may fully countervail & repaire the subtractiō, their store must in continuance of time of necessity bee emptied and vtterly exhausted, and in like manner the World being finite, and there being no accesse to the whole, if there should bee any such perpetuall and vniverfall decay and decrease in all the parts thereof, as is pretended, it must needs at last by degrees be annihilated and brought to nothing, which is both in reason, and by the consent of all Divines, as incommunicably the effect of a power divine and aboue nature, as is the worke of the Creation it selfe, so as whatsoever is taken from one, must of necessity be given to another.

Ne res ad nihilum redigantur protinus omnes.

Letter lib. 3.

Lest things ere long to nothing should be brought.

Put the case then that some principall part of the World should still decrease, surely some others must thereupon continually increase, or there would follow some diminution, and consequently some annihilation in respect of the whole, & if vpon the continuall decrease of some, others should still increase, there would likewise thereupon follow such a disproportion, and jarring as they could neuer well accord, and in the end the whole would be turned into those which gained by the losse, and grew great by the fall of others, & consequently they would proue the ruine both of others and themselves, as the splene growing and swelling to an immoderate bignes vpon the pining of the other parts, in the

end ruines both it selfe and them, as then a due proportion is held betwixt the parts as well in the naturall body of man as the body politique of the state for the vpholding of the whole, so is there likewise by the diuine providence in this vast body of the World, not that any of the limbs or members thereof (the heauens onely excepted) remaine without their alteration or diminution, but because they mutually by turnes and exchanges both take one from another, and again repay one to another what they formerly tooke, by which meanes neither is any thing lost in the whole, nor any one part so either infeebled by decrease, or by increase ouer strengthened as they loose that proportion which makes the musicke of the whole, or that vse and seruice which to the whole they all stand obliged to performe, and to this purpose it is surely as a diuine oracle, for the wisdom & trueth thereof, which the Poet hath put into the mouth of Pythagoras.

Ouid, Met. . . 15.

Nec species sua cuique manet: rerumque novatrix

Ex alijs alias reparat natura figuras.

Nec perit in tanto quidquam (mihi credite) mundo:

Sed variat, faciemque novat: nascique vocatur

Incipere esse aliud, quàm quod fuit ante: morique

Desinere illud idem: cum sint huc forsitan illa,

Hac translata illuc, summâ tamen omnia constant.

They hold not long their shapes, but soone Dame Nature.

Of one shape lost brings forth another feature;

Beleeue it, in so great and huge a masse

Nothing doth perish, but change and vary face;

We say a thing new borne is, when as

It doth become another then it was:

And so wee say, a thing doth suffer death.

When it the forme forsakes, as men their breath,

And though the counters be plac't lower or higher,

Yet still the totall summe doth stand entire,

S E C T. 2.

*Fourth reason for that such a decay as is supposed would
in time point out the very day of the worlds
expiration, and consequently of the
second comming of Christ.*

A Nother speciall reason mouing me to beleue that the Worlds supposed decay is but imaginary, is that it would in time point out the very date of its expiration, so that men should be able frô the extremity of the disorder & cōfution (into which it would by degrees degenerate) by the rule of proportion, as it were by the euen decrease of sand or water in an houre-glasse prognosticate the instant beyond which it could no longer subsist; whereas before the Vniuersall Deluge which swept away euery liuing soule breathing vpon the face of the Earth, (except Noah & his Family, and the beaſts which lodged with him vnder the rooſe of the ſame Arke) wee reade of no ſuch fore-running declination which

which was the reason that men tooke no notice of it till it over tooke them, and as it was then, so shall it be at the sudden, and vnexpected comming of the second deluge of fire. For as in the daies which were before Math. 24. 38. the flood, they were eating and drinking, marrying and giuing in marriage vntill the day that Noah entred into the Arke, and knew not vntill the flood came and swept them all away: So shall also the comming of the sonne of man bee: it 2. Peter. 3. 10. shall be like the comming of the theefe in the night, when men shall say, Peace 1. Thess. 5. 3. and safety, then sudden destruction shall come vpon them.

The more I wonder what should make the Authour of the *Scholasti-* In Libr. Gen. call history thus to write, *Tradunt Sancti quod quadraginta annis ante judi-* Cap. 35. *cium non videbitur arcus caelestis, id quod etiam naturaliter ostendet desiccationem aeris.* Holy men affirme that forty yeares before the day of Iudgment no rainebow shall appeare, which shall serue as a naturall signe of the drought in the ayre already begun. Those Holy men he names not, neither can I so much as conjecture who they should bee, since no such opinion, nor any mention thereof (as I presume) is to be found in the writings of any of the Ancient Fathers now extant, neither in truth is it any way grounded, either vpon Scripture or shew of reason drawne from thence. And besides it assumes that as yeilded, which is not onely vncertaine, but certainly false, that the conflagration of the world shall be wrought, or at leastwise prepared by second and naturall causes, whereas it shall doubtlesse be the supernaturall worke of Gods omnipotencie, as was likewise the drowning of it. Howbeit Henricus Meclinensis scholer to Albertus Magnus in his Comentaries vpon the great Conjunctions of Albunazar, seemes to referre it to the watery constellations then reigning, as some others do, the future generall conbustion to the predominance of fiery constellations: whereas notwithstanding they ascribe the vniuersall declination and dotage of nature to the want of that warmth which former ages enjoyed: So that according to their groundes following the course of nature the world should rather haue beene burned in Noahs time, it being then in the prime and strength of naturall heate, and reserved for a flood at the last day, it being now accordig to their opinion seized vpon, with cold and waterish humours, or at least their feined fiery constellations would better haue suited with those times, and the waterish with ours. But thus wee see how curiositie intangleth, and erroure ever crosseth and contradiceth it selfe. *Hac est mendaciorum natura vt coherere non possint* (sayth Lactantius) Such is the property of 5. 3. falsehoods that they can never hang together.

At nulla est discordia veris,

Semperque sibi certa coherent.

In true things discord is there none,

They freindly still agree in one.

Boetius Lib. 5.
Met. 3.

S E C T. 3.

*Fifth reason that upon the supposition of such a decay,
the vigour of the world must needs long since
have beene exhausted and worne out.*

A fifth reason which makes mee thinke that *Nature* neither hath nor doth *degenerate* and pine away in the severall kindes of *Creatures* in regard of their *number, dimensions, faculties or operations*, is that in the course of so many ages allready past, the vigour and strength of it must needs have beene *utterly exhausted and worne out*. If in every *Centenary* of yeares from the *Creation* or since the *flood* some small abatement onely should have beene made, (which notwithstanding the *Patrons* of the adverse opinion hold to be greate, as will appeare when wee come to the examination of the particulars,) and if wee should question a man of an *hundred yeares of age* about this point, what a wonderfull change will he tell you of, since his remembrance: so that if wee should goe backward and proportionably allow the like change within the like *compasse of yeares*, since the beginning of the world, it could not possibly subsist at this day. But put the case, as I say, that not so greate as is imagined, but some small abatement should be made for every *Centenary*, surely evē in that proportion nothing else could now be left vnto vs but the very *refuse & bran, the drosse & dregges of nature*. and as heavy things sinke in rivers, but strawes and stickes are carried downe the streame, so in this long current of time, the *kernell and pith of Nature* must needs have beene spent and waste d, onely the *rinde and shells* should have beene left to vs. The *Heavens* could not by their warmth and influence have beene able sufficiently to cherish the *earth*, nor the *earth* to keepe the *plantes* from staruing at her breasts, nor the *plants* to nourish the *beastes*, nor could the *beastes* have beene serviceable for the vse of *man*, nor *man* himselfe of abilitie to exercise the right of his dominion over the *beastes* and other *Creatures*. The *Sunne* by this time would have beene no brighter then the *Moone* or *Starrs*, *Cedars* would have beene no taller then *shrubs*, *Horses* no bigger then *Doggs*, *Elephants* then *Oxen*, *Oxen* then *Sheepe*, *Eagles* then *Pigeons*, *Pigeons* then *Sparrowes*, and then whole race of mankind must have become *Pigmies*, and mustered themselves to encounter with *Cranes*.

If we should allow but *one inch of decrease* in the growth of men for every *Centenary*, (& lesse cannot well be imagined) there would at this present be abated almost *five foote* in their *ordinary stature*, which notwithstanding was held the *competent height of a man*, about *sixteene hundred yeares* since, & so still continues, so that the *ordinary stature* of the men of the *first age* should by this rule have beene about *tenne foote*, which exceeds that of *Goliath* by some *inches*. Sir *Walter Rauleigh* who in sundry places positively defendes *natures universall decay*, (which I must confesse I somewhat marvell at, in a man of that peirceing wit and cleare judgment, but that as others he tooke it vp vpon trust, without bringing it to the touchstone) to prooue men to be but *reedes* now a dayes, as he

termeth

termeth them, in comparison of the *Cedars* of former ages, giues vs an instance, drawne from the times and practise of *Galen* in comparison of ours, telling vs that *Galen* did ordinarily let bloud, *six pound weight*, whereas wee (saith hee) for the most part stop at *six ounces*. The truth of his allegation touching *Galen's* practise, I shall heereafter haue fitter occasion to examine, in the chapter purposely dedicated to the consideration of *mens decay in strength*; at this time I will only touch the matter of *proportion*. There is some doubt among *Chronologers*, of the precise time wherein *Galen* liued, as appeares by *Gesner* in his life; but in this they all agree, that he practised at least *two hundred yeares* since *Christ*, so that taking our leuell from thence, we may safely affirme that hee flourished about *fourteene hundred yeares* since, in the compasse of which time, men haue lost by that account about a pound of bloud for euery *Centenary*, which proportion of losse, if wee should obserue in the like distances of time before *Galen* from the *Creation*, it were not possible that so much as a drop of bloud should be left in any mans body at this day. From these particulars wee may guesse at the rest; as retaylers doe of the whole peece, by taking a view of the ends thereof, or as *Pythagoras* drew out the measure of *Hercules* whole body from the *Scantling* of his foote.

SECT. 4.

Sixth argument taken from the authority of Solomon and his reason drawne from the Circulation of all things as it were in a ring.

TO these reasons may be added the weighty authority of the wisest man that euer liued, of a meere man; how often doth he beat vpon the circulation and running round of all things as it were in a ring: how earnestly and eloquently doth hee presse it, and expresse it as it were in liuely colours in that most diuine booke of the *Preacher*. The *Sunne* (saith hee) *arisseth*, and the *Sunne* goeth downe, and hasteth to the place where he arose. Which *Boetius* discoursing vpon the same Theme hath elegantly set forth.

Cadit Hesperias Phœbus in vndas

Sed secreta tramite rursus

Cursum solitos vertit ad ortus.

Lib. 3. Met. 2.

The sunne doth set in Westerne maine,

But yet returnes by secret wayes.

Vnto his wonted rise againe.

But the *Preacher* staves not there. The winde goeth toward the South and turneth about toward the North, it whirleth about continually and returneth againe according to his circutes. All the rivers runne into the Sea, yet the sea is not full. Vnto the place from whence the rivers come, thither they returne againe. Wherevpon hee inferres, the thing that hath beene, it is that that shall bee, and that which is done, is that which shall bee done, and there is no new thing vnder the sunne. Is there any thing whereof it may bee sayd, behold this is new? it hath beene already of old time before vs; & againe, that which hath

v. 9. 10.

Cap. 3. 15.

beene is now, and that which is to bee hath already beene, and God requireth that which is past. Now this wheeling about of all things in their seasons and courses, and their supposed perpetuall decrease, are in my vnderstanding incompatible, they cannot possibly stand together, nor be truly affirmed of the same subject. For if they returne againe to their times and turnes, to the state from which they declined, as Boetius speakes of a bowed twigge.

Lib de Con. Phil.
3, Met. 2.

*Validis quondam viribus acta
Pronum flectit virga cacumen
Hanc si curuans dextra remisit
Recto spectat vertice cælum.*

The tender plant by force and might
Constran'd its top doth downward bend:
Romoue the hand which bowed it
And straight to heaven-wards will it tend.

Louys Le Roy.

If I say they thus returne to their former condition, as hath bin more at large proved by Lodovicus Regius, a French man in a booke which hee purposely intitles, *De La Vicissitude des choses*, and dedicates it to Henry the third King of France, then can it not bee they should alway grow worse and worse, as on the other side if they alway degenerate and grow worse and worse, it cannot be they should haue such returnes as Solomon speakes of, wise and learned men in all ages haue observed, and experience daily confirms. The Poets faine that Saturne was wont to deuoure his sonnes and then to vomite them vp againe, which fiction of theirs (saith Rodogin) the wiser sort vnderstand to be referred to time shadowed vnder the name of Saturne, à quo vicibus cuncta gignantur & absumentur qua renascantur denud, because as all things spring from time and by it are consumed, so in it they are renewed and restored againe. And by this meanes the world for the intire is still preserved safe and sound.

Manibus, l. 1.

*Exute variant faciem per secula gentes,
At manet incolumis mundus, suaq; omnia seruat
Quæ nec longa dies auget, minuitve senectus:
Nec motus puncto currit, cursuue fatigat.
Idem semper erit quoniam semper fuit idem,
Non alium videre patres aliumve nepotes
Aspicient.*

The people chang'd, at times the face doth vary,
The world stands sound, and alwaies holds its owne,
Nor by long daies encreas'd, nor age lesse growne,
Runnes round, yet moues not, nor by running's weary,
Was still the same and still the same shall bee
That which our grandsirs saw our sonnes shall see.

CAP. 5.

CAP. 5.

Generall arguments making for the worlds decay refuted.

SECT. 1.

The first generall objection drawne from reason answered.

Howbeit, as the great Patriarch of Philosophers hath taught vs that *Verum est index sui & obliqui*, Truth may serue as a square or rule both for it selfe and falshood, as a right line discovers the obliquity of a crooked, yet because

*Qui statuit aliquid parte inaudita altera,
Aequum licet statuerit, haud aequus fuit:*

Sen. Med. 1.
Act. 2.

Who but one party heares yet doth decree,
Iust is he not, though iust his sentence bee.

Let vs see what the *Adverse part* can say for themselves. Their generall arguments then for the worlds decay are drawne, partly from reason, and partly from authority. The maine argument drawne from reason, vpon which all the rest, in a manner depend, so as I may call it, the Pole-deede of their evidence, is this, That the Creature the neerer it approaches to the first mould, the more perfect it is, and according to the degrees of its remouall and distance from thence, it incurreth the more imperfection and weakenes, as streames of a fountaine the farther they runne thorow vncleane passages, the more they contract corruption. For the loosing of which knot, I shall craue pardon if I enlarge my selfe and make a full answer therevnto, considering that in the striking off, of this head, the body of the opposit reason falls to the ground, and at the shaking of this foundation, the whole building totters. First then I will examine the truth of this proposition, whether every thing the farther it departs from its originall, the more it looses of its perfection, because vpon it the weight of the argument is grounded; and secondly I will consider how iustly it is applied to this present purpose. For the first whether wee behold the workes of *Art* or *Nature* or *Grace*, wee shall finde that they all proceede by certaine steps from a more imperfect and vnpolished being to that which is more absolute and perfect. To begin with the workes of *Grace*: in the course of Christianity wee grow both in knowledge and vertue, in illumination & sanctification, as the blind man in the Gospell having recovered his sight, first saw men walking like trees confusedly and indistinctly, but afterwards more cleerely: in knowledge wee grow by leaning the principles of the doctrine of Christ, and going on vnto perfection, by leaning milke fitte for babes, and vsing stronger meate belonging to them that are of full age, who by reason of an habit haue their senses exercised to discern both good and euill. In vertue wee grow, not only by adding vertue to vertue, as it were linke to linke, but by increasing in those vertues as it were by enlarging the links, that the man of God may be made perfect, thorowly furnished vnto every good worke. For the workes of *Art* wee see the *Limmer* to begin with a rude draught, and the *Painter* to lay his grounds with shaddowes and darksome colours, the weauer out of a small threed, makes a rich and faire peece, and the *Architect* vpon rubbish laies a goodly pile of building

Hebr. 6. 1.

Hebr. 5. 13. 14.

2. Petr. 1. 5.

2. Tim. 3. 17.

ding, which at first consists of naked walles, but at last is furnished with variety of household stufte, and garnished with hangings and pictures. Lastly for the workes of Nature out of what a confused *Chaos* was the goodly frame of this world raised? out of what vnworthy little seedes spring the tallest trees, and most beautifull flowers, nay what a base beginning at the first Creation had and still hath man himselfe the Lord of the Creatures so as himselfe euen blushes to mention it, how impotent and vnable to helpe himselfe is he brought into the world? how slowly doth hee come forward to the vse of his senses, his strength, his reason? yet at length by degrees if hee liue and be of a sound constitution, hee arriues vnto it. By which it appears that at leastwise individuals, in the severall workes both of *Grace* and *Art* and *Nature*, the farther they proceed from their originall, the more perfect they are, till they arriue to their state of *perfection*, though heerein they differ, that *Art* and *Nature* then decline, but *Grace* is turned into *Glory*.

And for the *species* or *kinds* of things, which is it that specially concerns our present question, as I cannot affirme that by degrees they grow on still to greater perfection, so neither can I finde that they daily grow more imperfect. For *Grace* wee know, it was more abundantly powred out by the *incarnation* and *passion* of the *Sonne of God* in this latter age of the world, then at any time before since the first creation thereof. And of *Art* it is commonly thought that neere about the same time the *Romane empire* was at the highest and *Souldiers*, *Poets*, *Oratours*, *Philosophers*, *Historians*, *Polititians*, never more excellent, which withall should argue that *Nature* was at that time rather *strengthened* then *enfeebled*, in as much as both *Art* and *Grace* are built vpon *Nature*, I meane the naturall faculties of the soule, which commonly follow the temper of the body, & the more vigorous they are, the more happily are both *Art* and *Grace* exercised by them.

Now for the application of the proposition to the present purpose touching the worlds decay, it is evident, that if it were indeed of that force as is pretended, it would therevpon follow that in the course of *Nature* *Adam* should haue beene the tallest and longest-liu'd man that euer breathed vpon the face of the earth; whereas notwithstanding wee reade not of any *Gyants* till a little before the *floud*; and *Noah* who liued after the *floud* law twenty yeares more then *Adam* himselfe did, the latter being nine hundred and fiftie and the former but nine hundred and thirtie yeares old when he died. Nay *Methusaleth* the eight from *Adam* out stripped him by forty yeares wanting but one, and wee see by daily experience that a weake or foolish father often begets a strong and a wise sonne, and that the grandchild sometimes equalls the age of the father and grandfather both together. If a thousand candles or torches should be successiue ly lighted one from another, it cannot be discerned by their dull or bright burning which was first or last lighted, nay the last sometimes yeelds a brighter light then the first, if it meete with matter accordingly prepared. The water which runnes a thousand miles thorow cleane passages, is euery whit as wholesome and sweete at its journeyes end, as when it first issued from the

the fountaine. The *seede* that is cast into the earth seldome failes to bring forth as good as it selfe and sometimes better, and if at any time it proue worse, it is not because it is further distant from its originall, (which is the very point in controversie) but because it meetes with a worse soyle, or a worse season, and the soile and season are worse perchance then in former times, nor by reason of the revolution of so many ages since the Creation, but either by reason of Gods Curse vpon sinne, or some other accidentall cause, which being removed, they returne againe to their natue and wonted properties. For, did they grow worse & worse only by a farther distance from their first being, then would the Creatures haue decayed in proesse of time, whether man had sinned or no, and man himselfe should haue beene of lesse strength and stature and continuance, though hee had not failed in the temperate vse of the creature, or of any other meanes making for the preservation of his life and health, which I suppose the Patrons of the aduerser part, will not maintaine; once I am sure that the common tenet of Divines is, that whatsoever defect, or swaruing is to be found, in the nature either of man himselfe, or the Creature made to serue him, ariseth from the sin of man alone, as being the only cause of all the jarre and disorder in the world: Now to impute it to sin and yet withall to affirme that it is occasioned by the remouall of the Creature from its primordially existence implies in my judgment a manifest and irreconcilable contradiction.

To conclude this answere, this axiome, *unumquodq; quo magis elongatur à suo principio, eo magis deficit & languescit*, Euery thing the farther it is remou'd from its originall, the more faint and feeble it growes, in violent motions is most true, As an arrow shot out of a bow or a dart flung vppward from the hand of a man, the higher they mount the slower they moue; and so I conceiue it to haue beene ment by Aristotle: but in naturall motions, as the moving of a stone downeward, (and such is rather Natures motion in the course of the world,) the contrary is vndoubtedly true, *Crescit eundo*, the farther it moues the more strength it gathers, and fortifies it selfe in going. Besides if the strength of the hand could goe along with the dart, or if the bow with the arrow, as the hand and power of God leades and preserues Nature in her course, keeping it a working as the spring doth the wheels in a watch or Clocke; there is no question, but their motions would proue, as quicke and forcible in the end as at the beginning, and not cease at all before the strength of the hand or bow which carry them forward were removed from them: Finally, if this axiome were not to be limited, it should equally extend to the Angells and the soules of men, and the first matter, and the heavens as well as to the sublunary mixt bodies: but the same power which vpholds and maintaines them, in their originall state, supports likewise the whole body of this inferiour world together with all the severall species or kindes thereof, and did it not so doe, all the absurdities already touched, as impotency in that spirit which animates the world, to support it, annihilation in the course of Nature, defect and swarving in the Creature without the sin of man, foreknowledge of the worlds end, & the end of it long before this time, would infallibly follow therevpon.

*Disparitie. moty. viol.
& naturall*

S E C T. 2.

The second generall objection answered, which is that the severall parts of the World decaying, it should argue a consumption in the whole.

ANother argument drawne from reason, for the worlds decay, is, that all the parts of it decay, and by degrees grow to dissolution, which should likewise argue a wasting and lingring consumption in the whole, since there seemes to be the same reason of the whole which is of all the parts, where of it consists. But the answer hereunto will easily appeare out of that which hath already beene deliuered, and by taking a review of the severall parts of the *Vniversall*. First then for the *heavens*, vndoubtedly they feele no such decay either in substance, quantity, motion, light, warmth or influence, as I hope I shall make it manifest in the next Chapter, and for the *Elements* what they loose in regard of their quantity, is againe made vp by equivalence or compensation, and that in respect of their quality they decay not either by being of lesse efficacie, or more malignant dispositions, then in former ages, remains to be shewed in their proper place; and lastly for the *bodies mixed* and tempered of the *Elements*, though it be graunted, that all *individuals* or particulars in time decay or perish, yet doth it not follow, that the same condition should likewise bee annexed to the *species* or kinde, which is still preferued by a new supply and succesfull propagation of particulars, not alwayes inferiour to their predecessours, which this argument presumes, but sometimes excelling, and commonly equalling them in goodnes, as hath alwayes beene touched in part, and shall hereafter by Gods helpe bee more fully and distinctly prooved.

S E C T I O 3.

The third generall objection answered, taken from the authority of S. Cyprian.

THe arguments drawne from authority are either humane or divine testimonies. Among humane that of S. Cyprian is most famous, as well in regard of his great piety and learning, as his approach to the pure and primitiue times of the Church of *Christ*. This holy *Martyr* then and venerable *Bishop* greewing that the *Christian* Religion should be charged with these lamentable accidents wherewith the World at that time was pressed and shaken, shapeth this reply to *Demetrianus* their accuser. *Illud primo loco scire debes senuisse iam mundum; non illis viribus stare quibus prius steterat, nec vigore & robore eo pravalere, quo antea praevalerat, hoc enim nobis tacentibus, & nulla de Scripturis sanctis predicationibusque divinis documenta promentibus, mundus ipse iam loquitur, & occasum sui rerum labentium probatione testatur. Non hyeme nutriendis seminibus tanta imbrium copia est, non frugibus aestate torrendis solis tanta flagrantia est, nec sic verna de temperie sua lata sata sunt, nec adeo arbores fetibus autumno secunda sunt; minus de effosis & fatigatis montibus eruuntur marmorum crusta, mi-*

mus argenti & auri opes suggerunt, exhausta iam metalla, & pauperes vena tenuantur in dies singulos & decrescunt, deficit in agris agricola, in amicitijs concordia, in artibus peritia, in moribus disciplina. Putasne tu posse tantam substantiam rei senescentis existere, quantum prius potuit novella adhuc & vegeta iuventute pollere? Minuatur necesse est quicquid sine iam proximo in occidua & extrema divergit; sic sol in occasu suo radios minus claro & igneo splendore iaculatur, sic declinante iam cursu exoletis cornubus Luna tenuatur, & arbor quae fuerat ante viridis & fertilis, arescentibus ramis fit postmodum sterili senectute deformis, & fons qui exundantibus prius venis largiter profluebat, vix modico sudore distillat. Hac sententia mundo data est. hac Dei lex est, ut omnia orta occidant, & aucta senescant, & infirmetur fortia, & magna minuantur, & cum infirmata & diminuta fuerint, finiantur. You ought first to haue knowne this, that the World is now waxen old, that it hath not those forces which formerly it had, neither is endued with that vigour and strength wherewith it formerly was, & thus much though we held our peace, and brought no prooffe thereof from holy Scripture and diuine Oracles, the World it selfe proclaimes and testifies its declination by the experience of all things declining in it. Wee haue not now so great store of showres for the nourishing of our seedes in Winter, nor in Summer so much warmth of the Sunne for the ripening of our corne. In the Spring our fields are not so fresh and pleasant, nor in Autumne our trees so loaden with fruites, lesse peeces of marble are hewed out of the exhausted and tired mountaines, and the emptied Mines yeeld lesse quantity of gold and siluer, their veines daylie diminishing and decreasing. The husbandman is defectiue in manuring the Earth, concord failes in friendship, skill in Arts, and discipline in manners. Can you imagine that the state of a thing waxing old should be so firme & sound as when it flourished in its youth? That must needs bee weakened which (the finall period of it approaching) hastens to the last end. so the Sunne when it is setting, darts not forth so fiery and cleare beames. So the Moon drawing toward the end of her race, drawes in her horns and growes lesse, and the tree which formerly was greene and fruitfull, her boughes withering becomes deformed by barren old age, and the well-spring which formerly flowed abundantly with full streames, being dried vp through age, hardly distils a drop of moisture. This sentence is passed vpon the World, this is the Law which God hath set it, that all things that are borne, should die; all that increase, should decrease, that strong things should be weakned, and great lessened, and being thus weakned and lessened, they should at last be vtterly dissolued.

This discourse of *Cyprian*, and the excellent flowres of *Rhetorique* in it, shew him to haue beene both a sweet and powerfull *Oratour*, of a great wit, a flowing eloquence: but whether in this he shew himselfe so deepe a *Philosopher* or sound *Diuine*, I leaue that to the Reader to iudge, and referre his judgment to the future examination of the particulars: only by the way it shall not be amisse to remember, that the *Christians* of those times (happily by reason aswell of the bloody persecutions which pressed them sore, as the frequent passages both in the Gospell and Epistles, which speake of the second comming of Christ, as if it had

beene then hard at hand: stood in continuall allarums and expectation
 of the day of Iudgment and the end of the World, as evidently ap-
 pears by the very words of *Cyprian* himselfe in this discourse, & their
 thoughts still running therevpon, all things seemed sutable thereunto,
 and to draw towards that end. It cannot be denied, but those times
 wherein *Cyprian* liued were indeed very bitter and miserable in regard
 of famine, and warre, & mortality, yet about forty yeares after, it plea-
 sed *Almighty God* to pacifie those stormes, and dispell those cloudes
 by the conversion of the renowned *Constantine* to the *Christian* Religi-
 on, as it had beene by the breaking forth of the Sun beames, so as they
 who sowed in teares, reaped in joy, at which time had *Cyprian* liued, no
 doubt he would haue changed his note, his pen would haue as much
 triumphed in the tranquillity and flourishing estate of the Church vn-
 der that noble Emperour, as it deplored the torne state of the World in
 the time wherein himselfe liued. The former *famine*, and *warre*, and
mortality, being then by Gods gracious blessing happily turned into
health, and *peace*, and *plenty*. He would then haue told you that whereas
 before, showres of their blood were powred out for *Christs* sake, now it
 pleased God to open the windowes of Heauen for the moistning and
 nourishing of their seedes, that as *Christ* the *Sonne of Righteousnesse* was
 acknowledged as the *Saviour* of the World, and the shining beames of
 the *Gospel* displayed themselues: so the Sunne in the firmament had re-
 covered its warmth and strength for the ripening of their corne, that
 as the outward face of the *Church* was become beautifull and glorious,
 so the very fieldes seemed to smile and to receiue contēt therein by their
 fresh and pleasant hue, that as men brought forth the fruites of *Christia-
 nity* in greater abundance, so their trees were more plentifully loaden
 with fruites; that as the rich mines of Gods word were farther searched
 into, so new veines of marble and gold and silver were discovered; that
Christian religion hauing now gotten the vpper hand, had made the
Husbandman and *Artificer*, more carefull & industrious in their callings,
 had opened the *Schools* for *Professours*, in all kind of learning, had restor-
 ed wholesome *discipline* in manners, & *faithfulnessse* in friendship. Finally,
 he would haue told you that the world with the *Eagle* had now cast her
 worne bill and sick feathers, and vpon the entertainment of *Christ*, and
 his *Gospel*, was growne young againe. Which I am the rather induced
 to belecue for that *Cyprian* himselfe in the same discourse against *Deme-
 trianus* in another place referres the disasters of those times to
 the obstinacie of the world, in not receiuing the truth of *Christia-
 nity* and submitting itselfe to the yoake of *Christ Iesus*. A more
 likely and certaine cause doubtlesse then that other of the
 worlds imaginary old age and decay: His words are these. *Indig-
 natur ecce Dominus. & irascitur, & quod ad eum non convertamini com-
 minatur, & tu miraris et quereris in hac obstinatione, & contemptu vestro si
 rara desuper pluvia descendat, si terra situ pulueris Squalleat, si vix jejunas &
 pallidas herbas sterilis gleba producat &c.* Behold the Lord is angry and
 threatens because you turne not vnto him, and dost thou wonder or
 complaine, if in this your obstinacie & contempt, the raine seldome fall

the

the earth be deformed with dust, & the land bring forth hungry & starved grasse, if the haile falling do spill the vine, if the ouerturning whirlewind do marre the Oliue, if drought dry vp the springes, if pestilent dampes do corrupt the ayre, if diseases consume men, when all these things come by sinnes provoking, & God is the more offended since such and so great things do no good at all. And the same reason is vpon the like or casio yeilded by *Lactantius*, *Disce igitur si quid vobis reliqua mentis est, homines ideo malos & iniustos esse quia dij coluntur: & ideo mala omnia rebus humanis quotidie ingravescere quia Deus mundi huius effector & gubernator derelictus est quia suscepta sunt contra quam fas est impie religiones: postremo quia ne vel a paucis quidem coli deum finitis*. Learne thus much then (if you haue any vnderstanding left) that men are therefore wicked & vnjust because such Gods are worshipped, and that such mischeefes dayly befall thē, because god the Creator and Governour of the world is forsaken by them, because impious religions against all right are entertained of them, finally because you will not permit the worship of the true God so much as to a few. Heere then was the true cause of their bloody warres that they shed the innocent blood of Christians & trampled vnder foote the pretious blood of *Christ*; as their warres together with the vnkindly season were the cause of dearth and famine, and both famine and warre of pestilence and mortalitie: how frequently and fervently doth the Scripture beate vpon this cause, God every where promising to reward the obedience of his people with plenty and peace and kindly seasons, & their rebellion with scarcitie & sicknes, & the sword. But that these scourges of the world were at any time caused by or imputed to the old age or decay therof, to my remembrance we no where read. As then the referring of these plagues with *Demetrianus* and the Gentiles to the curle of God vpon Christian religion, was a blasphemous wrong to Gods truth: So with *Cyprian* to referre them to the old age and naturall decay of the world, (be it spoken with all due reverence to so great a light in the church of God) is in my judgment an aspersiō vpon the Power and providence and justice of God. And *Pammeli- us* in his annotations to excuse *Cyprian* herein (conceiuing beelike that he was not in the right) tells vs that therein he alludes to the opinion of the ancient *Philosophers & Poets*: perchance thereby intending *Lucretius* the great admirer and sectary of *Epicurus*, who of all the Poets I haue met with, hath written the most fully in this argument.

*Iamque adeo effata est etas, effataque tellus:
Vix animalia parua creat, quæ cuncta creauit
Sæcla; deditque ferarum ingentia corpora partu.
Haud (vt opinor) enim mortalia sæcla superne
Aurea de celo demisit funis in arua:
Nec mare, nec fluctus plangentes saxa creantur:
Sed genuit tellus eadem, quæ nunc alit ex se.
Præterea nitidas fruges, vinetaque lata
Sponte suâ primum mortalibus ipsa creauit:
Ipsa dedit dulces fætus, & pabula lata.
Quæ nunc vix nostro grandescunt aucta labore:*

*Lucret. l. 2. Ver-
sus finem.*

*Conterimusque boves, & vires agricolarum:
 Conficimus ferrum vix arvis suppeditati:
 Vsq̃ue adeo parcamus fatius, augentque labores.
 Iamque caput quassans grandis suspirat arator
 Crebrius in cassum magnum cecidisse laborem:
 Et cum tempora temporibus presentia confert
 Præteritis, laudat fortunas sæpe parentis:
 Et crepat, antiquum genus ṽt pietate repletum
 Perficile angustis tolerarit finibus ævum,
 Cum minor esset agri multo modus ante viritim:
 Nec tenet, omnia paulatim tabescere, & ire
 Ad scopulum spacio ætatis defessa vetusto.*

The world with age is broke, the earth our worne,
 And shee of whome what ever liues was borne
 And once brought forth huge bodied beasts, with paine
 A small race now begets. No golden chaine
 These mortalls downe from heaven to earth did let,
 As I suppose: nor sea, nor waues that beat
 The rockes did they create, t'was earth did breed
 All of herselfe, which now all things doth feed.
 The chearefull vine shee of her owne accord,
 Shee corne to mortall wights did first afford:
 Sweete fruites beside and food did she bestow,
 Which now with labour great great hardly grow:
 The plough-swanes strength wee spend, our oxen weare,
 When we our feildes haue sowne no crop they beare,
 So wax our toyles, so waneth our reliefe,
 The husband shakes his head, and sighs for griefe,
 That all his travels frustrate are at last.
 And when times present he compares with past,
 Hee his Sires fortune raises to the skie,
 And much doth talke of th'ancient pietie,
 And how though every man lesse ground possesse,
 Yet better liu'd with greater plentie blest.
 Nor markes how all things by degrees decay
 And tir'd with age towards the rocke make way.

But herein *Lucretius* likewise contradicted himselfe in other places of the same booke, and had the world beene indeede so neare its last breathing as it were, and giueing vp of the Ghost, as *Cyprian* would make it in his time, much more as *Lucretius* in his: vndoubtedly it could never haue held out by the space of almost fourteene hundred yeares since the one, & about sixtee ne hundred since the other, & how long it is yet to last, he only knowes, who hath put the times and seasons in his owne power.

SECT. 4.

The same authority of Cyprian farther answered by opposing
against it the authority of Arnobius supported with
ponderous and pressing reasons.

NOW because this authority of Cyprian is it which prevails so much with so many, it shall not be amiss to oppose thereunto that of Arnobius, not naked and standing upon bare affirmation as doth that of Cyprian, but backt with weighty & forcible arguments, a very renowned both Orator and Philosopher, he was the master of *Lactantius* and diverse other very notable and famous men, and being pressed by the Gentiles of his time with the same objection against Christian religion, as was Cyprian by *Demetrianus*, hee shapes vnto it an answer cleane contrary by shewing that all the fundamentall and primordially parts of the world, as the heavens & elements remained still entire since the profession of Christian religion, as before they were, & for other calamities of famine and warres and pestilence and the like, the common scourges of the world, they had beene as great or greater in former ages, and that before the name of Christianity was heard of in the world then at that time they were. His Latine, because the allegation is long and in some places it favours of the Affrican harshnes, I will spare, and onely set downe the English.

*Adversus Gen-
tes non procul a
principio.*

And first of all in faire and familiar speech this we demand of these men: since the name of Christian religion began to be in the world, what vnconth, what vnusuall things, what against the Lawes instituted at the beginning hath Nature, as they terme & call her either felt or suffered? Those first Element, whereof it is agreed that all things are compounded, are they changed into contrary qualities? Is the frame of this engine and fabrick which covereth and incloseth vs all in any part loosed or dissolved? Hath this wheeling about of Heaven swarving from the rule of its primitive motion either begun to creepe more slowly, or to be carried with headlong volubilitie? Doe the Stars begin to raise themselves vp in the West, and the Signes to incline towards the East? The Prince of Stars the Sun whose light clotheth, and heat quickneth all things, doth hee cease to be hot, is he waxen cooler, and hath he corrupted the temper of his wonted moderation into contrary Habits? Hath the Moone left off to repaire herselfe, and by continuall restoring of new to transforme herselfe into her old shape? Are colds, are heats, are temperate warmths betweene them both by confusion of vnequall times gone? Doth Winter beginne to haue long dayes, and Summer nights to call backe the slowest lights? Haue the winds breathed forth their spirits as having spent their blasts? Is not the aire straitned into cloudes, and doth not the field being moistned with showres wax fruitfull? Doth the Earth refuse to receiue the seeds cast into her? Will not trees budde forth? Haue fruites appointed for food by the burning vp of their moisture changed their taste? Doe they presse gore bloud out of olines? Are lights quenched for want of supplie? The Creatures enured to the land, and that line in waters, doe they not gender and conceiue? The young ones conceived in their wombs do they not after their owne manner and order conserue? To conclude, Men themselves whom their first and beginning nativitie dispersed through the vn-
habited

habited coasts of the Earth, doe they not with solemn nuptiall rights comple themselves in wedlocke? Doe they not beget most sweete offsprings of children? Doe they not manage publicke, private, and domesticall businesses? Doe they not every one as he pleaseth by divers sorts of arts and disciplines direct their wits, and studiously repay the use of their nativities? Doe they not reigne, do they not commaund to whom it is allotted? Doe they not every day more increase in the like dignities and power? Doe they not sit in iudgement: to heare causes? Do they not interpret lawes and statutes? Doe they not publickely use all other wayes whereby the life of man is held in and kept in compasse, all according to the orders and customes of the countrey in their severall nations? These things therefore being so, and that no noveltie hath broken in to interrupt the perpetuall tenor of things by severing and discontinuing them: What is it that they say, Confusion is brought upon the world since Christian religion entred into it, and discovered the misteries of hidden verity? But the Gods, say they, exasperated with your injuries and offences bring upon vs pestilences, droughts, scarcity of corne, locusts, mice, haile, and other hurtfull things assailing the affaires of men. Were it not follie longer to insist upon things evident: and needing no defence, I would soone by unfolding former times demonstrate that the evils yee speake of are neither unknown nor sudden, nor that these confusions brake in, nor that mortall businesses began to be infested with such varietie of dangers, since our Societie obtained the happines of this name to be bestowed upon them. For if we be the cause, and for our demerits these plagues were invented, whence knew antiquity these names of miseries, whence gave it signification to wars? With what knowledge could it name the Pestilence and Haile? or assume them into the number of those words wherewith they uttered their speeche. For if these evils be new, and drawe their causes from late offences, how could it be that it should forme words to those things whereof it selfe neither had experience, nor had learnt that they were in any time done? Scarcitie of corne and extreame dearth distresseth vs. What? were the ancient and eldest ages at any time free from the like necessity? Doe not the very names by which these evils are called testifie and crie that never any mortall man was priviledged fro it? Which were it a matter so hard to beleene, I could produce the testimonies of Authours, what nations, how great, how often have felt horrible famine, and have beene destroyed with a great desolation. But stormes of Haile fall very often, and light on all things. And doe wee not see it registred and recorded in ancient writings that countries have often beene battered with showers of stones? Want of raine kils up the corne, and makes the earth vnfruitfull. And was antiquitie free from these evils, especially seeing wee know that huge rivers have beene dried up to the very bottome? The contagion of Pestilence vexeth Mankind; Runne over the Annals written in severall tongues, and yee shall learne that whole countries have oftentimes beene made desolate, and emptied of inhabitants. All kind of graines are destroyed and devoured by locusts, by mice, Passe through forraine histories, & they will informe you how often former times have bin troubled with these plagues, and brought to the miseries of povertie, Citties shaken with mighty earthquakes totter even unto ruine. What? Have not former times seen Citties together with the inhabitants swallowed up in huge gaping clefts of the earth? Or have they had their estate free from these casualties? when was mankind

mankind destroyed with deluges of waters? not before vs? when was the world burnt & dissolved into embers & ashes? not before vs? when were mightie cities overwhelmed by the seas inundation? not before vs? when did they make war with wild beasts, and encounter with Lyons? not before vs? when were people plagued with venomous serpents? not before vs? For that yee rise to object vnto vs the causes of so often warres, the laying wast of Citties, the irruption of Germans and Scythians I will by your good leaue and patience be bold to say, that yee are so transported with desire to slander, that yee know not what it is yee say. That upward of tenthousand yeares agoe a huge swarme of men should breake out of that land of Neptune, which is called Atlantick, as Plato declares, and vitterly destroy and consume innumerable nations, were we the cause? That the Assyrians and Bactrians sometimes under the leading of Ninus, and Zoroastres should warre one against the other, not only with sword and strength, but also by the hidden artes of Magick, and the Chaldeans, was it our envie? That Helena by the direction and impulsions of the Gods was ravished, and became a fatal calamitie both to her owne and future times, was it attributed to the crime of our religion? That the great and mighty Xerxes brought in the sea vpon the land, and past over the seas on foot, was it done through the injury of our name? That a yong man, rising out of the borders of Macedon, brought the kingdome and people of the East vnder the yoke of captivity and bondage, did wee procure and cause it? That now the Romans should like a violent streame drowne and overwhelme all nations, did wee forsooth thrust the Gods into the fury? Now if no man dare to impute to our times the things that were done long since: how can we be the causes of the present miseries, seeing there is no new thing salne out, but all are ancient, and not unheard of in any antiquitie? although it be not hard to proue that the warres which yee say are raised through the envie of our religion, are not only not increased since Christ was heard off in the world, but also for the greater part (by repreßing mans furiousnesse) lessened. For seeing wee so great a multitude of men haue learned by his instructions & lawes, that we are not to requite euill for euill, that it is farre better to suffer then to do wrong, rather to shed a mans owne then to pollute his hands and conscience with the bloud of another: the vngratefull world hath ere while receiued this benefit from Christ, by whome the fiercenesse and wildnesse of nature is tamed, and they haue begun to refraine their hostile hands from the bloud of the creature Kinne vnto the. Certainly if all who know, that to be men stands not in the shape of bodies, but in the power of reason, would listen a while vnto his wholesome and peaceable decrees and not puffed up with arrogance and selfe conceit, rather beleene their owne opinions then his admonitions: the whole world long agoe (turning the use of iron vnto milder workes) should haue liued in most quiet tranquillity, and haue met together in a firme and indissoluble league of most safe cōcord. But if, say they, through you the state of man suffereth no disadvantage, whence are these evils wherewith now a long time miserable mortality is afflicted and oppressed? You aske my opinion in a matter not necessary to this businesse. For the present disputation now in hand was not undertaken by mee to this end, to shew or proue vpon what causes or reasons each thing was done, but to manifest that the reproch of so great a crime as wee are charged with, is farre from vs, which if I performe, and by deeds and euident remon-

strances unfold the truth of the matter, whence these evils are, or unt of what
 fountaines or principles they proceed, I care not. For what if the first matter,
 digested into the foure elements of all things, containe wrapped up in its rota-
 tions the causes of all miseries? what if the motions of the starres by certaine
 signes, parts, times, lines produce these evils, and bring upon things subject
 unto them necessities of drverse sortes? what if in set times the vicissitude
 of things fall out, and as it is in the motions of the sea, sometime there is a flow
 of prosperity, sometime it ebbeeth back againe, and evils returne in the roome
 thereof? what if the dregs of this matter which wee treade under our feet
 haue this law given unto it, to breath forth most noysome vapours, where-
 with this aire being corrupted should both infect the bodies and disable
 the endeouours of men? what if (which indeed is nearest unto truth) what-
 soever seemeth crosse unto vs, is not euill to the world it selfe: and that wee
 perswading ourselues that all things are done for our benefits, do by reason of
 our wicked opinions wrongfully accuse the event of nature? Plato the high-
 est top and chiefe pillar of Philosophers, maintaineth in his comentaries, that
 those fearefull inundations and conflagrations of the world, are the purging of
 the earth: neither was that wise man affraid to call the subversion, slaughter,
 ruine, destruction and funerals of mankind, an innovation of things, and that
 thereby repaireing their strength they recover a certaine youth agane. Heaven,
 saith hee, raines not, and wee labour of I know not of what scarcity of corne.
 what? dost thou require that the Elements serue thy necessities? and to
 the end thou mayst line more daintily and delicately, that the times obsequi-
 ously apply themselues to thy commodities? what if he that is desirous of
 navigation complaine in like sort that now along time there are no
 windes, and that the blasts of heaven are ceased. Must wee say there-
 fore that such tranquillitie of the world is pernicious, because it hinders
 the desires of Passengers? what if any who hath beene accustomed to
 tosse himselfe in the sun, and to procure drynesse to his body, should in
 like manner complaine that the pleasure of faire and cleare weather is by
 very often cloudinesse taken away? Must the cloudes therefore be sayd
 as enemies to hang and overspread the skie, because thou canst not at thy
 pleasure frie thy selfe in the flames and prepare occasions for drinking? All
 these events which come to passe and fall out vnder the cope of Heaven are to
 be weighed not by our petty commodities, but by the reasons and orders of na-
 ture it selfe. Neither if any thing happen which toucheth vs and our affaires
 but with unwelcome successes, is it forthwith euill, and to be accounted noxi-
 ous. whether the world raine or not raine, it raineth or not ratneth to it selfe,
 and which happily thou knowest not, either it consumes away the too much
 moysture with the fervencie of drought, or temper thes drought of a very long
 time with the pouring out of raines. It sendeth pestilences, diseases, famines, &
 other formes of evils threatening destruction: how dost thou know whether so
 it take away that which is superfluous, and by its owne losses set a measure to
 the riot and excesse of things? Darest thou say this or that is euill
 in the world, the originall and cause whereof thou art not able to unfold and
 resolue? and because happily it hinders thy pleasures of the delects and lustes,
 wilt thou say it is pernicious & cruell? what then? If cold be contrary unto thy
 body, & use to congeale the heat of thy blood, must not winter therefore be in the
 world

World? And because thou canst not endure the fervent heat of the Sun, must the Summer be taken out of the yeare? and nature againe be ordered by other lawes? Hellebore is poison vnto men: ought it not for this cause to bee brought forth? The wolfe layes wait for the flocke of sheep: is Nature in the fault which hath bred so troublesome a beast vnto those fleecie creatures? The biting of the Serpent taketh away life: shall I therefore speake euill of the first beginnings of things because they haue added so cruell monsters vnto living Creatures? It is too arrogant a part, seeing thy selfe art not thine owne, and livest in possession of another, to presume to prescribe to those that are mightier then thy selfe, and to require that that be done which thou desirest, not that which thou findest by ancient constitutions already settled in things. Wherefore if you men will haue your complaints to take place, it is requisite yee first teach vs whence or what yee are: whether this World be made & framed for you, or ye came as strangers vnto it out of other Countries? Which seeing you are not able to tell, & you cannot resolute vs for what cause you liue vnder this hollow vault of Heauen: leaue off to suppose that any thing belongeth vnto you, seeing the things that are done, are not alike done, but are to be reckoned & accounted in the summe intended in the whole. By reason of Christians, say they, these evils are come, & the gods send these calamities vpon come. I demaund when ye say these things, doe ye not see how desperatly with open & manifest lies ye slander vs? It is now three hundred yeares more or lesse, since we Christians began to be, & beare this name in the World: haue there been all these yeares continuall warrs, continuall dearths? hath there been no peace at all in the Earth, no cheapnes, no plenty of things? For he that accuseth vs must first of all demonstrate that these calamities haue been perpetual & continuall, that mortall men haue neuer had any breathing time, & that without any holydaies, as they say, haue endured the formes of manifold dangers. But do we not see in these middle yeares & middle times, that innumerable victories haue bin obtained over conquered enemies? that the territories of the Empire haue bin enlarged, & Nations whose names were neuer heard of, bin brought in subiection? that oftentimes the yeares haue yeelded marueilous great increase, & such cheapnes & plenty of things, that there was no buying or selling at all, the prices of things being so much fallen? For how could things be done, & how could mankind continue vntill this time, if fertility & plenty did not supply all whatsoeuer need required? But sometimes heretofore haue bin in need & necessity. And they haue bin recompenced againe with abundance. Again some warrs haue bin waged against our will. And they haue afterwards bin corrected by victories & good successe. What then shall we say? that the gods are sometime mindfull of our miseries, & sometime againe vnmindfull? If at what time there is Famine it be said they are angry, it followeth that in time of plenty they are not angry nor displeased: & so all is brought to this issue, that by turnes they lightly lay aside & take up their angers, & by remembrance of offences returne afresh vnto them again. Although what that is which they say seemes to be inexplicable, & cannot be knowne or vnderstood. If therefore they would haue the Almans, Persians, Scythians subdued because Christians did dwell & liue among these Nations: Why did they giue the Romans the victory seeing Christians dwelt & lined among their Nations also. If it were their pleasure that mice & locusts should therefore swarme in Asia & Syria, because in like manner Christians dwelt in those Nations: why did they not at the same time swarme

in Spaine & France seeing innumerable Christians lined in these Provinces also? If for this very cause they send drought upon the corne, & barrennesse among the Getulians & them of Aquitaine: why did they the same yeare give such plentiful harvests to the Moores & Numidians, the like Religion being settled in these Countries also? If in any one Citie they have caused through the hatred of our name very many to perish with famine: why in the same place have they through the dearenes of all provision made not only those that are not of our body, but even true Christians also much more the richer & wealthier? It becometh therefore that either none should have had any thing that was comfortable, if we be the cause of Evils, for we are in all Nations: or seeing yee see that things profitable are mingled with those that are incommodious, leave off at length to ascribe that unto vs which impeacheth your estates, since we be no hindrance at all to your wealth and prosperity.

S E C T. 5.

The fourth objection answered, which is borrowed from the authority of Esdras.

THAT which yet farther disables the validity of this testimony of Cyprian, is that in the opinion of *Sixtus Senensis*, a learned Writer, he borrowed it from the *Apocryphall Esdras*. For *Canonick Scripture*, he seemes indeed to glance at the name thereof by the way, but alledges none; And if *Senensis* had thought that any booke of the Canon had favoured this opinion of Cyprian, hee would neuer have sent vs to *Esdras*, but since the appeale is made to *Esdras*, to *Esdras* let vs goe. Hee then in his fourth booke and fifth Chapter, v. 51, 52, 53, 54, and 55, thus speakes of this matter. *He answered me, and said, aske a woman that beareth children, and she shall tell thee. say unto her, wherefore are not they whom thou hast now brought forth like those that were before, but lesse of stature, & she shall answer thee: They that be borne in the strength of youth, be of one fashion, and they that be borne in the time of age when the womb faileth are otherwise. Consider thou therefore also, how that ye are lesse of stature then they that were before you, and so are they that come after you lesse then ye, as the creatures which now begin to be old, and haue passed over the strength of youth.* Now as others depend vpon the authority of Cyprian, so Cyprian himselfe depending vpon this of *Esdras*, it will not I hope be thought either unreasonable or impertinent, if we a little examine the weight thereof. First then, it is certaine that this booke is not to be found either in *Hebrew* or *Greeke*, neither is it by the *Tridentine Counsell* admitted into the Canon, & no doubt but vpon very sufficient reason is it excluded both by them and vs, in regard of the doctrines which it teacheth, manifestly repugnant to the rules of orthodoxe faith; as in the fourth and seventh Chapters it teacheth, that the soules of the Saints departed this life are detained as it were imprisoned in certain cels & vaults of the Earth untill the number of the Elect be accomplished, and that then they shall receive their Crowns of glory altogether, and not before. In the sixth Chapter he tels vs a most ridiculous vsuall tale, of two vasse Creatures made vpon the fifth day of the Creation; the one called *Enoch*, or *Behemoth*, and the other *Leviathan*.

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In the seventh he deriues his pedegree from Aaron, by nineteene generations, whereas the true *Esdra*s, or *Efra*s deriues his but by fifteene. And to bring it home somewhat neerer to our purpose. In the fourteenth chapter hee shewes himselfe manifestly a false Prophet, touching the Consummation of the world; which (saith hee) hath lost his youth, and the times begin to wax old: for the world is diuided into twelue parts, and tenne parts of it are gone already, and halfe of a tenth part, and there remaineth that which is after the halfe of the tenth part. So that by his computation diuiding the whole time of the worlds duration into twelue equall portions, onely one and a halfe were then remaining, which had it beene true, the world should haue ended almost fifteene hundred yeares agoe. For the time from the worlds Creation to *Esdra*s, (according to the Scriptures calculation) containe about three thousand foure hundred and seventy yeares, and this summe of yeares containe ten parts and an halfe of of the twelue, allotted for the whole duration of the world, whence it consequently followes, that the residue of the time from *Esdra*s to the worlds end, could not excede the number of five hundred yeares: and yet from *Esdra*s to this present yeare of the Lord, one thousand six hundred twenty six, wee finde there are passed almost two thousand yeares.

Heerevnto may bee added the sharpe but well deserved Censure of *Iunius* in his preface to the *Apochryphall* bookes. *Nihil habet Esdra quam falso emendicatum nomen & injuria maxima. Authorem enim, quem puduit sui operis longe amplius debuerat puduisse, cum suis somnijs nomen tanti viri praefigeret, & impudenter Ecclesiam veller fallere.* Hee hath nothing in him worthy of *Esdra*s, but only a borrowed name and that most injuriously assumed. Hee was ashamed of his owne name, but hee should rather haue shamed to prefixe the name of so worthy a man before his dreames, and thereby attempt the deceiving of the Church. And againe in his annotations on the first chapter of that booke, *Quis vero huic libro tantam fidem deinceps arroget, quā in ipsa fronte nauos tam immanes & in re tam euidenti mendacia tam puerilia, ne quid grauius dicam, animaduertit. Quisquis es qui hunc librum legis, sume auctoritatem probandi atq; iudicandi sermones ejus, Non enim obstringit fidem tuam illius auctoritas, si qua est, in tam crassis erroribus.* Who will heereafter giue credit to this booke, who obserues in the very forehead of it so notorious blemishes, and in a matter so euident, (not to say worfe of it) so childish lies. Whosoever thou art that readest this booke, take to thy selfe authoritie of trying and judging his speeches. For his authority cannot binde thy Credence, if there be any in such grosse errors. It shall not bee amisse then to follow this aduise of *Iunius*, and to bring this counterfeite to the touch-stone, whereby wee shall easily discern, that both the ground hee assumes is unsound, and his illation from thence deduced inconsequent. His ground is that children borne or begotten in old age, are alwayes weaker then those in youth: Whereas *Isaak* borne of *Sarah* when shee was now so old that shee was thought both by others and her selfe to be past conceiving, and begotten of *Abraham* when his body was now dead, was for any thing wee finde to the contrary of as strong & healthfull a constitution as *Isaac* borne in the strength of *Isaac* and *Rebecca*. And *Ioseph*

Gen. 18. 11. 12.

Rom. 4. 19.

Gen. 49. 3.

or Benjamin as able men as Reuben, though Isaac in his blessing call him; *The beginning of his strength and the excellencie of power*, as being his first begotten. Nay often wee see that the youngest borne in age not equalls onely, but excells both in wit and spirit and strength and stature the Eldest borne in youth. So vnſure and ſandie is this ground; and for his inference drawne from thence, it is no lesse *unwarrantable and insufficient*. There being in the resemblance betwixt a woman and the world as large a difference, as is the dissimilitude betweene the fruite of the one and the generations of the other: The one taking her beginning by the *course of nature* in weakenesse & so growing to perfection and ripenesse shee quickly declines and hastens to dissolution. Shee must necessarily expect the tearme of certaine yeares before she can conceiue her fruite, and then againe at the end of certaine yeares shee leaues to conceiue. Whereas the other being created immediatly by a *supernaturall power*, was made in the very first moment (that it was fully made) in full perfection which except it bee for the sinne of man it, never lost, nor by any force of subordinate causes possibly could or can loose. The quickening efficacy of that word, *Crescite & multiplicamini*, though deliuered many thousand yeares since is now as powerfull in *beasts*, in *plants* in *birds* in *fishes* in *men* as at first it was. And thus much this *false Prophet* seemes himselfe to acknowledge in the chapter following, where he thus brings in the Lord speaking vnto him; *All these things were made by me alone, and by none other: by mee also they shall be ended, and by none other*. And if they shall be ended immediatly by the hand of the Almighty, as immediatly by it they were made, then doubtles there is no such *naturall decay* in them, which would at last without the concurrence of any such *supernaturall power* bring them to a *naturall dissolution*, no more then there was any *naturall forerunning preparation* to their *Creation*. And thus wee see, how this *Goliath* hath his head stricken off with his owne sword, and this lying Prophet condemned out of his owne mouth. I haue dwelt the longer vpon this examination, because I finde that the testimony drawne from this *Counterfeite* was it that in appearance misledde *Cyprian*, & both their testimonies together, that which hath yeelded the principall both *confidence* and *countenance* to the *Adverse part*.

Cap. 6. 6.

SECT. 6.

The last obiection answered pretended to bee taken from the authority of holy Scriptures.

Cap. 24. 4.

As the testimony taken frō *Esdras* wants *authority*: so those which are drawn frō *authority* of sacred & *Canonicall Scriptures* want right *explicatio* & *applicatio*. Whereof the first that I haue met with, are those misconstrued words of the Prophet *Isaiah*, *The world languisheth and fadeth away*, or (as some other translations read it,) *The world is feeble & decayed*. Which by *Iunius* & *Tremelius* are rendred in the future tence *Languebit, Concidet orbis habitabilis*, and are vndoubtedly to be referred to the destruction & desolation of those Nations against which he had

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in some chapters precedent, denounced the heavy judgements of God, As the *Moabites, Egyptians, Tyrians, Syrians, Assyrians, Ethiopians, Babylonians*, and the *Israelites* themselves. *Iunius* thus rightly summing the chapter, *Propheta summam contrahit iudiciorum quæ supra denunciauerat*, The Prophet recapitulates or drawes into one head or summe the judgements which before hee had denounced at large, and in particular, which comming from the *justice* and *immediate* hand of God for sin vpon a part of the world, can in no sort be referred to the ordinary course of Nature in regard of the *Vniuersall*.

That which carries with it some more colour of Reason is that by *St. Paul*, The Creature is said to be subiect to vanity, to the bondage of corrup- Rom. 8. 20. 21. tion, to groaning, and to travelling in paine: All which seeme to imply a decay and declination in it: But in the judgement of the soundest Interpreters, the Apostle by vanity and bondage of corruption, meanes, first, that impurity, infirmity, and deformity, which the Creature hath contracted by the fall of man; Secondly, the daily alteration and change, nay declination and decay of the Individuals and particulars of every kind vnder heaven; Thirdly, the designation & hastning of the kindes or species themselves to a finall & totall dissolution by fire; And lastly, the abuse of them, tending to the dishonour of the Creator, or the hurt of his servants, or the service of his enemies: All these may not improperly be tearmed vanity and a bondage of corruption, vnder which the Creature groaneth and travelleth, wishing and waiting to be delivered from it.

But that of *S. Peter* is it which is most of all stood vpon, where he brings in the prophane scoffers at Religion, and especially at the article of the worlds Consummation, thus questioning the matter, where is the promise of his comming? For since the fathers fell asleepe, all things continue as 2. Pet. 3. 4. they were from the beginning of the Creation. But in truth that place, if it bee well weighed, rather makes against the worlds supposed decay then for it, in as much as if the Apostle had known or acknowledged any such decay in it, it is to be presumed, that being invited, and in a manner forced therevnto by so faire and fit an occasion, hee would haue pressed it against those scoffers, or in some sort haue expressed himselfe therein. But since hee onely vrges the Creation of the world, and the overwhelming of it with water, to proue that the same God, who wasthe v. 3. 6. Author of both those, is as able at his pleasure to vnmake it with fire, it should seeme hee had learned no such diuinity, as the worlds decay, or at least-wise had no such assurance of it, and warrant for it, as to teach it the Church; Nay in the 7 verse of the same chapter, hee tells vs, that the heavens and earth which are now, are by the same word, by which they were Created, kept in store and reserved to fire. It was not then their auerring, that things continued as they were, that made them scoffers, but their irreligious inference from thence, that the world neither had beginning, neither should haue ending, but all things should alwaies continue as formerly they alwayes had done. And thus much may suffice for the consideration of the worlds decay in Generall, it rests now, that wee descend to a distinct view of the particulars, amongst which the Heavens first present themselves vpon the Theatre, as being the most glorious and operative bodies, and seated in the most eminent roome.

LIB. II.

Of the pretended decay of the Heauens and
Elements, and Elementary Bo-
dies, Man onely ex-
cepted.

CAP. I.

Touching the pretended decay of the
Heauenly Bodies.

SECT. I.

First of their working vpon this inferiour World.

Pfal. 19. 1.



Gen. 1. 14.

Such and so great is the wisdom, the bounty, and the power which Almighty God hath expressed in the frame of the Heauens, that the Psalmist might justly say, *The Heauens declare the glory of God; the Sun, & the Moone, & the Stars* serving as so many silver & golden Characters, embroidered vpon azure for the daylie preaching and publishing thereof to the World. And surely if he haue made the floore of this great House of the World so beautifull, and garnished it with such wonderfull variety of beasts, of trees, of hearbes, of flowres, we neede wonder the lesse at the magnificence of the rooffe, which is the highest part of the World, and the neereft to the Mansion House of Saints and Angels. Now as the excellencie of these Bodies appears in their situation, their matter, their magnitudes, and their Sphericall or Circular figure: so specially in their great use and efficacy, not onely that they are for signes and seasons, and for dayes & yeares, but in that by their motion, their light, their warmth, & influence, they guide and gouerne, nay cherish and maintaine, nay breed & beget these inferiour bodies, euen of man himselte, for whose sake the Heauens were made. It is truly said by the Prince of Philosophers, *Sol & homo generant hominem*, the Sunne and man beget man, man concurring in the generation of man as an immediate, and the Sunne as a remote cause. And in another place he doubts not to affirme of this inferiour World in generall, *Necesse est mundum inferiorem superioribus latioribus continuari, ut omnis inde virtus derivetur*: it is requisite, that these inferiour parts of the World should bee conioyned to the motions of the higher Bodies, that so all their vertue and vigour from thence might be derived. There is no question. but that the Heauens haue a marvailous great stroake vpon the aire, the water, the earth, the plants, the mettalls, the beasts, nay vpon Man himselte, at leastwise in regard of his body and naturall faculties: so that if there can be found any decay in the Heauens, it will in the course of Nature, and discourse of reason consequently follow, that there must of necessity ensue a decay in all those which depend vpon the Heauens: as likewise on the other side, if there be found no decay

in

in the *Heauens*, the presumption will be strong, that there is *no such decay* (as is supposed) in these *Subcelestiall Bodies*, because of the great sympathy and correspondence which is knowne to be betweene them by many and notable experiments. For to let passe the quailing and withering of all things, by the *recesse* and their reviving and resurrection (as it were) by the *reaccesse*, of the *Sunne*; I am of opinion, that the *sap* in trees so precisely followes the motion of the *Sunne*, that it neuer rests, but is in continuall agitation as the *Sun* it selfe: which no sooner arriues at the *Tropick*, but he instantly returnes, and euen at that very instant (as I conceiue, and I thinke it may be demonstrated by experimentall conclusions) the *sappe* which by degrees descended with the declination of the *Sun*, begins to *remount* at the approach thereof by the same steps that it descended: and as the approach of the *Sunne*, is scarce sensible at his first returne, but afterward the day increases more in one wecke, then before in two; in like manner also fares it with the *sap* in plants, which at first ascends *insensibly* and slowly, but within a while much more swiftly and *apparently*. It is certaine, that the *Tulypp*, *Marigold*, and *Sun-flowre* open with the rising, and shut with the setting of the *Sunne*; So that though the *Sunne* appeare not, a man may more infallibly know when it is high noone by their full spreading, then by the *Index* of a Clock or Watch. The *hop* in its growing winding it selfe about the pole, alwayes followes the course of the *Sunne* from East to West, and can by no meanes bee drawne to the contrary, choosing rather to breake then yeeld.

It is obserued by those that sayle betweene the *Tropicks*, that there is a constant set winde, blowing from the *East* to the *West*, saylers call it the *Breeze*, which rises and falls with the *Sunne*, and is alwayes highest at noone, and is commonly so strong, partly by its owne blowing, and partly by ouer-ruling the *Currant*, that they who saile to *Peru*, cannot well returne home the same way they came forth. And generally, *Mariners* obserue, that *ceteris paribus* they sayle with more speed from the *East* to the *West*, then backe againe from the *West* to the *East*, in the same compasse of time. All which should argue a wheeling about of the aire, and waters by the diurnall motion of the *Heauens*, and specially by the motion of the *Sunne*. Whereunto may be added, that the high *Seasprings* of the year are alwayes neere about the two *Equinoctials* and *Solstices*, and the *Cock* as a trusty Watchman, both at midnight and breake of day giues notice of the *Sunnes* approach.

These be the strange and secret effects of the *Sunne*, vpon the inferior Bodies, whence by the *Gentiles* hee was held the visible God of the World, and teamed the *Eye* thereof, which alone saw all things in the World, and by which the World saw all things in it selfe.

Omnia qui videt, & per quem videt omnia mundus.

And most notably is he described by the *Psalmist*, in them hath he set a *Tabernacle* for the *Sun*, which is as a bridegroom comming out of his chamber, & rejoyceth as a strong man to run a race. His going forth is from the end of the *Heauen*, and his circuite vnto the ends of it, and there is nothing hid from the heat thereof.

Psalm. 19. 4. 5. 6.

Now as the effects of the *Sun*, the head-spring of light and warmth, are

De operibus
Dei.

Arist. l. 4. de
partibus anima-
lium cap. 5.
Plin. lib. 2 c. 41.
¶ 99.

De civit. Dei
lib. 21 c. 5.
De natura Fof-
sil. lib. 5.

In 3. de diebus
Critici.

are vpon these inferiour Bodies more actiue : so those of the *Moon*; (as being *Vltima celo, Citima terris*, neerer the Earth, and holding a greater resemblance therewith) are no lesse manifest. And therefore the *husbandman* in sowing & setting, grafting and planting, lopping of trees, & felling of timber, and the like, vpon good reason obserues the waxing & waning of the *Moone*. which the learned *Zanchius* well allows of, commending *Hesiod* for his rules therein. *Quod Hesiodus ex Lunæ decrementis & incrementis totius agricolationis signa notet, quis improbet?* who can mislike it, that *Hesiod* sets downe the signes, in the whole course of husbandry, from the waxing and waning of the *Moone*? The tydes and ebbes of the Sea follow the course of it, so exactly, as the *Sea-man* will tell you the age of the *Moone* onely vpon the sight of the tide, as certainly, as if he saw it in the water. It is the obseruation of *Aristotle* & of *Pliny* out of him, that oysters, and mussels, and cockles, and lobsters, & crabbs, and generally all shell-fish grow fuller in the waxing of the *Moone*, but emptier in the waning thereof. Such a strong predominancie it hath euen vpon the braine of Man, that *Lunatics* borrow their very name from it, as also doth the stone *Selenites*, whose property, as *S. Augustine* and *Georgius Agricola* record it, is to increase and decrease in light with the *Moone*, carrying alwayes the resemblance thereof in it selfe. Neither can it reasonably be imagined that the other *Planets*, and *starrs*, and *parts of Heauen*, are without their forcible operations, vpon these lower Bodies, specially considering that the very plants and hearbes of the Earth, which we tread vpon, haue their seuerall vertues, as well single by themselves, as in composition with other ingredients. The *Physitian* in opening a veine, hath euer an eye to the *signe* then rainging. The *Canicular star* specially in those hotter Climates, was by the Ancients alwayes held a dangerous enemy to the practise of *Physick*, and all kind of Evacuations. Nay *Galen* himselfe, the *Oracle* of that profession, adviseth practitioners in that Art, in all their Cures to haue a speciall regard to the reigning *Constellations* & *Coniunctions* of the *Planets*. But the most admirable *mystery* of *Nature*, in my mind, is the turning of yron touched with the *loadstone*, toward the *North-pole*, of which I shall haue farther occasion to intreate, more largely in the Chapter touching the Comparison of the wits & inventions of these times with those of former ages. Neither were it hard to add much more, to that which hath beene said, to shew the dependance of these *Elementary Bodies* vpon the *heavenly*. *Almighty God* hauing ordained, that the higher should serue as *intermediate Agents*, or *secondary Causes*, betweene himselfe and the lower: And as they are linked together in a *chaîne* of order, so are they likewise chained together in the order of *Causes*, but so as in the wheelles of a Clocke, though the failing in the *superior*, cannot but cause a failing in the *inferiour*, yet the failing of the *inferiour*, may well argue though it cannot cause a failing in the *superiour*. We haue great reason then, as I conceiue, to begin with the Examination of the state of *Celestiall bodies*, in as much as vpon it the condition of the *subcelestiall* wholly de-pends. Wherein five things offer themselves to our consideration, Their *substance*, their *motion*, their *light*, their *warmth*, and their *influence*.

SECT.

SECT. 2.

*Touching the pretended decay in the substance of
the Heavens*

TO finde out whether the *substance* of the *heavenly bodies* bee decayed or no, it will not be amisse a little to inquire into the nature of the *matter* and *forme*, of which that *substance* consists; that so it may appeare whether or no in a naturall course they be capable of such a supposed decay. That the Heavens are endued with some kinde of *matter*, (though some *Philosophers* in their jangling humour, have made a doubt of it,) yet I thinke no sober and wise *Christian* will deny it: But whether the *matter* of it, bee the same with that of these *inferiour bodies*, *adhuc sub Iudice lis est*; it hath beene, and still is a great question among *Divines*. The ancient *Fathers* and *Doctors* of the *Primitive Church*, for the most part, following, *Plato*, hold that it agrees with the *matter* of the *Elementary bodies*; yet so as it is compounded of the finest flower, and choicest delicacy of the *Elements*: But the *Schoolemen* on the other side, following *Aristotle*, adhere to his *Quintessence*, Lib. 1. de Caelo, cap. 2. and by no meanes, will bee beaten from it, since, say they, if the *Elements* and the heavens should agree in the same *matter*, it should consequently follow, that there should bee a mutuall traffique and commerce, a reciprocall action, and passion betweene them, which would soone draw on a change, and by degrees, a ruine vpon those glorious bodies. Now though this point will neuer (I thinke) bee fully and finally determined, till wee come to be *Inhabitants* of that place, whereof wee dispute, (for hardly doe wee guesse aright at things that are vpon earth, and with labour doe wee find the things that are at hand, but the things which are in heaven, who hath searched out?) Yet for the present, I should state it thus, that they agree in the same originall *matter*, and surely *Moses*, mee thinkes, seemes to favour this opinion, making but one *matter*, (as farre as I can gather from the text) out of which all *bodily substances* were created.

Vnus erat toto natura vultus in orbe.

1. Metamorph.

So as the heavens, though they bee not compounded of the *Elements*, yet are they made of the same *matter*, that the *Elements* are compounded of. They are not subject to the qualities of *heat*, or *cold*, or *drought*, or *moisture*, nor yet to *weight*, or *lightnes*, which arise from those qualities, but haue a *forme* giuen them, which differeth from the *formes* of all corruptible bodies, so as it suffereth not, nor can it suffer from any of them, being so excellent and perfect in it selfe, as it wholly satiateth the appetite of the *matter* it informeth. The *Celestiall bodies* then, meeting with so noble a *forme* to actuate them are not, nor cannot, in the course of nature, bee lyable, to any *generation* or *corruption*, in regard of their *substance*, to any *augmentation* or *diminution* in regard of their *quantity*, no nor to any *destructiue alteration* in respect of their *qualities*.

I am not ignorant that the controversies, touching this *forme* what it should bee, is no lesse then that touching the *matter*; Some holding it to bee a liuing and quickning *spirit*, nay a *sensitiue* and reasonable *soule*, which

De Celorum a-
nimatione.

which opinion is stiffely maintained by many great & learned Clarks, both *Jewes*, and *Gentiles*, & *Christians*, supposing it vnreasonable that the heavens which impart life to other bodies, should themselues bee destitute of life: But this error is notably discovered and confuted by *Claudian Espencus*, a famous Doctor of the *Sorbone*, in a *Treatise* which hee purposely composed on this point; In as much as what is denied those bodies in life, in sense, in reason, is abundantly supplied in their constant & vnchangeable duration, arising from that inviolable knot, & indissoluble marriage, betwixt the matter & the forme, which can never suffer any divorce, but from that hand which first joyned them. And howbeit it cannot be denied, that not only the reasonable soule of man, but the sensitive of the least gnat that flies in the aire, and the Vegetative of the basest plant that springs out of the earth, are (in that they are indued with life) more divine and neerer approaching to the fountaine of life, then the formes of the heavenly bodies; yet as the *Apostle* speaking of Faith, Hope, and Charity, concludes Charity to bee the greatest, (though by faith wee apprehend and apply the merits of *Christ*) because it is more universall in operation, and lasting in duration; so though the formes of the Creatures endued with life doe in that regard, come a step neerer to the Deity, then the formes of the heavenly bodies, which are without life, yet if wee regard their purity, their beauty, their efficacy, their indeficiencie in moving, their Vniversallity and independencie in working, there is no question, but the heavens may in that respect bee preferred, even before man himselfe, for whose sake they were made; Man being indeed immortal in regard of his soule, but the heavens in regard of their bodies, as being made of an incorruptible stuffe.

Which cannot well stand with their opinion, who held them to bee composed of fire, or that the waters which in the first of *Genesis*, are said to bee above the firmament, and in the hundred fortie eight *Psalme*, above the heavens, are above the heavens wee now treat of, for the tempering and qualifying of their heat, as did *S. Ambrose*, and *S. Augustine*, and many others, venerable for their antiquity, learning, and piety. Touching the former of which opinions, wee shall haue fitter opportunity to discusse it at large, when we come to treat of the warmth caused by the heavens. But touching the second, it seemes to haue beene grounded vpon a mistake of the word *Firmament*, which by the Ancients, was commonly appropriated to the eight sphere, in which are seated the fixed starres, whereas the originall *Hebrew* (which properly signifies *Extension*, or *Expansion*) is in the first of *Genesis*, not onely applied to the spheres in which the Sunne and Moone are planted, but to the lowest region of the aire, in which the birds flie, and so doe I with *Pareus* & *Pererius* take it to bee vnderstood in this controversie. This region of the aire being, as *S. Augustine* somewhere speakes, *Terminus intransgressibilis*, a firme and immoveable wall of separation betwixt the waters that are bred in the bowels of the earth, and those of the Cloudes: and for the word heaven, which is vsed in the hundred forty and eight *Psalme*, it is likewise applyed to the middle region of the aire by the *Prophet Jeremy*, which may serue for a *Glosse* vpon that text, alleaged out

Hexam. l. 3. c. 3.
De Civit. Dei, l.
11. c. ult.v. 15.
v. 20.

Jerem. 10. 13.

of

of the *Psalme*. When hee uttereth his voice, there is a noise of waters in the heavens, and hee causeth the vapours to ascend from the ends of the earth.

Now the Schoolemen finding that the placing of waters about the starry heavens, was both unnaturall and unusefull, and yet being not well acquainted with the propriety of the Hebrew word, to salve the matter, tell vs of a *Christalline* or glassie heaven, about the eight sphere, which, say they, is vndoubtedly the waters about the firmament mentioned by *Moses*; which exposition of theirs, though it doe not inferre a decay in the heavenly bodies, yet doth it crosse the course of *Moses* his historicall narration, his purpose being, as it seemes, only to write the history of things which were visible and sensible, as appeares in part by his omitting the Creation of *Angells*, whereas the *Christalline* heaven they speake of, is not only invisible and insensible, but was not at all discovered to be, till the dayes of *Hipparchus* or *Ptolomy*. Since then the heavens in regard of their substance, are altogether free (for any thing yet appeares,) from any mixture or tincture of the Elements, being made of an incorruptible and unalterable quintessence, which neither hath any conflict in it selfe, nor with any other thing without it, from thence may wee safely collect that it neither is, nor can be subiect to any such decay as is imagined.

SECT. 3.

An objection drawne from Iob, answered.

Howbeit the deserved curse of God, deprived the earth of her fertility, in bringing forth without the sweat of *Adam* and his offspring, yet I finde not that it stretched to the *Starres*, or that any thing about the *Moone* was altered or changed, in respect of *Adams* fault, from their first perfection. True indeed it is which *Eliphaz* teacheth, that the heavens, & *Bildad*, that the starres are not cleane in Gods sight: Iob. 15. 15. & 25. 5. it may bee, because of the fall of *Angels*, the inhabitants of heaven, whom therefore he charged with folly: Which exposition, *Iunius* so farre favours, as instead of *Cælum*, hee puts *Calites*, into the very body of the text: Iob. 4. 18. But in my judgement it would better haue sorted with the *Margin*, in as much as by *Calites*, wee may vnderstand either *Saints* or *Angells*, both Citizens of heaven, either in actuall possession, or in certaine hope and expectation; in possession, as *Angels* and *Saints* departed, in expectation, as the *Saints* heere in warfaire on the earth: And of these doth *Gregory* in his *Moralls* on *Iob*, expound the place, *hoc cælorum nomine repetit quod Sanctorum prius appellatione signavit*, Cap. 15. 15. faith hee: *Iob* repeates that by the name of heaven, which before hee expressed vnder the name of *Saints*. And thus both hee and *S. Augustine* expound that of the nineteene *Psalme*, *The heavens declare the glory of God*. And with them most of the *Ancients*, that petition of the *Lords Prayer*, *Thy will bee done on earth as it is in heaven*. But what neede wee flie to allegories, & figuratiue senses, when the letter of the text will well enough stand with the analogie of faith, the texts of other Scriptures, and the rule of sound reason. The very materiall heavens then, may not vntruly or vnproperly

Ilay. 6. 2.

Apud Augusti-
num Steuchum,
l. 10. de Perenni
Philosophia,

bee said, to bee *uncleane* in Gods sight. First, *Quia habent aliquid potenti-
alitatit admixtum*, as *Lyra* speaks, they haue some kinde of potentia-
lity, (I know not how otherwise to render his word) mixed with them,
hee meanes in regard of their *motion*, and the *illumination* of the *moone*
and *starres* from the *Sunne*. But chiefly, as I take it, they are said to be
uncleane, not considered in themselves, but in comparison of the *Creator*,
who is *Actus purissimus & simplicissimus*, all Act, and that most pure,
not only from *staine* and *pollution*, but all kinde of *impotency*, *imperfe-
ction*, or *Composition* whatsoever, And in this sense the very blessed &
glorious *Angels* themselves, which are of a substance farre purer then
the *Sunne* it selfe, may bee said to be *uncleane* in his sight, in which re-
gard the very *Seraphins* are said, to couer their faces and feete with their
winges. But to grant that the heavens are become *uncleane*, either by
the fall of *man* or *Angells*, yet doth it not follow (as I conceiue) that
this *uncleannes* doth daily increase vpon them, or which is in trueth the
point in controversie, that they feelee any impairing by reason of this *un-
cleannes*, it being rather *imputatiue*, as I may earne it, then reall and in-
herent. *Nonne vides cælum hoc*, saith *Chrysostome*, *ut pulchrum, ut ingens,*
*ut astrorum choreis varium, quantum temporis vixit, quinq; aut plus annor-
um millia processerunt, & hac annorum multitudo ei non adduxit senium;*
Sed ut corpus novum ac vegetum florida virentisq; iuventa viget atate: Sic
cælum, quam habuit à principio pulchritudinem semper eadem permansit, nec
quicquam tempus eam debilitavit. Dost not thou see the heavens, how
faire, how spacious they are, how bee-spangled with diuerse constella-
tions? how long now haue they lasted? fīue thousand yeares or more
are past, and yet this long duration of time hath brought no old age
vpon them; But as a body new and fresh, flourisheth in youth: So the
heavens still retaine their beauty, which at first they had, neither hath
time any thing abated it. Some error or mistake doubtlesse there is
in *Chrysostomes* computation in as much as he lived aboue 1200 yeares
since, & yet tels vs that the world had then lasted aboue 5000 yeares,
but for the trueth of the matter he is therein seconded by all the
schoole diuines, and among those of the reformed churches none hath
written in this point more clearely and fully then *Alstedius* in his pre-
face to his naturall diuinity. *Tanta est huius palatij diuturnitas atq; fir-
mitas ut ad hodiernum vsq; diem supra annos quinquies mille & sexcentos ita*
perstet ut in eo nihil immutatum diminutum aut vetustate & diuturnitate
temporis vitiatum conspiciamus. Such, saith hee, and so lasting is the du-
ration and immoveable stability of this palace, that being created a-
boue 5600 yeares agoe, yet it so continues to this day, that wee can es-
pie nothing in it changed, or wasted, or disordered by age, and tract of
time.

SECT. 4.

Another obiection taken from Psalm the 102 answered:

ANother text is commonly and hotly vrged by the Adverse part, to like purpose as the former, and is in truth *the onely argument of weight*, drawne from *Scripture* in this present question, touching the *heavens decay* in regard of their *Substance*. In which consideration wee shall bee inforced to examine it somewhat the more fully. Taken it is from the hundred and second Psalm, and the wordes of the Prophet are these. *Of old thou hast laid the foundation of the earth, & the heavens are the worke of thine handes. They shall perish, but thou shalt endure: yea all of them shall waxe old as doth a garment, as a vesture shalt thou change them, and they shall be changed: But thou art the same, and thy yeares shall have no end.* To which very place vndoubtedly, the *Apostle* alludes in the first to the *Hebrewes*, where he thus renders it, *Thou Lord in the beginning hast laid the foundation of the earth, and the heavens are the workes of thine hands: They shall perish, but thou remainest, and they shall wax old as doth a garment, and as a vesture shalt thou fold them vp, and they shall be changed: But thou art the same, and thy yeares shall not faile.* In which passages the words which are most stood vpon and pressed, are those of the *growing old of the heavens like a garment*, which by degrees growes bare till it bee torne in peeces and brought to ragges. S. *Augustine* in his *Enarration* vpon this *Psalm* according to his wont, betakes him to an *Allegoricall Exposition*, interpreting the *heavens* to bee the *Saints*, and their bodies to bee their garments wherewith the soule is cloathed. And these garments of theirs, saith hee, *waxe old and perish*, but shall be *changed* in the resurrection, and made comformable to the glorious body of *Iesus Christ*. Which exposition of his, is *pious* I confesse, but surely not *proper*, since the *Prophet* speaks of the *heavens*, which had their beginning together with the *earth*, and were both principall peeces in the great worke of the Creation. Neither can the *regions of the aire*, be here well vnderstood, (though in some other places they bee stiled by the name of the *heavens*) since they are subiect to continuall variation and change, and our *Prophets* meaning was, as it should seeme, to compare the *Almighties unchangeable eternity*, with that which of all the visible Creatures was most stable and stedfast. And besides, though the *aire* bee indeed the worke of *Gods* hands, as are all the other Creatures, yet that phrase is in a speciall manner applied to the *starry heavens*, as *Ps. 19. 1. 3. 8.* being indeed the most exquisite and excellent peece of workmanship that ever his hands fram'd. It remaines then, that by *heavens* heere, wee vnderstand the *lights of heaven*, thought by *Philosophers* to bee the thicker parts of the spheres, together with the spheres themselves, in which those lights are fixed and wheeled about. For that such spheres and orbes there are I take it as granted, neither will I dispute it, though I am not ignorant, that some latter writers thinke otherwise, and those, neither few in number, nor for their knowledge vnlearned. But for the true sense of the place alleadged, wee are to know that

Heb. 8. 13.

that the word there vsed to *wax old*, both in *Hebrew, Greeke & Latin* doth not necessarily imply a decay or impairing in the subject so *waxing old*, but sometimes doth only signifie a *farther step & access* to a finall period in regard of duration. Wee haue read of some who being well stricken in yeares haue renewed their teeth and changed the white colour of their haire, and so growne yong againe. Of such it might truly be sayd that they grew *elder* in regard of their neerer approach to the determinate end of their race, though they were *yonger* in regard of their constitution and state of their bodies. And thus do I take the *Apostle* to be vnderstood, that which decayeth and waxeth old is ready to vanish away; where hee speakes of the *Ceremoniall law*, which did not grow old by degrees, at least before the incarnation of *Christ*, but stood in its full force and vigour vntill it was by him abrogated and disanulled. To which purpose *Aquinas* hath not vnfitly observed vpon the place, *Quod dicitur vetus significat quod sit propè cessationem*, the tearming of a thing old, implies that it hastens to an end. This then as I take it may truly be affirmed of the signification of the word in generall and at large, and may justly seeme to haue been the *Prophets* meaning in as much as he addeth *But thou art the same and thine yeares shall haue no end*. From whence may be collected, that as *God* cannot grow old because his yeares shall haue no end: so the *heavens* because they shall haue an end may be therefore sayd to grow old. But whereas it is added, not only by the *Psalmist* but by the *Apostle* in precise termes, *They shall wax old as doth a garment*, and againe as a *Vesture* shalt thou change them, the doubt still remaines whether by that addition, the sense of the word bee not restrained to a graduall and sensible decay. I know it may be sayd, that a garment waxing old, not only looses his freshnesse, but part of his quantitie and weight, it is not only soyled, but wasted either in lying or wearing, & so in continuance of time becomes vtterly vnseruiceable, which no man I think will ascribe to the *heavens*, I meane that their quantity is any way diminished. All agree then that the *Similitude* may be strained too farre, as the wringing of the nose bringeth forth blood and the wresting of a string too high marres the musick: but yet the question still remaines, how it is to be vnderstood and how farre we may safely extend it. For to say that *waxing old* in that passage is only to be vnderstood of a nearer approach to an alteration, or an abolishment, seemes to be too cold an interpretation, in as much as then needed not the *Prophet* to haue added for a clearer explication of his mind, in the manner of their waxing old, as doth a garment: it rests then to be shewed as I conceiue wherein the similitude stands, which the *interpreters* I haue met with do not sufficiently vnfold, and those that vndertake the vnfoldings of it, runne vpon the rocks by publishing harsh and vnarrantable positions; Mee thinkes the *Psalmist* himselfe giues some light vnto it, *Thou coverest thy selfe*, sayth hee, *with light as with a garment*, and stretchest out the heavens like a Curtaine: his meaning then in my judgment may be this, that the *Heavens* which for their expansion may well be compared to a Curtaine or garment shall wax old, the comparison standing betwene the heavens and a garment, not in regard of their deficiencie, but their spreading, the heavens

Psal. 104. 2.

heavens covering this inferiour world, as a garment doth the bodie it is spread over. Or if the comparison stand in their *deficiencie*, which seemes, I confesse, the more *kindly exposition*, to my seeming, *Aquinas* in few wordes looseth the knot, *sicut uestimentum* sayth hee, *quod sumitur ad usum, & cessante usu deponitur*. The heavens then shall wax old as doth a garment in that their vse shall cease together with man, as doth the vse of a garment with him that vseth it. Which *exposition* hee seemes to haue borrowed from *Dydimus* blind in his bodily eyes, but in his mind sharpe sighted, *quod canit Psaltes, veterescent & mutabuntur, designat eorum usum abuisse & defecisse, Ut enim indumentum ubi officio functum fuerit obvolvitur: sic calum ac terra functa muneribus suis abibunt*. In that the *Psalmist* professeth, They shall waxe old and be changed, his meaning is when there shall be no further vse of them. For as a garment hauing performed that vse to which it was ordained, is folded vp and layd aside: so the heaven and the earth hauing finished those services, for which they were created, shall vanish and passe away. And vpon this Comment of *Dydimus*, *Eugubinus* thus commeth: *Hoc autem summus docet Theologus primum mundum antiquandum, vetustate & senio interitum, sed non eo senio quo res mortales corrumpuntur atque abolentur, in* Lib. 10. De Perenni Philo-
sophia.
calo tale senium nullum est, sed alium quoddam cuius similitudo ex vestibus ostenditur, cum deponimus eas ubi nobis esse vsus desissent, tanquam inuitiles eas exuimus atque obuoluimus, sic mundus, id est calum, non eo delebitur quod eadem vetustate atque omnia animalia & arbores, aliquando sit defecturus, sed quia cessabit vsus ejus quo rerum tantos ordines peragebat. The purpose of this greate Divine was to teach, that the heavens should wax old and consume with age, but not with such an old age, as that by which things mortall suffer corruption and dissolution. In heaven there is no such waxing old to be found, but another kind there is, the resemblance whereof is taken from garments, when we put them off, as hauing no further vse of them, laying them aside and folding them vp: in like manner the heaven shall not therefore be disolued, because it shall at any time suffer defect thorow that old age, which beastes and plantes feeble, but because the vse of it shall cease, by which it kept these inferiour bodies in due order. And perchance the *Apostle* himselfe, rendring the words of the *Psalmist*, intends as much, *As a vesture shalt thou fold them vp: as the curtaines and carpets and hangings are folded vp, and layd aside when the family remoues*. Which seemes likewise, to haue been foretold by the *Prophet Isayah*, the heavens shall be rouled together as a scrole, and they shall passe away with with a noyce sayth *S. Peter*, like the *hissing of parchment, rineled vp with heat*, for so signifies the *original word* in that place. Howsoeuer, they shall not wax old by the course of nature, but by the mightie power of the God of Nature, he that created them shall dissolue them, and nothing else; which the *Prophet* seemes to point at in this very passage, *Tu mutabis & mutabuntur, thou shalt change them, not Nature, but thou shalt change and they shall be changed*. And as for that fresh lustre and brightnesse wherewith (as is commonly thought) the heavens shall be renewed at the last day, as a garment by turning is changed, and by changing refreshed, it may well be by making

king them more resplendent then now they are, or euer at any time were since their first creation, Nor by scowring off of contracted rust, but adding a new glosse and augmentation of glory. And whereas some Divines haue not doubted to make the spots and shadowes appearing in the face of the Moone to be vndoubted arguments of that contracted rust, if those spots had not beene originall and native of equall date with the Moone her selfe, but had beene contracted by age and continuance of time, as wrinkles are in the most beautifull faces, they had said somewhat, but that there they were about fiftene hundred yeares agoe, appears by Plutarchs discourse *De maculis in facie Lune*, & that they haue since any whit increased, it cannot be sufficiently prooued. Perchance by the helpe of the new devised perspective glasses, they haue beene of late more cleerely & distinctly discerned then in former ages, but that prooues no more that they were not there before, then that the Sydera Medea lately discovered by vertue of the same instruments, were not before in being, which the Discoverers themselues knew well enough, they could not with any colour of reason affirme.

Galileus a
Florentine,

S E C T. 5.

*A third objection taken from the apparition
of new starres answered.*

HOWbeit it cannot be denied but that new starres haue at times appeared in the firmaments, as some thinke, that was at our Saviours birth, yet in as much as it pointed out the very House in which he was borne by standing ouer it, and was not (for ought we finde) obserued by the Mathematicians of those times, I should rather thinke it to haue beene a blazing light created in the Region of the Aire, carrying the resemblance of a starre, then a new and true created starre, seated in the firmament.

As for that which appeared in *Cassiopea* in the yeare one thousand five hundred seventy two, (the very yeare of the great Massacre in France) I thinke it cannot well be gainesaid, to haue beene a true starre, it being obserued by the most skilfull and famous Astronomers of that time to hold the same aspect in all places of Christendome, to runne the same course, to keepe the same proportion, distance and situation, euery-where, & in euery point, with the fixed starres by the space of two whole yeares: but this I take to haue beene not the effect of Nature, but the supernaturall & miraculous worke of Almighty God, the first Author and free disposer of Nature; and the like may be said of all such Comets which haue at any time evidently appeared, (if any such evidence may be giuen) to be aboue the Globe of the Moone, from whence it can no more be inferred that the heauens are composed of a matter corruptible, naturally subject to impairing and fading, then that their motion is irregular, or that it is in the power of mortall man to dispose of the course of those immortal Creatures, because by a speciall priuledge at the prayer of Iosuah, both the Sun and Moone were stayed in their wonted courses, and the shadow went backe ten degrees in the Dyall of AhaZ, for the assurance of the

truth

truth of the Prophet *Isaiab*s message sent to King *Hezekiah*.

May 38 8.

The same answer may not be vnfitly shaped, to that wonder which *S. Augustine* reports out of *Varroes* booke, intituled *de Gente Populi Romani*, and he out of *Castor* touching the Planet *Venus*, which to adde the greater weight and credit to the relation, being somewhat strange and rare, I will set it downe in the very words of *Varro*, as I finde them quoted by *S. Augustine*. *In calo mirabile extitit portentum, nam in stella Veneris nobilissima, quam Plautus Vesperruginem, Homerus Hesperon appellat, pulcheri inam dicens, Castor scribit tantum portentum extitisse, ut mutaret colorem, magnitudinem, figuram, cursum, quod factum ita neque antea, neque postea sit, hoc factum Ogyge Regē dicebant Adrastus, Cyzicenus, & Dyon Neapolites Mathematici nobiles.* In Heauen, saith he, appeared a maruailous great wonder, the most noted starre called *Venus*, which *Plautus* tearmes *Vesperrugo*, and *Homer* *Hesperus* the faire, as *Castor* hath left it vpon record, changed both colour, and bignes, and figure, and motion, which accident was neuer seene before, nor since that time, the renowned Mathematicians *Adrastus* and *Dyon* averring, that this fell out during the raigne of King *Ogyges*. Which wonder neither *Varro* nor *Augustine* ascribe to the changeable matter of the Heauens, but to the vnchangeable will of the Creator. And therefore the one calls it as we see *Mirabile portentum*, and the other makes this Comment vpon it, that it happened, *quia ille voluit qui summo regit imperio ac potestate quod condidit*, because he would haue it so, who gouernes all things that he hath made with a Soueraigne and independing power. So that two speciall reasons may be yeelded for these extraordinary vnusuall apparitions in heauen, the one that they may declare to the world that they haue a Creator & Commander, who can alter or destroy their natures, restraine or suspend their operations at his pleasure, which should keepe men from worshipping them as Gods, since they cannot keepe themselves from alteration. The other to portend and foreshew his Iudgements, as did that new starre in *Cassiopea*, a most vnnaturall inundation of blood in *France*; and this change in *Venus*, such a deluge in *Achaia*, as it ouerflowed and so wasted the whole Countrey, that for the space of two hundred yeares following it was not inhabited.

SECT. 6.

The last obiection drawne from the Eclipses of the Sunne and Moone answered.

THe last doubt touching the possibility of the matter of the Heauens, is drawne from the Eclipses of the Sun and Moone, in which they are commonly thought to suffer, and to bee as it were in travell during that time. Which if it were so, it must of necessity by degrees consume the vigour and beauty of those glorious bodies, and finally the bodies themselves. To this purpose is alleadged that of the Poet, where he calls these Eclipses,

Defectus Solis varios Lunaque labores.

Defects and trauels of the Sunne and Moone.

Virg. Georg. 1.2

Tacit. Annal. 1.7. As also the manner of the ancient *Romans* while such *Eclipses* lasted, to lift vp many burning torches toward Heauen, and withall to beate pans of brasfe and basons, as we doe in following a swarme of bees.

Boetius lib. 4
m. l. 5.

Commouet Gentes publicus error,

Lassantque crebris pulsibus ara.

A common errorr through the World doth passe,

And many a stroake they lay on pans of brasfe

Saith *Boetius* and *Manilius*, speaking of the appearance of the *Moones* Eclipse by degrees in diuerse parts of the Earth.

L. b. 1.

Seraque in extremis quatuntur gentibus ara,

Th' vtmost coasts doe beat their brasfe pans last.

And the *Satyrist* wittily describing a tatling Gossip,

Iuvenal. lib. 2, Sat. 6

Vna laboranti poterit succurrere Luna.

Shee onely were enough to helpe

The labours of the *Moone*.

They thought thereby they did the *Moone* great ease, and helped her in her labour, as *Plutarch* in the life of *Amilius* obserueth. Nay *Amilius* himselte a wise man, as the same Author there witnesseth, congratulated the *Moones* deliuey from an Eclipse, with a solemne sacrifice, as soone as shee shone out bright againe, which action of his that prudent *Philosopher* and sage *Historian* not relateth only, but approoueth & commendeth as a signe of godlinesse and deuotion, yea this *Heathenish* and fottish custome of releeuing the *Moone* in this case by noise & outcries, the *Christians* it seemes borrowed from the *Gentiles*, as appeares by S.

Ser. 83, vel 82.
Maximus Taurinensis hath an Homily to the same purpose, and in the same words.

Ambrose in his eighty and third Sermon, where he most sharply checks his Auditors for their rude and vncivill, nay prophane and irreligious carriage in this very point: And because his discourse there is not only smart and piercing, but marvailous punctuall and pertinent in regard of the question in hand, I hope it will not be thought time or paper mispent, if I set it downe as there I find it. *Who would not griene at it that you should so far forget your soules health, as you should not blush to call Heauen as a witnesse to your sinne. For when I lately preached vnto you touching your covetousnesse, enen the same day at Evening there was so great a shouting of the people, that your prophanenesse pierced the Heauens. I inquired what the meaning of that noise might bee: it was told me that with your out-cries you relieved the Moone, being then in travell, and succoured her faintings with your shouting: which when I heard, in truth I could not choose but laugh and wonder at your vanity, that like devante Christians you thought to bring aide to God, for it seemes you cryed, least by meanes of your silence hee might perchance loose one of his noblest Creatures, or as if being weake and impotent he could not maintaine those lights himselte had created, but by the assistance of your voyces. And surely ye doe very well in that you succour the Deity, that by your helpe he may gouerne heauen. But would ye doe it to purpose indeed, then must ye watch euery night & all night. For how often trow ye is the moon eclipsed while you sleep, & yet she falls not from heauen: Or is shee alwayes eclipsed in the night, & not likewise in the day time? But then only it seemes is the moone echysed with you, when your bellies are well stuffed with a full supper, & your braines steeled with full pots, then only the Moone labours in heauen, when the wine labours in your heads,*

heads, then is her circle troubled with charmes, when your sight is dazzled with overmuch quaffing. How canst thou then discern what befalls the Moone in heaven, when thou canst not discern what is done neere thee on earth, heerein is that plainly verified which holy Solomon foretold, a foole cha: geth Eccleſ. 37. 17. as the Moone: Thou changeſt like the Moone, when beeing ignorant of the motion thereof, thou who werſt a Chriſtian before, now beginneſt to be ſacrilegious: for ſacrilege thou committeſt againſt thy Creator, when thou imputeſt ſuch impotency to the Creature: Thou then changeſt like the moone, when thou who before ſhineſt in the devotion of faith, now falleſt away thruow the weakenes of unbeleeſe: thou changeſt like the moone, when thy braine is as voide of wit, as the moone is of light, and I could wiſh thou diideſt indeed change as the moone for ſhee quickly returnes againe to her fulnes, but thou by leaſure to the uſe of thy wits, ſhee ſoone recovers her light, but thou ſlowly the faith which thou haſt denyed. Thy change then is worſe then that of the moone, ſhee ſuffers an Eclipse of her light, but thou of thy ſoules health. But will ſome man ſay, is not the moone in labour then? yes indeed ſhee labours, it cannot bee denyed: but ſhee labours with the other creatureſs, as the Apoſtle Rom. 8. ſpeakes, wee know that the whole Creature groaneth and travell: th in paine untill now, and againe, the Creature it ſelfe ſhall alſo bee delivred from the bondage of Corruption. It ſhall bee freed from bondage. You ſee then that the moone doth not labour with charmes, but with dutifull obſervances, not with dangers, but with uſefull offices, not to periſh, but to ſerve. For the Creature is made ſubiect to vanity not willingly, but by reaſon of him who hath ſubiected the ſame, So that the Moone: is not willingly changed from her condition, but thou wittingly and willingly robbeſt thy ſelfe of thine owne reaſon. ſhee by the condition of her nature ſuffers an Eclipse, thou by conſent of thine owne will, art drawne into miſchiefe. Bee not then as the moone when ſhee is eclypſed, but as when ſhee fills her circle with light. For of the righteous man it is written, Hee ſhall bee eſtabliſhed for ever as the moone, & as the faithfull wit- Pſ. 89. 37. neſſe in heaven.

By which witty diſcourſe of S. Ambroſe, it plainly appeares that in his judgement, the moone ſuffered nothing by her Eclipse, which opinion of his is confirmed not only by the testimony of Aristotle, in the eight of the *Metaphysikes*, but by the evidence of reaſon, it being cauſed by the ſhadow of the earth, interpoſed betweene the Sunne and the Moone, as in exchange or revenge thereof, (as Pliny ſpeaketh,) the Eclipse of the Sun is cauſed by the interpoſition of the moone, betwixt the Lib. 2. cap. 10. earth and it. The moone ſo depriving the earth, and againe the earth the moone of the beames of the Sunne: Which is the true cauſe that in the courſe of nature, the Moone is never eclypſed but when ſhee is full, the Sunne and ſhee being then in *oppoſition*; nor the Sunne, but when it is new-moone, thoſe two Planets being then in *conjunction*: I ſay, in the courſe of Nature, for the Eclipse at our Sauours paſſion, was vndoubtedly ſupernaturall: *Quam Solis obſcurationem non ex canonico Syderum curſu accidiſſe ſatis oſtenditur quod tunc erat Paſcha Iudaorum. Nam plena Luna ſolemniter agitur,* ſaith S. Auguſtine. It is evident that that Eclipse of the Sunne happened not by the ordinary & orderly courſe of the ſtars, Lib. 3. de Civit. Dei. cap. 15. it being then the Paſſover of the Jewes, which was ſolemnized at the full

AG. 17. 23.

moone; And this was it, that gaue occasion, as is commonly beleued, to that memorable exclamation of Demys the *Areopagite*, being then in Egypt: *Aut Deus Natura patitur, aut machina mundi dissolvetur*, either the God of Nature suffers, or the frame of Nature will bee dissolved. And heerevpon too, as it is thought by some, was erected that Altar at Athens, *ignoto Deo, To the unknowne God*: Though others thinke that *Eclypse* was confined within the borders of *Iudea*; howsoever it cannot be denied, but that it was certainly beside and aboue the course of Nature. Neither ought it seeme strange, that the *Sunne* in the *firmament of heaven*, should appeare to suffer, when the *Sunne of Righteousnes* indeed suffered vpon earth.

Scalig. Exer. 72.

But for other *Eclipses*, though their Causes bee now commonly knowne, yet the ignorance of them was it, which caused so much *superstition* in former ages, and left that impression in mens mindes, as euen at this day wise men can hardly bee perswaded, but that those *Planets* suffer in their *Eclipses*, which in the *Sunne* is most childish and ridiculous to imagine, since in it selfe, it is not so much as depriued of any light, nor in trueth can bee: it being the *fountainne of light*, from which all the other starres borrow their light, but pay nothing backe againe to it, by way of *retribution*. Which was well expressed by *Pericles*, as *Plutarch* in his life reports it, For there happening an *Eclipse* of the *Sun*, at the very instant, when his *Navy* was now ready to lanch forth, & himselfe was embarked, his followers began to bee much apald at it, but specially the *Master* of his owne gally, which *Pericles* perceiuing, takes his cloake & with it hoodwinkes the *Masters* eyes, & then demaunds of him what danger was in that, hee answering none, neither saith *Pericles* is there in this *Eclipse*, there being no difference betwixt my cloake and that *Vaile*, with which the *Sun* is covered, but only in bignes. And the truth is that the *Sun* then suffered no more by the interuening of the *Moone*, then from *Pericles* his cloake, or daily doth from the cloudes in the aire which hinder the sight of it, or by the interposition of the Planet *Mercury*, which hath sometimes appeared as a spot in it; But whether these *Eclipses* either cause or presage any change in these inferior bodies, I shall haue fitter occasion to examine heereafter, and so passe from the consideration of the substance, to the motion of the heavenly bodies.

CAP. 2.

Touching the pretended decay of the heavenly bodies in regard of their motions.

SECT. 1.

The first reason, that there is no decay in the motions of the heavenly bodies, drawne from the causes thereof

Motion is so vniversall and innate a property, and so proper an affection to all naturall bodies, that the Great Philosopher knew not better how to define Nature, then by making her the Engineer and

and Principle of Motion: And therefore as other *objects*, are onely discernable by one *sense*, as colours by seeing, and sounds by hearing, motion is discernable by both, nay and by *feeling* too, which is a third sense really distinguished from them both. That there is in the heavenly bodies no motion of Generation or Corruption, of augmentation, or diminution, or of alteration, I have already shewed. There are also who by reason of the incredible swiftness of the first Mover, and some other such reasons, dare deny that there is in them any *Latian* or *Locall motion*, heere. Copernicus. in flatly opposing in my judgement both *Scripture* and *Reason*, & *Sense*; But to take it as graunted, without any dispute, that a *Locall motion* there is, which is the *measure of time*, as *time* againe is the *measure of motion*, the line of motion and the threed of time, beeing both spun out together: Some doubt there is touching the *moouer* of these heavenly bodies, what or who it should bee, some ascribing it to their *matter*, some to their *forme*, some to their *figure*, and many to the *Angells*, or *Intelligences*, as they call them, which they suppose to bee set over them. For mine owne part, I should thinke that all these and euery of them might not vnjustly challenge a part in that motion: The *matter* as beeing neither light nor heavy, the *forme* aswell agreeing with such a matter, the *figure* as being Sphericall or Circular, the *Intelligence* as an assistant: In the *matter* is a *disposition*; For whereas light bodies naturally moue vpward, and heavy downeward, that which is neither light nor heavy is rather disposed to a Circular motion, which is neither vpward nor downeward. In the *figure* is an *inclination* to that motion, as in a wheele to bee carried round, from the *forme* an *inchoation* or onsett, and lastly from the *Intelligence* a *continuance* or *perpetuation* thereof, as a great *Divine* of our owne both age and Nation hath well expressed it, Gods owne *eternity*, (saith hee) is the hand which leadeth *Angells* in the course of their *perpetuity*, their *perpetuity* the hand that draweth out *Celestiall motion*, that as the *Elementary* substances are governed by the heavenly: so might the heavenly by the *Angellicall*. As the *corruptible* by the *incorruptible*, so the *materiall* by the *immateriall*, and all *finits* by one *infinite*. It is the joynt consent of the *Platoniks*, *Peripatetiks*, and *Stoikes*, and of all the noted *sects* of *Philosophers*; who acknowledged the *Divine Providence*, with whom agree the greatest part of our most learned & *Christian Doctors*, that the *Heavens* are moued by *Angells*, neither is there in truth any sufficient meanes beside it to discover the beeing of such Creatures by *discourse* of *Reason*. Which to mee is a strong argument, that the *Heavens* can by no meanes erre, or faile in their *motions*, beeing managed by the *subordinate ministry* of such *indefatigable* and *vnerring guides*, whose power is euery way proportionable to their *knowledge*, and their *constancy* to both.

Hooker, Eccles.
Politie, 5. 69.

SECT. 2.

The Second reason taken from the Certainty of demonstrations vpon the Cælestiall globe: The Third, from a particular view of the proper motions of the Planets, which are observed to bee the same at this day, as in former ages without any variation: The Fourth, from the infallible and exact prædiction of their Oppositions, Conjunctions, and Eclipses for many ages to come: The Fifth, from the testimony of sundry graue Authours, auerring perpetuall Constancy and immutability of their motions.

THE most signall motions of the heavens (beside their retrogradations, trepidations, librations, and I know not what, which Astronomers haue devised to reconcile the diversitie of their observations) are the diurnall motion of all the fixed starres and Planets, and all the Cælestiall spheres from East to West in the compasse of every foure and twenty houres, and the proper motion of them all from the West to the East againe. These motions whether they performe, by themselves, without the helpe of orbes, as fishes in the water, or birds in the aire, or fastned to their spheres, as a gemme in a ring, or a nayle or knot in a Cart-wheele, I cannot easily determine: howbeit I confesse wee cannot well imagine how one and the same body should bee carried with opposite motions, but by the helpe of somewhat in which it is carried, As the Marriner may be carried by the motion of his shippe from the East to the West, and yet himselfe may walke from the West to the East in the same ship: Or a ste may be carried from the North to the South vpon a Cart-wheele, and yet may goe from the South to the North vpon the same wheele: But howsoever it bee, it is evident that their motions are most even and regular, without the least jarre or discord, variation or vncertainty, languishing or defect, that may bee. Which were it not so, there could bee no certaine demonstrations made vpon the Globe or materiall Sphere: Which notwithstanding by the testimony of Claudian are most infallible, as appeares by those his elegant verses vpon Archy-
des admirable invention thereof.

Iuppiter in paruo cum cerneret athera vitro,

Risit, & ad superos, talia dicta dedit:

Hucine mortalis progressa potentia cura?

Iam meus in fragili tuditur orbe labor

Iura poli, rerumq; fidem legesq; Deorum

Ecce Syracusius transtulit arte senex.

Inclusus varijs famulatur Spiritus astris

Et vtrum certis motibus vrget opus

Percurrit proprium mentirus signifer annum

Et simulata nouo Cynthia mense redit.

Iamq; suum voluens audax industria Mundum

Gaudet & humana sydera mense regit.

When Ioue within a little glasse survaied

The Heavens, hee smil'd, and to the Gods thus sayd:
 Can strength of Mortall wit proceed thus farre?
 Loe in a fraile orbe my workes mated are.
 Hither the *Syracusians* art translates
 Heavens forme, the course of things, and humane fates.
 Th'included spirit serving the star-deck signes,
 The liuing worke in constant motions windes
 Th'adulterate *Zodiaque* runnes a naturall yeare,
 And *Cynthiaes* forg'd hornes monthly new light beare,
 Viewing her owne world, now bold industry
 Triumphes and rules with humane power the skye.

The *Gentiles* sayth *Julian*, (as *S. Cyrill* in his third booke against him, reports it) *videntes nihil eorum quæ circa Cælum minui vel augeri neque vllâ sustinere deordinatam affectionem, sed congruam illius motionem ac bene opiatum ordinem, definitas quoque leges Luna, definitos ortus & occasus Solis, statutis semper temporibus, merito Deum & Dei solium suspicabantur*: seeing no part of heaven to diminished or decreased, to suffer no irregular affection, but the motion thereof to be as duly and orderly performed as could be desired, the waxing and waning of the moone, the rising and setting of thee sunne to bee settled and constant at fixed and certaine times, they deservedly admired it as God, or as the throne of God. The order and regularitie of which motions wee shall easily perceiue by taking a particular view of them. I will touch only those of the Planets. The proper motion of *Saturne* was by the Ancients obserued, and is now likewise found, by our moderne *Astronomers*, to be accomplished within the space of thirtie yeares, that of *Iupiter* in twelue, that of *Mars* in two, that of the *Sunne* in three hundred sixty five dayes and almost six howers, that of *Venus* and *Mercury* in very neere the same space of time, that of the Moone in twentie seven dayes and almost eight howres: Neither do we find that they haue either quickned or any way slackned these their courses, but that in the same space of time they allwayes run the same races which being ended, they begin them againe as freshly as the first instant they set forth; *Cum per certa annorum spacia orbis suos explicuerint iterum ibunt per quæ venerant*, sayth *Seneca*: when in certaine tearmes of years they shall haue accomplished their courses, they shall againe runne the same races they haue passed. These then be the boundes and limits, to which these glorious bodies are perpetually tyed, in regard of their motion, these be the vchangeable lawes like those of the *Medes* and *Persians* whereof the *Psalmist* speakes, Hee hath giuen them a law which shall not be broken: which *Seneca* in his booke of the *Diuine Providence*, well expresses in other wordes, *Æterna legis imperio procedunt*, they moue by the appointment of an eternall law, that is, a law both invariable & inviolable. That which *Tully* hath delivered of one of them is vndoubtedly true of all: *Saturni stella in suo cursu multa mirabiliter efficiens, tum ante edendo, tum retardando, tum vespertinis temporibus delitescendo, tum matutinis rursum se aperiendo, nihil tamen immutat sempternis sæculorum ætatibus, quin eadem hysdem temporibus efficiat*: The planet *Saturne* doth make many strange and wonderfull passages in his

De Consol. ad
 Albiuum. cap. 6.

Psal. 143. 6.

Lib. 2. de naturâ
 Deorum.

motion

Gen. i. 14.

motion, sometimes going before, and sometimes comming after, sometimes withdrawing himselfe in the evening, and sometimes againe shewing himselfe in the morning, and yet changeth nothing in the continuall duration of all ages, but still at the same season worketh the same effects. And in truth, were it not so, both in that *Plannets* and in all the other starres, it is altogether impossible they should supply that vse which *Almighty God* in their *Creation* ordained them vnto, that is, to serue for signes and seasons, for dayes and for yeares, to the worlds end. And much more impossible it were that the yeare, the moneth, the day, the hower, the minute of the *Oppositions*, *Conjunctions* and *Eclypses* of the *Plannets*, should be as exactly calculated and foretold one hundreth yeares before they fall out, as at what howre the *Sunne* will rise to morrow morning. Which perpetuall æquability & cōstant vniformity in the *Celestiall motions*, is both truly obserued & eloquētly descibed by *Boetius*.

Lib. 4. de consol.
Philosophie.
Met. 6.

*Si vis celsi jura Tonantis
Pura solers cernere mente,
Aspice summi culmina Cali;
Illic iusto fœdere rerum
Veterem servant sydera pacem.
Non sol rutilo concitus igne
Gelidum Phebes impedit axem.
Nec qua summo vertice mundi
Flectit rapidos vrsa meatus
Vnquam occiduo lota profundo
Cætera cernens sydera mergi
Cupit Oceano tingere flammæ.
Semper vicibus temporis æquis
Vesper seras nunciat umbras
Reuehitque diem Lucifer alnum.
Sic alternos reficit cursus
Alternus amor, sic astrigeris
Bellum discors exulat oris.*

If thou with pure and prudent minde
The lawes of God wouldst see
Looke vp to heaven and thou shalt finde
How all things there agree.
In peace the starres their courses runne
Nor is the Moones cold sphere
Impeached by the scorching Sunne,
Nor doth the Northerne beare
Which swift about the Pole doth moue
Though other starres he see
Drencht in the Western Ocean, loue
His flames there quenched bee.
Nights late approach by courses due
The evening starre doth show
And morning starre with motion true
Before the day doth goe:
Thus still their turnes renewed are

By

By enterchanging loue:
And warre and discord banisht farre
From starry skies about;

And no lesse wittily by *Manilius*,

Lib. I.

*Nec quicquam in tanta magis est mirabile mole
Quam ratio, & certis quod legibus omnia parent,
Nusquam turba nocet, nihil ullis partibus errat.*

There is not ought that's to be seene in such a wondrous masse,
More wonderful and strange then this that Reason brings to passe:
That all obey their certaine lawes which they doe still preferre,
No tumult hurteth them, nor ought in any parr doth erre.

Wherewith the *Divine Plato* accords, *Nec errant, nec præter antiquum or-* in *Epinome.*
dinem revolvuntur, neither doe they runne randome, nor are they rolled
beside their ancient order. And *Aristotle* breaketh out into this passio- *Arist. de Mundo*
nate admiration thereof, *Quid unquam poterit æquari celesti ordini, & vo-*
lubilitati, cum sydera convertantur exactissima norma de alio in aliud secu-
lum: What can ever be compared to the order of the Heavens, and to
the motion of the Starres in their severall revolutions, which moue
most exactly as it were by a rule and square, by line and leuell from
one generation to another.

There were among the *Ancients* not a few, nor they vnlearned, who
by a strong fancie conceiued to themselues an excellent melody made vp
by the motion of the *Celestiall Spheres*. It was broached by ^a *Pythagoras*, ^a *Arist. l. 2. de*
entertained by ^b *Plato*, stiffely maintained by ^c *Macrobius* and some ^b *Lib. 10. de*
Christians, as ^d *Beda*, ^e *Boetius*, and ^f *Anselmus* Archbishop of *Canterbury*: ^c *In lib. 2. de*
but *Aristotle* puts it off with a jest, as being *Lepide & musice dictum, fa-* ^d *Somnio Scipio-*
ctu autem impossibile, a pleasant and musicall conceit, but in effect impos- ^e *nis cap. 3.*
sible, inasmuch as those Bodies in their motions make no kinde of noise ^d *Lib. de Musica*
at all. Howsoever it may well bee that this conceit of theirs was ground- ^e *Lib. de Musica*
ed vpon a certaine truth, which is the *Harmonicall* and proportionable ^f *cap. 2.*
motion of those Bodies in their iust order, and set courses, as if they ^f *Lib. de imag.*
were euer dauncing the rounds or the measures. In which regard the ^f *mundi cap. 24.*
Psalmist tels vs that the *Sun* knoweth his going downe, he appointed the *Moone*
for seasons, and the *Sunne* knoweth his going downe. Which wordes of his ^f *Psal. 104. 19.*
may not be taken in a proper, but in a figuratiue sense; The *Prophet* there-
by implying, that the *Sunne* obserueth his prescribed motion so precisely
to a point, that in the least jot he neuer erreth from it: And therefore is
he said to doe the same vpon knowledge and vnderstanding, *Non quod a-*
nimatus sit aut ratione utatur, saith *Basill* vpon the place, *sed quod iuxta ter-*
minum diuinitus præscriptum ingrediens, semper eundem cursum seruat, ac
mensuras suas custodit: Not that the *Sun* hath any soule, or vse of vnder-
standing, but because it keepeth his courses and measures exactly accor-
ding to Gods prescription.

SECT. 3.

The same truth farther prooved from the testimony
of Lactantius and Plutarch.

Lib. 2. Instit.
cap. 5.

Lactantius from hence gathereth two notable Conclusions, the one, that the Starres are not Gods as the Gentiles commonly imagined, the other, that they are governed by God, which the Epicurians denyed: for the former of those, saith he, *argumentum illud quo colligunt vniuersa caelestia Deos esse in contrarium valet. Nam si Deos esse idcirco opinantur, quia certos & rationabiles cursus habent, errant: Ex hoc enim apparet Deos non esse quod exorbitare illis a praestitutis itineribus non licet; ceterum si Dii essent huc atque illuc passim sine ulla necessitate ferrentur, sicut animantes in terra, quorum quia libera sunt voluntates, huc atque illuc vagantur ut libet, & quocunque mens duxerit eo feruntur.* That argument from whence the Heathen doe collect that the Starres must needs be Gods, doth most plainly prooue the contrary: For if they take them to be Gods, because of the certainty of their courses, they be therein much deceiued: for this plainely prooveth, that indeed they be no Gods, because they be not able to depart from their set courses. Whereas if they were Gods, they would mooue both this way and that way in the Heauens, as freely as liuing Creatures doe vpon the earth, who because they haue the liberty and freedome of their will they wander vp and downe whither they themselues please. And for the latter, *tanta rerum magnitudo, saith hee, tanta dispositio, tanta in seruandis ordinibus, temporibusque constantia, non potuit aut olim sine prouido Artifice oriri, aut constare tot seculis sine incola potente, aut in perpetuum gubernari sine perito & sciente rectore, quod ratio ipsa declarat.* Such a greatnes in their creation, such a comelinesse in their order, such a constancie in observing both their courses and their seasons, could neuer either at first haue beene framed without a cunning hand, or so long haue beene preserued without a powerfull inhabitant, or so wisely haue beene governed without a skilfull Regent, as euen reason it selfe maketh it plaine and evident. And Plutarch affirmeth generally of all men, that the very first motion that lead them vnto God was that orderly motion whereby the starres are carried. *Homines caperunt Deum agnoscere cum viderent stellas tantam concinnitatem efficere, ac dies, noctesque atate ac hyeme, suos seruare statos ortus atque obitus.* Men beganne first to acknowledge a God when they considered the starres to maintaine such a comelinesse, and both day and night in summer and winter to obserue their designed risings and settings.

Lib. 1. De Placiti Philosopherum c. 6.

S E C T. 4.

*An objection of Du Moulin touching the
motion of the Polar Starre
answered.*

ANd thus I hope the *Heavens* are sufficiently discharged from any imputation of *Decay* in regard of their motion, the constant regularity whereof, we finde to have beene observed and admired by the most learned of all ages: It remains now that I should proceede to the examination of the other qualities thereof, which before I attempt, it shall not be amisse to remove a rub cast in our way by *Du Moulin* a famous *French Divine*, in his Booke intituled, *The accomplishment of Divine Prophecies*, touching the motion of the Polar starre, his words are these, or to this purpose. *Astrologie* also doth lend vs some light in this matter; For in the year of the World three thousand six hundred sixty five, *Ptolomæus Philadelphus* reigning in *Egypt* some foure hundred sixty nine yeares after the building of *Rome*, there lived one *Hipparchus* a famous *Astrologer*, who reports that in his time the starre commonly called the Polar starre, which is in the taile of the lesser Beare, was 12 degrees & two fifts distant from the Pole of the *Equator*. This star from age to age hath insensibly still crept neerer to the Pole, so that at this present it is not past three degrees distant from the Pole of the *Equator*. When this star then shall come to touch the Pole, there being no farther space left for it to goe forward) which may well enough come to passe within five or six hundredth yeares) it is likely that then there shall be a great change of things, and that this time is the period which God hath prefixed to Nature. A bold coniecture of a man so well versed in holy Scriptures and in other matters so modest; as if God had written in the *Heavens* the period of times, or had so written it as any mortall eye could discern it, his beloved Son professing, that it is not for vs to know the times and seasons, which the Father hath put in his owne power. And as the Coniecture is bold, so is it built vpon as sandy a foundation which is, that the Pole-star shall draw so neere the Pole as to touch it, or shall euer be brought to those straits, as it shall finde no passage to goe forward, whereas it is certaine, it shall euer remaine in some certaine distance from the Pole, twenty sixe or twenty seuen minutes at the least. True indeed it is, that about five hundred yeares hence, if the World last so long, it shall then approach the nearest, but then shall it withdraw it selfe again by degrees to as remote a distance as it euer was before; As it heretofore hath beene the most Southerly star in that *Asterisme*, and is now become the most Northerly: so in proceesse of time it may become the most Southerly againe: But from hence to inferre that the Poles of the *Equator* are moueable, is insequent, and incompatible with the most receiued and best approued grounds of *Astronomy*. Besides, other fixed stars haue their times of acceffe and recesso, to and fro the Pole, as well as this: so that the motion of this can no more point out the period of Nature, then of those: All which *Du Moulin* himselfe either by his owne observation or advertisement from others well perceiuing, in a

*In cap. 8. Apoc.
cal parte 5.*

Ac. 1. 7.

latter Edition of that booke printed at Sedane in the yeare one thousand six hundred thenty one, hath well mended the matter, by changing some words. For instead of this in the first edition, *From hence it appeareth that the Poles of the Equatour are moueable*, in the second, he hath thus changed it: *It being certaine, and observed by long experience, that the fixed stars moue from the West to the East in a motion paralell to the Eclyptique*. In his first edition, he sayes: *When this starre shall come to touch the Pole, there being no further space left for it to goe forward, but in his second hee changeth it thus, when this starre shall approach the Pole as neere as it can*: Again in his first thus, *which may well come to passe within these five or six hundred yeares*, in his second thus, *which may well come to passe within five hundred yeares*: Lastly in his first thus, *it seemes that this time is the period which God hath prefixed to Nature*, in his second thus, *it seemes that some notable period shall then expire*. And surely I cannot but as much commend his modesty in this second change, as I found it wanting in his first coniecture, and I am of opinion that S. Augustine never purchased more true honour by any booke that ever hee writ, then that of his *Retractions*, the shame is not so much to erre, as to persevere in it being discovered. Specially if it be an error taken vp & entertained, by following those, whom for their great gifts wee highly esteeme and admire, as it seemes *Du Moulin* tooke his error at leastwise touching the moueablenes of the Poles of the Equatour, from *Ioseph Scaliger*: But the motion of the heavens puts mee in minde of passing from it to the light thereof.

CAP. 3.

Touching the pretended decay in the light of the heavenly bodies.

SECT. I.

The first reason that it decays not, taken from the nature of that light, and those things whereunto it is resembled.

AS the waters were first spread over the face of the earth: so was the light dispersed thorow the firmament: and as the waters were gathered into one heape, so was the light knit vp, and vnited into one body: As the gathering of the waters was called the *Sea*, so, that of the light was called the *Sunne*. As the rivers come from the sea, so is all the light of the starres derived from the *Sun*: And lastly, as the *Sea* is no whit lessened though it furnish the Earth with abundance of fresh rivers: So though the *Sunne* haue since the *Creation*, both furnished, & garnished the world with light, neither is the store of it thereby diminished, nor the beauty of it any way stayned. What the light is, whether a substance or an *Accident*, whether of a Corporall or incorporall nature, it is not easy to determine. *Philosophers* dispute it, but cannot well resolve it. Such is our ignorance, that euen that by which wee see all things, we cannot discern what it selfe is. But whatsoeuer it bee, wee are sure that of all visible Creatures, it was the first that was made, and comes neereft the nature of a Spirit, in as much as it moues in an instant from the

the East to the West, and piercing thorow all transparent bodies, still remains in it selfe, *unmixed and undivided*; it chafeth away sadde and mellancholy thoughts, which the darkenesse both begets and mainetaines; it lifts vp our mindes in meditation to him who is the true light, *that lightneth every man that cometh into the world*, himselfe dwelling in light *unaccessible*, and cloathing himselfe with light as with a garment. And if wee may behold in any Creature any one sparke of that eternall fire, or any farre off dawning of Gods glorious brightnes, the same in the beauty, motion, and vertue of this light may best be discerned. *Quid pulchrius luce*, saith *Hugo de sancto Victore*, *quæ cum in se colorem non habeat, omnium tamen rerum colores ipsa quodammodo colorat*. What is more beautifull then the light, which hauing no colour in it selfe, yet sets a luster vpon all colours. And *S. Ambrose*, *unde vox Dei in Scriptura debuit inchoare nisi à lumine? Unde mundi ornatus nisi à luce exordium sumere! frustra enim esset si non videretur*. From whence should the voice of God in holy Scripture begin, but from the light? From whence should the ornament of the world begin, but likewise from the same light? For in vaine it were, were it not seene.

O Father of the light, of wisedome fountaine,
Out of the bulke of that confused mountaine
What should, what could issue before the light
Without which, Beauty were no Beauty hight.

Bartas,

SECT. 2.

The second, for that it hath nothing contrary vnto it, and heere
*Pareus and Mollerus are censured for holding that the
light of heaven is impaired.*

S. *Augustine* in diuerse places of his workes is of opinion, that by the first created light were vnderstood the *Angells*, and heerein is hee followed by *Beda*, *Eucherius*, *Rupertus* & diuerse others. Which opinion of his though it bee questionlesse vnfound, in as much as wee are taught that that light, sprang out of darkenesse, *2 Cor 4.6* which of the *Angells* can in no sort bee verified, yet it shewes the lightsome nature of *Angells*, so likewise the *Angelicall* nature of light, still flourishing in youth, & no more subject to decay or old age, then the *Angells* are. Since then in the properties thereof, it comes so neere the nature of *Spirits*, of *Angels*, of God, mee thinkes they who dare accuse the *heavens*, as being guilty of decay and corruption in other respects, should yet haue spared the light thereof. The more I wonder that men revered for their learning, & reputed lights of the Church, should by their writings goe about to quench or blemish this light. *Videntur hand parum elanguisse minusq; nitidi esse quam fuerant initio*, saith *Pareus* in *Epistolam ad Hebræos*, c. 1, v. 11. one speaking of the heavenly bodies. They seeme to haue suffered not a little defect, and to haue lost of that brightnes, in which they were at first created. And another: *Non est nunc illa claritas luminis, nec sunt illa stellarum vires quæ fuerunt*. There is not now that brightnes of the light, nor those vertues of the starres that haue beene. *Venturos*

Pareus in *Epistolam ad Hebræos*, c. 1, v. 11.

Moll. v. in Psal. 102. v. 27.

rous

rous assertions, and such I beleue, as would haue puffed the Authours of them to haue made them good, specially considering that as there is nothing *contrary* to the *Quintessentiall matter*, and *circular figure* of the *Heavens*: So neither is there to the *light* thereof. *Fire* may bee quenched with *water*, but there is nothing able to quench the *light* of *Heauen*, saue the power of him that made it. Againe *fire* may bee extinguished by withdrawing or withholding the fewell vpon which it feedes: But the *light* of *heaven* hauing no matter by which it is nourished, there is no feare of the failing thereof thorow any such defect. & for the matter of the *Celestiall spheres* and *starres*, in which it is planted, it hath already sufficiently appeared, that it neither is, nor in the course of *Nature* can be subject to any *impairing alteration*: And so much *Pareus* himselfe hath vpon the matter confessed in two severall places in his *Commentaries* vpon the first of *Genesis*, whereof the first is this, speaking of the firmament and the *Epithetes* of iron and brasse, given it in holy *Scriptures*, and by *prophane Authours*, *Hec Epitheta*, saith hee, *Metaphoricè notant Cæli firmitatem, quia tot millibus annorum immutabili lege circumuoluitur, nec tamen atteritur motu aut absumitur, quia à Deo sic est firmatum initio*. These *Epithetes* metaphorically signifie the firmnes & stablesnes of *heaven*, because by an vnchangeable law it hath now wheeled about so many thousand yeares, and yet is it not wasted or worne by the motion thereof, because it is established by *God*. And againe within a while after, hee vseth almost the same wordes, *firmamentum non dicitur de duritie aut soliditate, impermeabili, sed de firmitate quâ perpetuo motu circumactum cælum non atteritur, nec absumitur, sed manet quale à Deo initio fuit firmatum*. Nay a little before that last passage, diuiding the whole *firmament* or *Expansum*, containing all the *Celestiall Spheres* and regions of the aire, into two parts, The higher, saith hee, (thereby intending the heavenly bodies) is *purissima, & incorruptibilis, & inalterabilis*; most pure, incorruptible, and inalterable. Now if it should bee demaunded, how the *Heavens* may bee said to *languish*, and to haue lost of their *native brightnes*, and yet still to remaine *incorruptible & inalterable*, for mine owne part, I must professe, I cannot vnderstand it, nor know which way to reconcile it. A number of the like passages may bee observed in the writings of our latter *Diuines*: but I spare their names for the reverence I beare their gifts, and places, and persons, and so proceed.

SECT. 3.

Heerevnto some other reasons are added, and the testimonie of *Eugubinus* vouched.

In Yorkshire

I Remember *M^r. Camden* reports, that at the demolition of our *Monasteries*, there was found in the supposed monument of *Constantinus Chlorus*, father to the *Great Constantine*, a burning Lampe which was thought to haue burnt there euer since his buriall, about three hundredth yeares after *Christ*, and withall hee addes out of *Lactius*, that the ancient *Romans* vsed in that manner to preferue lights in their *Sepulchers*

pulchres a long time by the oylelineſſe of *Gold*, reſolved by Art into a liquid ſubſtance. Which if it bee ſo, how much more eaſie is it for the *Father of lights* to preſerue thoſe naturall *lights* of *Heaven*, which himſelfe hath made without any diminution. In artificiall lights wee ſee, that if a thouſand *Candles* bee all lighted from one, yet the light of the firſt is not thereby any whit abated, and why ſhould wee then conceiue that the *Sun* by imparting his *light* ſo many thouſand yeares, ſhould looſe any part thereof. They who mainetaine that the ſoule of man is derived *ex traduce*, hold withall that the *Father* in begetting the ſonnes ſoule looſes none of his owne, it being *tanquam lumen de lumine*, as one light from another, nay more then ſo, it is the very reſemblance that the *Nicene Fathers* thought not vnmeet to expreſſe the vnexprefſible generation of the ſecond perſon in *Trinity* from the firſt, who is therefore tearmed by the *Apoſtle*, the *brighneſſe of his glory*. As then the *Father* by communicating his ſubſtance to his ſonne, looſes none of his owne, ſo the *Sunne* by communicating his *light* to the world, looſes no part nor degree thereof. Some things there are of that nature, as they may bee both given and kept, as *knowledge*, and *vertue*, and *happineſſe*, and *light*, which in holy *Scripture* is figuratiuely taken for them all. whether the ſame individuall *light* bee ſtill reſident in the body of the ſunne, which was planted in it at the firſt *Creation*, or whether it continually empty and ſpend it ſelfe, and ſo like a riuer bee continually repaired with freſh ſupplies; for mine owne part I cannot certainly affirme, though I muſt confeſſe, I rather incline to the former: But this I verily belecue, that as the body of the *Sunne* is no whit leſſened in *extention*: So neither is the light thereof in *intention*: Men being now no more able to fixe their eyes vpon it, when it ſhines forth in its full ſtrength, then they were at the firſt *Creation* thereof. I will conclude this chapter with that of *Engubinus* in his tenth booke *de Perenni Philoſophia*. *Futuri interitus, ac ſenſcentia aliqua jam indicia præceſſiſſent, non conſtare idem Sol, non eadem fulgoris eſſet plenitudo, idem radiorum vigor, hac igitur Senectus nuſquàm eſt*. Had there beene in the heavens any ſuch decay or waxing old, as is ſuppoſed, wee ſhould haue ſeene ſome fore-running tokens thereof: The *Sunne* would not haue beene like himſelfe, hee would not haue retained the ſame fullneſſe of brightneſſe, nor the ſame vigour in his beames: This old age then is no where to bee found. Where hee takes it as graunted, that none would bee ſo vnreaſonable, as to affirme that the ſtrength and cleerenes of the *light of heaven* is any way abated. Now what hath beene ſpoken of the *light*, may no leſſe truely bee verified of the *warmth* and *influence* thereof, which ſpring therefrom, and now ſucceed in their order to bee examined.

Hebr. I 3.

CAP. 4.

*Touching the pretended decay in the warmth
of the heavenly bodies.*

SECT. I.

*That the starres are not of a fiery nature,
or hot in themselves.*

THe light of Heaven, whereof wee haue spoken, is not more comfortable & usefull, then is the warmth thereof; with a masculine vertue it quickens all kind of seeds, it makes them vegetate, & blossom, and fructifie, and brings their fruite to perfection, for the use of man & beast, and the perpetuating of their owne kinds, nay it wonderfully refresheth and cheares vp, the spirits of men and beasts, and birds, and creeping things, & not only imparteth the life of vegetation, but of sense & motion, to many thousand creatures, and like a tender parent fosters and cherisheth it being imparted. Some there are that liue without the light of heauen, searching into and working vpon, those bodies which the light cannot pierce, but none without the warmth, it being in a manner the vniuersall instrument of Nature, which made the Psalmist say that *there is nothing hid from the heate of the sunne*. Few things are hid from the light, but from the heate thereof nothing. Our life without the light of heauen would be tedious and uncomfortable: but without the warmth impossible. Since then such is the continuall and necessary use of the Cæstiall warmth, as well in regard of the generation, as the preservation of these inferiour bodies, accomodating it selfe to their severall tempers and uses, in severall manners and degrees, it may easily be conceived to be a matter of marvellous greate importance in deciding the maine question touching *Natures decay*, to inquire thorowly into the state and condition of it, (vpon which so many and great workes of Nature wholly depend) whether it be decayed or no, or whether it still abide in the fullnesse of that strength and activitie in which it was created. For the better cleering of which doubt, it will be very requisite first to inquire into the efficient cause thereof, which being once discovered, it will soone appeare whether in the course of nature it be capable of any such diminution or no.

Psal. 19. 6.

De Civit. Dei.
Lib. 11. c. 10.
Hom. 3. in Ge-
nesin.
Hexem. 2. 2.

v. 3. 4.

I am not ignorant that *S. Augustine, S. Basill, S. Ambrose*, and generally as many *Divines*, as held that there were waters, properly so termed, about the starry firmament, held with all that the *Sunne* and *Starres* caused heate as being of a fiery Nature, those waters being set there, in their opinion, for cooling of that heate: which opinion of theirs seemes to be favoured by *Syracides* in the forty third of *Ecclesiasticus*, where he thus seakes of the *Sunne*, *At noone it parcheth the countrey, and who can abide the burning heate thereof. A man blowing a furnace is in workes of heate: but the sunne burneth the mountaines three tymes more, breathing out fiery vapours*

pours. Neither were there wanting some among the ancient *Philosophers* who maintained the same opinion, as *Plato* and *Pliny*, and generally the whole sect of *Stoicks*, who held that the *Sunne* and *Starres* were fed with watery vapours, which they drew vp for their nourishment, and that when these vapours should cease and faile the whole world should be in daunger of combustion, and many things are alleaged by *Balbus* in *Ciceroes* second booke of the nature of the Gods, in favour of this opinion of the *Stoicks*. But that the *Sunne* and *Starres* are not in truth and in their owne nature fiery and hot, appears by the ground already layd touching the matter of the heavens, that it is of a nature incorruptible, which cannot bee, if it were fiery, inasmuch as thereby it should become lyable to alteration and corruption by an opposite and professed enemie. Besides all fiery bodies by a naturall inclination mount vpwards, so that if the starres were the cause of heat, as being hot in themselves, it would consequently follow that their circular motion should not bee Naturall but violent. Wherevnto I may adde, that the noted starres being so many in number, namely one thousand twenty and two, besides the Planets, and in magnitude so greate that every one of those, which appeare fixed in the firmament, are sayd to bee much bigger, then the whole Globe of the water and earth, and the *Sunne* againe so much to exceede both that globe and the biggest of them, as it may iustly bee stiled by the sonne of *Syrach*, *instrumentum admirabile* a wonderfull instrument; which being so, were they of fyre, they would doubtlesse long ere this haue turned the world into ashes, there being so infinite a disproportion betweene their flame and the little quantity of matter supposed to bee prepared for their Fewell. That therefore they should bee fed with vapours, *Aristotle* deservedly laughs at it, as a childish and ridiculous device, in as much as the vapours ascend no higher then the middle region of the ayre, and from thence distill againe vpon the water and earth from whence they were drawne vp, and those vapours being uncertaine, the flames likewise feeding vpon them must needes be uncertaine, and dayly vary from themselves both in quantity and figure according to the proportion of their fewell.

The least 13 times,

167 times,

Ecclesiasticus 43. 2.

SECT. 2.

That the heate they breed springes from their light, and consequently their light being not decayed, neither is the warmth arising there from.

THe absurdity then of this opinion beeing so foule and grosse, it remains that the *Sunne* and *Starres* infuse a warmth into these Sub-celestiall bodies, not as being hot in themselves, but only as beeing ordeined by God to breed heate in matter capable thereof, as they impart life to some creatures and yet themselves remaine voyd of life, like the braine which imparts Sense to every member of the body, and yet is it selfe vtterly voyd of all Sense. But here againe some there are which attribute this effect to the motion, others to the light of these glorious bodies

bodies: And true indeed it is, that *motion* causes heat, by the attenuation & rarefaction of the ayre: But by this reason should the *Moone* which is neerer the Earth, warme more then the *Sunne*, which is many thousand miles farther distant, & the *higher* Regions of the Aire should be alway hotter then the *lower*, which notwithstanding if wee compare the *second* with with the *lowest* is vndoubtedly false. Moreouer the *motion* of the *caelestiall* bodies being *vniforme*, so should the heat deriued from them in reason likewise be, & the *motion* ceasing, the heat should likewise cease, & yet I shall neuer beleeeue, that when the *Sun* stood still at the prayer of *Iosua*, it then ceased to warme these inferiour Bodies. And we find by experience, that the *Sun* works more powerfully vpon a body which stands still then when it moues, & the reason seemes to be the same in the rest or motion of a body warming or warmed, that receiueh or imparteth heat.

The *motion* being thus excluded from being the cause of this effect, the *light* must of necessitie step in, and challenge it to it selfe; the *light* then it is, which is vndoubtedly the cause of coelestiall heate in part by a *direct* beame, but more vehemently by a *reflexed*: for which very reason it is, that the *middle* Region of the aire is alwaies colder then the *lowest*, and the *lowest* hotter in Summer then in Winter, and at noone then in the morning and evening, the beames being then more *perpendicular*, and consequently in their *reflexion* more narrowly vnited, by which *reflexion* and vnion, they grow sometimes to that seruencie of heate, that fire springs out from them as wee see in burning glasses; and by this artificiall device it was that *Archimedes*, as *Galen* reports it, in his third booke *de Temperamentis*, set on fire the Enemies Gallies, and *Proclus* a famous *Mathematician*, practised the like at *Constantinople*, as witnesseh *Zonaras* in the life of *Anastasius* the Emperour. And very reasonable me thinkes it is, that *light* the most *Divine* affection of the *Caelestiall* Bodies, should be the cause of warmth, the most noble, active, and excellent quality of the *Subcaelestiall*. These two like *Hippocrates* twinnes, *simul oriuntur & moriuntur*, they are borne and dye together, they increase and decrease both together, the greater the *light* is, the greater the *heate*; and therefore the *Sun* as much exceeds the other starres in *heate*, as it doth in *light*. To driue the argument home then to our present purpose, since the *light* of the *Sun* is no way diminished, and the *heate* depends vpon the *light*, the consequence to me seemes marvailous faire and strong, which is, that neither the *heate* arising from the *light*, should haue suffered any decay or diminution at all.

Cap. 3.

SECT. 3

SECT. 3.

*Two objections answered, the one drawne from the
present habitableness of the Torrid Zone,
the other from a supposed ap-
proach of the Sun neerer
the earth then in
former ages.*

Notwithstanding the evidence of which trueth, some haue not doubted to attribute the present habitableness of the *Torride Zone*, to the weaknesse and old age of the *Heauens*, in regard of former ages. But they might haue remembred that the *Cold Zones* should thereby haue become more inhabitable by cold, as also that holding as they doe, an *universall decay* in all the parts of Nature, & men according to their opinion, *decaying* in strength as well as the *Heauens*, they should now in reason be as ill able to indure the present heate, as the men of former ages were, to indure that of the same times wherein they liued, the proportion being alike betweene the *weaknes*, as between the *strength* of the one and the other. But this I onely touch in passing, hauing a fitter occasion to consider more fully of it hereafter, when we come to compare the *wits* and *inventions* of the *Ancients* with those of the present times.

That which touches neerer to the quick, & strikes indeed at the very throat of the cause, is an opinion of very many, and those very learned men, that the *Body* of the *Sunne* is drawne nearer the Earth by many degrees then it was in former ages, & that it daylie makes descents, & approaches towards it, which some ascribe to a deficiencie of strength in the *Earth*, others in the *Sun*, most in both. Bodin out of Copernicus, Reinoldus & Stadius, great *Mathematicians* tell vs, that since *Ptolomies* time, who liued about an hundred & forty yeeres after *Christ*, the *Sunne* by cleare demonstrations is found to haue come neerer vs by one hundred & thirty *semidiameters* of the earth, which make twenty six thousand six hundred and sixty *German miles*, which are double to the *French*, as the *French* are to the *Italian* and ours. This wonderfull change *Philip Melancthon*, saith he, *ad caelestium, terrestriumque corporum tabescentem naturam referendum putauit*, thought fit to impute to the declining estate of the *caelestiall* & *terrestriall* Bodies. But if the *terrestriall* depend vpon the *caelestiall*, (as hath already beene prooued, & is the common opinion of all, both *Diuines* and *Philosophers*) then what is wanting in the wonted *vigour* of the *caelestiall*, being supplied by the approach thereof, the *terrestriall* should still without any decay remaine vnimpaired in their condition. The force of which reason serues also strongly against them who maintaine an habitableness vnder the *Torride Zone*, through the weaknesse of the *Sun*, and yet withall hold a supply of that weakenesse by the neerer approach thereof.

*Method. Hist.
cap. 8.*

But consulting in this point with both the learned *Professours* in the *Mathematickes* at *Oxford*, they both jointly agree, that this assertion of the

the Sunnes continuall declination; or neerer approach to the Earth, is rather an idle dreame, then a sound position, grounded rather vpon the difference among Astronomers, arising from the difficulty of their observations, then vpon any certaine & infallible conclusions. Ptolomy who liued about the yeare of Christ one hundred & forty, makes the distance of the Sun from the Earth to be one thousand two hundred & ten semidiameters of the Earth. Albategnius about the yeare eighr hundred & eighty makes it one thousand one hundred forty sixe. Copernicus about the yeare one thousand fiue hundred and twenty, makes it one thousand one hundred seventy nine. Tycho Brahe about the yeare one thousand six hundred, makes it one thousand one hundred eighty two. Now I would demaund, whether the Sun were more remote in Ptolomies time, & neerer in the time of Albategnius, & then againe more remote in the later ages of Copernicus & Tycho: which if it were so, then one of these two must needs follow, that either their observations were not grounded vpon so certaine principles as they pretend, or that the declination of the Sunne is vncertaine & variable, not constant & perpetuall, as is pretended. But what would Bodin say if hee liued to heare Lansbergius, Kepler, & other famous Astronomers of the present age, teaching that the Sun is now remote about two thousand and eight hundred, nay three thousand semidiameters from the Earth, affirming that Copernicus and Tycho neglected to allow for refractions, which (as the Opticks will demonstrate) doe much alter the case.

Exercit. 99.

I will close vp this point with the censure of Scaliger vpon the Patrons of this fancy, *Quæ verò nonnulli proderè ausi sunt, solis corpus longè propius nos esse, quàm quantum ab Antiquis scriptum sit, ita ut in ipsa deferentis corpulentia locum mutasse videatur, vel ipsa scripta spongijs, vel ipsi Authores scuticis sunt castigandi.* In as much as some haue dared to broach, that the Body of the Sun is nearer the Earth then by the Ancients it was obserued to be, so that it might seeme to haue changed place in the very bulke of the Spheare, either the Authors themselues of this opinion deserue to be chastned with stripes, or surely their writings to be razed with sponges.

SECT. 4.

A third objection answered, taken from a supposed remouall of the Sun more Southerly from vs then in former ages.

AS some haue inferred a diminution in the Heauenly warmth from a supposed neerer approach of the Sunne to the Earth, so haue others (at leastwise in regard of the Earth) from the remouall thereof more Southerly then in former ages. But crauing in this point likewise the opinion of my worthy friend Master Doctour Bainbridge Professour in Astronomie at Oxford, hee returned mee this answer.

It is the generall opinion of Moderne Astronomers, that the Sun in our time goeth not so far Southerly from vs in Winter, as it did in the time of Ptolomy and Hipparchus, neither in Summer commeth so much Nor-

‘Northernly towards vs, as then.

‘For *Ptolemy* (about *ann. Christi*. 140) observed the greatest declination of the Sunne from the *Æquinoctiall* towards either *Pole* 23. 51. 20. agreeable to the observations of *Hipparchus* 130 yeares before *Christ*, and of *Erasthenes* before *Hipparchus*. Wherevpon *Ptolemy* thought the Sunnes greatest declination immutable.

‘But succeeding Ages haue observed a difference; for about *Anno Christi* 830. many learned Arabians obserued the greatest declination of the Sunne to bee 23. 35. to whom agreeth *Albatagnius*, a Syrian, about *an. Christi*. 880. Yet did not *Albatagnius* from hence conclude any mutation in the greatest declination of the Sunne; for so small a difference might well happen by error of observations.

‘Afterwards about *ann. Christi*. 1070. *Arzachel* a Moore of Spaine, observed the greatest declination of the Sunne, 23. 33. 30. who to salue these different observations invented a new *Hypothesis*, which yet was not received by *Astronomers* of after times, who for many ages followed the greatest declination of *Arzachel* without any alteration till the times of *Regiomontanus* and *Copernicus*, for *Copernicus* by his observations some yeares before, and after *ann. Christi* 1520. affirmed, the greatest declination of the Sunne, to bee no more then 23. 28. 24. agreeable to the observations of *Regiomontanus*, and *Peurbachius* some yeares before him. *Copernicus* collating his observations with those of former ages, renewed the *Hypothesis* of *Arzachel*; that the Sunnes greatest declination was mutable; yet so that it was never greater then 23. 52. nor lesse then 23. 28. The difference being only 24. And that in 1717 yeares it decreaseth from the former to the latter; and in other 1717 yeares encreaseth from this to that againe.

‘According to which *Hypothesis* of *Copernicus*, about 65 yeares before *Christ*, the greatest declination of the Sunne was 23. 52. From which time accounting backwards, it was lesse and lesse; so that about 1782 yeares before *Christ*, the greatest declination of the Sunne, was but 23. 28. from which time accounting still backwards, it was more and more; till about 3499 yeares before *Christ*, it was againe 23. 52.

‘So after *Christ*, about the yeare 1652, the greatest declination of the Sunne by this *Hypothesis* shall bee but 23. 28. and from thence againe encrease till it become 23. 52. about the yeare 3369, after *Christ*. This opinion of *Copernicus* is received by most of this time, some following him ~~and others~~, others somewhat varying in the difference of the greatest declination, making it when it is least (as in our time) not lesse then 23. 30. and in the *Periodicall* restitution thereof.

‘But to speake freely, I cannot so easily bee drawne into this opinion, but rather thinke the greatest declination of the Sunne, to be *immutable*, and for ever the same; For the little difference of a few minutes betwixt vs, and *Ptolemy* may very well arise (as I formerly said) from the error of observations by the Ancients. The greatest declination of the Sunne from the *Æquinoctiall* towards either *Pole*, being alwaies the same; the Sunne cannot goe more *Southerly* from

from vs, nor come more *Northerly* towards vs, in this, then in former ages.

But supposing a mutability in the Sunnes greatest declination, according to the former *Periods*; it followeth that as the Sunne about 65 yeares before the *Epoche* of *Christ* went from our verticall point more *Southerly* then now it doth; So, many Ages before *Christ*, it went no more *Southerly*, then now it doth; and that many ages after our time, it shall goe as farre *Southerly*, as at the *Epoche* of *Christ*.

Secondly, when the greatest declination was most. As then in Winter the Sun went more *Southerly* from vs then now, so in Summer it came more *Northerly* and neerer vs, then now.

Againe, when the greatest declination is least, (as in our Age) it goeth not so farre *Southerly* from vs in Winter, as formerly, neither in Summer comes so farre *Northerly*.

From which answere it may (as I conceiue) bee fitly and safely inferred, first that either there is no such remouecall at all of the Sunne, (as is supposed) or if there bee, as wee who are situate more *Northerly*, feele perchance the effects of the defects of the warmth thereof, in the vnkindly ripening of our fruites and the like, so, likewise by the rule of proportion, must it needs follow, that they who lie in the same distance from the *South-Pole*, as wee from the *North*, should enjoy the benefite of the neerer approach thereof; And they who dwell in the hottest *Climates* interiacent, of the abating of the immoderate fervency of their heate; and consequently, that to the Vniuersall, nothing is lost by this exchange: And as in this case it may happily fall out, so vndoubtedly doth it in many other: from whence the worlds supposed *decay* is concluded, Wee vnderstand not, or at least-wise wee consider not, how that which hurts vs helps another nation, wee complaine (as was before truly observed out of *Arnobius*) as if the world were made, and the government thereof administred for vs alone; & heereby it comes to passe, that as hee who lookes onely vpon some libbat or end of a peece of *Arras*, conceiues perhaps an hand or head which he sees to bee very vnartificially made, but vnfolding the whole, soone findes, that it carries a due and iust proportion to the body: So, *qui ad pauca respicit de facili pronuntiat* (saith *Aristotle*) hee that is so narrow eyed as hee lookes onely to his own person or family, to his owne corporation or nation, will peradventure quickly conceiue, and as soone pronounce, that all things *decay* and goe backwarde, whereas hee that as a Citizen of the world, and a part of mankinde in generall takes a view of the Vniuersall, and compares person with person, familie with familie, nation with nation suspends his judgement, or vpon examination cleerely findes, that though some members suffer, yet the whole is thereby no way indammaged at any time, and at other times those same members are againe relieued. And from hence my second inference is, that supposing a mutability in the Sunnes greatest declination; looke what dammage wee suffer by his farther remouecall from vs in Summer, is at least-wise in part recompensed by his neerer approach in Winter, and by his *Periodicall Revolutions* fully restored. And so I passe

pasſe from the conſideration of the *warmth*, to thoſe hidden and ſecret qualities of the heavens, which to *Aſtronomers*, and *Philophers* are knowne by the name of *Influences*.

CAP. 5.

*Touching the pretended decay of the
heavenly bodies, in regard of
their Influences.*

SECT. I.

*Of the firſt kinde of influence, from the higheſt im-
moueable Heaven, called by Divines
Cœlum Empyræum.*

Howbeit *Aristotle* thorow thoſe workes of his, which are come to our hands, to my remembrance, hath not once vouchaſed ſo much as to take notice of ſuch qualities, which wee call *Influences*, and though among the Ancients *Auerroes* and *Avicenne*, and among thoſe of freſher date *Picus Mirandula*, and *Georgius Agricola* ſeek to diſproue them: Yet both *Scripture*, and *Reason*, and the weighty authority of many great ſchollers aſwell *Chriſtians* as *Ethnickes*, haue fully reſolved mee that ſuch there are. They are by *Philophers* diſtinguiſhed into two ranks, the firſt is that influence which is derived from the *Empyreall* immoueable heaven, the pallace and *Mansion* houſe of *Glorified Saints* and *Angells*, which is gathered from the diverſity of *Effects*, aſwell in regard of *Plants*, as *beaſts*, and other commodities vnder the ſame *Climate*, within the ſame *Tract* and latitude, equally diſtant from both the *Poles*, which wee cannot well referre originally to the *inbred* nature of the ſoile, ſince the *Authour of Nature*, hath ſo ordained, that the temper of the *inferiour* bodies ſhould ordinarily depēd vpon the *ſuperiour*, nor yet to the *Aspect* of the *moveable* ſpheres and ſtars, ſince every part of the ſame *Climate*, ſucceſſively, but equally injoyes the ſame *aspect*: It remaines then that theſe effects bee finally reduced to ſome *ſuperiour* immoueable cauſe, which can be none other then that *Empyreall* heaven; neither can it produce theſe effects by meanes of the *light* alone, which is vniformly diſperſed thorow the whole, But by ſome ſecret quality, which is diuerſified according to the diuerſe parts thereof; and without this, wee ſhould not onely finde wanting that *connexion*, and vnity of order, in the parts of the world, which make it ſo comely, but withall, ſhould bee forced, to make one of the wortheſt peeces thereof voyde of *action*, the chiefe end of euery created being. Neither can this *action* miſbecome the worthineſſe of ſo glorious a peece, ſince both the *Creator* thereof, is ſtill buſied in the workes of *Providence*, and the *Inhabitants* in the workes of *miniſtration*.

Lib. 3. contra
Aſtolog. c. 5.
Lib. 4. c. 5. de
Cauſis ſubter.

Iohn. 5. 17.
Heb. 1. 14.

SECT. 2.

*Of the second kind, derived from the Planets
and fixed starres.*

THe other kind is that which is derived from the *starres*, the aspect of severall *constellations*, the opposition and conjunction of the *Planets*, & the like. These wee haue warranted by the mouth of God himselfe, in the thirty eight of *Iob*, according to our last, and most exact Translation; *Canst thou binde the sweete influences of the Pleiades, or loose the bands of Orion? Canst thou bring forth Mazzoreth in his season? Or canst thou guide Arcturus with his sonnes? Knowest thou the ordinances of heaven? Canst thou set the dominion thereof in the earth? where by the ordinances of heaven, it may well bee thought is meant the course and order of these hidden qualities, which without divine and supernaturall revelation, can neuer perfectly bee knowne to any mortall creature.*

v. 31.

S. W. R.

Besides, as a wise man of late memory hath well and truly observed, it cannot bee doubted, but the *starres* are instruments of farre greater vse, then to giue an obscure light, and for men to gaze on after sunne set, it being manifest that the diuersity of seasons, the Winters & Summers, more hot or cold, more dry or wet, are not so vncertained by the Sunne and Moone alone, who alway keepe one & the same course, but that the stars haue also their working therein, as also in producing severall kindes of mettalls, and mineralls in the bowels of the earth, where neither light nor heat can pierce. For as *heat* pierces where *light* cannot, so the *influence* pierces where the heat cannot.

Moreouer if wee cannot deny, but that God hath given vertues to springs and fountaines, to cold earth, to plants, and stones, and mineralls, nay to the very excrementall parts of the basest liuing creatures, why should wee robbe the beautifull *starres*, of their working powers? For seeing they are many in *number*, and of eminent *beauty* and *magnitude*, wee may not thinke that in the treasury of his wisdome, who is infinite, there can be wanting, even for *euery starre* a peculiar vertue and operation: As *euery hearbe, plant, fruite, and flower*, adorning the face of the earth, hath the like. As then these were not created to beautifie the earth alone, or to couer and shadow her dusty face, but otherwise, for the vse of man and beast, to feede them and cure them: so were not those incomparably glorious bodies set in the *firmament*, to none other end then to adorne it, but for *instruments* and organs of his divine providence so farre as it hath pleased his iust will to determine.

Barial,

I'le ne'r belecue that the Arch-Architect
With all these fires the Heav'nly Arches deckt
Onely for shew, and with these glistring shields
T' amaze poore shepheards watching in the fields.
I'le ne'r belecue that the least flower that pranks
Our garden borders, or the common banks,
And the least stone that in her warming lap

Our

Our kind nurse Earth doth coverously wrap,
 Hath some peculiar vertue of it owne;
 And that the glorious Starres of Heav'n haue none:
 But shine in vaine, and haue no charge precise,
 But to be walking in Heav'ns Galleries,
 And through that Palace vp and downe to clamber,
 As golden Guls about a Princes Chamber.
 But how farre it hath pleased the *Divine Providence* to determinc of
 these influences, it is hard I confesse, to be determined by any humane
 wisedome.

SECT. 3.

That the particular and vtermost efficacie of these in-
 fluences cannot be fully comprehended by vs.

IF in the true and vtermost vertues of hearbs and plants, which our-
 selues sow and set, and which grow vnder our feet, and wee dayly
 apply to our severall vses, we are notwithstanding in effect ignorant,
 much more in the powers and working of caelestiall bodies. For (as was
 sayd before) hardly do wee guesse aright, at things that are vpon the earth, and
 with labour do wee find the things that are before vs: but the things which are
 in heauen who hath searched out? It cannot well be denyed, but that they
 are not signes only, but at leastwise concurrent causes, of immoderate cold
 or heat, drought or moisture, lightning, thunder, raging winds, inundations,
 earthquakes and consequently of famine and pestilence, yet such crosse ac-
 cidents, may and often do fall out, in the matter vpon which they
 worke, that the prognostication of these casuall events, euen by the most
 skilfull *Astronomers* is very vncertaine. And for the common *Almanackers*
 a man by observation shall easily find that the contrary to their *predicti-*
ons is commonly truest.

Wisedome, 9.
 16.

Now for the things which rest in the liberty of mans will, the Starres
 haue doublesse no power over them, except it be lead by the *sensitine*
appetite, and that againe stirred vp by the constitution and complexion
 of the body, as too often it is, specially where the *humours* of the body
 are strong to assault, and the vertues of the minde weake to resist. If they
 haue dominion over *Beastes*, what should we judge of *Men*, who dif-
 fer little from *Beasts*, I cannot tell, but sure I am, that though the Starres
 incline a man to this or that course of life they do but incline, inforce they
 cannot: *Education* and *reason*, and most of all *Religion*, may alter and o-
 ver-master that inclination, as they shall produce a cleane contrary ef-
 fect. It was to this purpose a good and memorable speech of *Cardinall*
Poole, who being certified, by one of his acquaintance, who professed
 knowledg of these secret favours of the starres, that he should be raysed
 and advanced to great calling in the world, made answer, that whatso-
 ever was portended by the figure of his birth, for naturall generation, was
 cancelled and altered, by the grace of his second birth, or regeneration
 in the blood of his *Redemer*.

Dudicius in vi.
 in Poli.

Againē we may not forget that *Almighty God* created the starres, as he did the rest of the *Universall*, whose secret influences may be called his reserved and unwritten Lawes, which by his *Prerogative Royall* he may either put in execution or dispence with at his owne pleasure. For were the strength of the Starres such as *God* had quitted vnto them, all dominion over his Creatures, that petition of the Lords Prayer, *Lead vs not into temptation, but deliver vs from evill*, had been none other but a vaine expence of words and time. Nay be he *Pagane* or *Christian* that so beleeveth, the only true *God* of the one and the imaginary *Gods* of the other, would thereby be dispoyled, of all worship and reuerence and respect. As therefore I do not consent with them who would make those glorious Creatures of *God* vertulesse: so I think that we derogate from his eternall and absolute power and providence to ascribe to them the same dominion over our immortall soules which they haue over our bodily substances, and perishable natures. For the soules of men louing and fearing *God*, receiue influence from that diuine light it selfe, whercof the Suns clarity and that of the Starres is by *Plato* called but a shadow, *Lumen est umbra Dei, & Deus est lumen luminis*, Light is the shadow of *Gods* brightnesse, who is the light of light.

SECT. 4

That neither of these kindes of influences is decayed in ther benigne and favorable effects, but that curious inquisition into them is to be for borne.

Iob. 38. 31.

Rom. 8. 28.

Iudges 5. 20.

NOW then since the *Immoveable Heaven* by the confession of all that acknowledg it, is altogether *inalterable*, since the aspect of the fixed constellations, the conjunction and opposition of the Planets, in the course of their revolutions, is still the same, and constant to it selfe, since for their number their quantity, their distance, their substance, their motion, their light, and warmth, they are no whit impaired, why should wee make any doubt but that their influence is now likewise as sweet (as *God* in his conference with *Iob* teacheth it,) as benigne, as gracious, as favorable, as ever in regard of the Elements, the Plants, the beasts and man himselfe: and why should we not beleue that education, reason and religion, are now as powerfull, as ever to correct and qualifie their vnlucky and maligne aspects, that the hand of *God* is no way shartned, but that he is now as able as ever to controle and check his creatures, and make them worke together for the best, to them that loue him: As he did sometime in this very case, for his chosen people: they fought from heaven, the starres in their courses fought against *Sisera*. Hee that set the Sun and Moone, at a stand in their walks, and commanded the shadow to retire in the dyall of *Ahaz*, he that made a dry path through the red sea, muffled the mouthes of the *Lyons*, and restrained the violence of the fire, so as for a season it could not burne; hath he bound himselfe to the influence of a Starre, that he cannot bind it vp or divert it, or alter it at his pleasure, and vpon the humble supplication of his servants? no,

no,

no, *Sanctus dominabitur astris*: if according to *Ptolomy* the great Master of *Iudiciary Astrology*, *Wisdome* and *fore-sight* ouer-rule the starres, then surely much more devotion and piety. If the *Saints* by their prayers commaund the *Diuels*, and both shut and open Heauen for raine and drought, as did *Elias*, then may they aswell by vertue of the same pray-^{Iam. 5. 17.} er stoppe the influences of the starres; the instrumentall causes of drought & raine. Bee not dismaide then at the signes of heauen, for the Hea-^{Ier. 10. 2.} then be dismaide at them. And surely they in whom corrupt Nature swayes & raignes, haue much more reason to be dismaide at them, then others in whom *Grace* and the sence of *Godlines* preuailes. And whiles they feare many times they know not what, by meanes of their very feare they fall into that which they stand in feare of: feare being the betrayer of those succours which reason affords. Much noise there is at this present, touching the late great Conjunction of *Saturne* & *Iupiter*, & many^{Iuly 9. 1623} ominous coniectures are cast abroad vpon it, which if perchance they proue true, I should rather ascribe it to our sinnes then the starres, we need not searce the cause so far off, in the *Booke of Heauen*, we may find it written neerer at home in our own bosomes: And for the starres, I may say as our Saviour in the Gospell doth of the Sabbath, the stars were made for men, and not men for the starres. they were not created to governe, but to serue him; if he serue & be governed by his Creator; and if God be on our side, and we on his, *Iupiter* & *Saturne* shal neuer hurt vs; But whatsoeuer the force of the stars be, vpon the persons of private men, or the states of weale-publiques, I should rather advise a modest ignorance therein, then a curious inquisition thereinto, following the witty & pithy counsel of *Phavorinus* the Philosopher in *Gellius*, where he thus speaks. ^{Lib. 14. 5. 3.} *Aut aduersa euentura dicunt, aut prospera, si dicunt prospera & fallunt, miser fies frustra expectando, si aduersa dicunt & mentiuntur, miser fies frustra timendo, si vera respondent, eaque sunt non prospera, iam inde ex animo miser fies ansequam e fato fiat, si falicia promittunt eaque euentura sunt, tum plane duo erunt incommode, & expectatio te spe suspensum fatigabit, & futurum gaudij fructum spes tibi defloraueris.* Either they portend then bad or good luck, if good & they deceiue, thou wilt become miserable by a vaine expectation, if bad & they lye, thou wilt be miserable by a vaine feare; if they tell thee true, but vnfortunate events, thou wilt be miserable in mind before thou art by destiny; if they promise fortunate successe, which shall indeed come to passe, these two inconveniences will follow therevpon, both expectation by hope will hold thee in suspence, & hope will deflowre & deuoure the fruit of thy Content. His conclusion is, which is also mine both for this point, and this Chapter, & this discourse touching the *Heavenly Bodies*, *Nullo igitur pacto utendum est istiusmodi hominibus res futuras praeagientibus*: we ought in no case to haue recourse to those kinde of men which vndertake the fore-telling of casual events, And so I passe from the consideration of the coelestiall bodies to the subcoelestiall, which by Gods ordinance depend vpon them, and are made subordinate vnto them; touching which & the coelestiall bodies both together, comparing each with other the *Divine Bartas*, thus sweetly and truly sings;

Barlas 2 Day of
the first week.

Things that consist of th' Elements vniting,
Are euer tost with an intestine fighting,
Whence springs (in time) their life and their deceasing,
Their diuerse change, their waxing and decreasing:
So that, of all that is, or may be seene
With mortall eyes, vnder Night's horned Queene,
Nothing reteineth the same forme and face,
Hardly the halfe of halfe an houres space.
But the Hea'ns feele not fates impartiall rigour,
Yeares adde not to their stature nor their vigour:
Use weares them not, but their greene-euer age,
Is all in all still like their pupillage.

CAP. 6.

Touching the pretended decay of the
Elements in generall.

SECT. 1.

That the Elements are still in number foure,
and still retaine the ancient places
and properties.

HAuing thus prooued at large, in the former Chapters touching
the Heauens, that there neither is, nor in the course of Nature can
be, any decay either in regard of their matter, their motion, their
light, their warmth or influence, but that they all continue as they were euen
to this day by Gods ordinance., it remains that I now proceed to the con-
sideration of the sublunary bodies, that is, such as God & Nature hath pla-
ced vnder the Moone. Now the state of these inferiour, being guided
and governed by the superiour, if the superiour be vnimpaired, as hath
beene shewed, it is a strong presumption, that the inferiour are likewise
vnimpaired. For as in the wheelles of a Watch or clock, if the first be out
of order, so are the second & third, & the rest that are moued by it: so
if the higher bodies were impaired, it cannot bee but the lower depend-
ing vpon them, should tast thereof, as on the other side the one being
not impaired, it is more then probable that the other partake with
them in the same condition. Which dependance is well expressed by
Boeshius, where hauing spoken of the constant regularity of the heauen-
ly bodies, he thus goes on.

De Consol. lib. 4
Met. 6.

*Hæc concordia semperat aquis
Elementa modis, vt pugnancia
Vicibus cedant humida siccis,
Iungantq; fidem frigora flammis,
Pendulus ignis surgat in altum,
Terraque graues pondere sidant
Isdem causis vere tepenti
Spirat florifer annus odores,
Æstas Cererem feruida siccit,*

Remeat

*Remeat pomis gravis autumnus,
 Hyemem defluus irrigat imber,
 Hac temperies alit & profert,
 Quicquid vitam spirat in orbe
 Eadem rapiens condit & aufert
 Obitu mergens orta supremo,*

The concord tempers equally

Contrary Elements,

That moist things yeeld vnto the dry,

And heat with cold consents;

Hence fire to highest place doth flie,

And Earth doth downward bend,

And flowrie Spring perpetually

Sweet odours forth doth send,

Hote Summer harvest giues, and store

Of fruit *Autumnus* yeelds,

And showres which down from Heau'n doe powre;

Each Winter drowne the fields:

What euer in the world doth breath,

This temper forth hath brought,

And nourished: the same by death

Againe it brings to nought.

Among the *subcaelestiall* bodies following *Natures* methode, I will first begin with the consideration of the *Elements*, the most simple and vniuersall of them all, as being the Ingredients of all mixt bodies, either in whole or in part, and into which the mixt are finally resolued again, & are again by turnes remade of them, the common matter of them all still abiding the same.

Heere's nothing constant, nothing still doth stay;

For birth and death haue still successiue sway:

Here one thing springs not till another dye

Onely the matter liues immortally.

Th' Almighty's table, body of this All,

(Of changefull chances common Arcenall,

All like it selfe, all in it selfe contained,

Which by times flight hath neither lost nor gained)

Changelesse in essence, changeable in face,

Much more then *Proteus* or the subtill race

Of roving *Polypes*, who (to rob the more)

Transforme them houely on the wauiing shore:

Much like the French, (or like our selues their apes)

Who with strange habit doe disguise their shapes.

Who louing novels full of affectation,

Receiue the manners of each other Nation.

By consent of Antiquity they are in number foure, the *Fire*, the *Aire*, the *Water*, and the *Earth*.

*Quatuor aeternus genitalia corpora mundus
 Continet: ex illis duo sunt onerosa, suoque*

Bartas.

Pon-

Pondere in inferius tellus, atque unda feruntur:

Et totidem gravitate carent: nulloque premente

Alta petunt aer, atque aere purior ignis.

*Quæ quamquam spatio distant, tamen omnia sunt
Et ipsis, & in ipsa cadunt.*

Four bodies primitiue the world still contains
Of which, two downeward bend the earth and watery plaines,
As many weight doe want and nothing forcing, higher
They mount, th' aire and purer streames of fire
Which though they distant bee, yet all things from them take
Their birth, and into them their last returnes doe make.

Three of them shew themselves manifestly in mixt, the butter beeing the *Aieriall* part thereof, the whey the *watery*, and the cheefe the *earthly*: but all foure in the burning of greene wood, the flame being *fire*, the smoke, the *aire*, the liquor distilling at the ends, the *water*, and the ashes, the *earth*. *Philosophy* likewise by reason, teaches and proues the same, from their *motion* vpward and downeward, from their *second qualities*, of lightnes and heauines, and from their *first qualities*, either *active*, as heat and cold, or *passive*, as dry and moist. For as their *motion* proceeds from their *second qualities*, so doe their *second* from the *first*, & their *first* from the *heauenly bodies*, next to which, as being the noblest of them all, as well in *puritie* as *activity*, is seated the *Element* of the *fire*, (though many of the *Ancients*, and some latter writers, as namely *Cardane*, among the rest seeme to make a doubt of it)

Ignis ad æthereas volucer se sustulit auras

Summaque complexus stellantis culmina Cæli,

Flammæ vallo natura mœnia fecit.

The fire eftsoones vp towards heaven did stie,
And compassing the starrie world, advanced
A wall of flames, to safeguard nature by.

Next the *fire*, is seated the *aire*, divided into *three regions*, next the *aire* the *water*, and next the *water* the *earth*.

Who so (sometime) hath seene rich Ingots stride,
When forc't by fire their treasure they deuide
(How faire and softly gold to gold doth passe,
Silver seekes silver, brasse consorts with brasse;
And the whole lumpe, of parts vnequall, severs
It selfe apart, in white, red, yellow rivers)
May vnderstand how, when the mouth diuine
Op'ned (to each his proper place t'assigne)
Fire flew to fire, water to water slid,
Aire clung to aire, and earth with earth abid.

Exod. 36. 35.
2. Chron. 3. 14.
Lib. 6. de Bel.
Iudaico. c. 6. &
1. 15. Antiquit.
c. 14.

The vaile both of the *Tabernacle* and *Temple*, were made of blew, and purple, and scarlet, or crimson, and fine twisted linnen: by which foure, as *Iosephus* noteth, were represented the foure elements; his wordes are these: *Velum hoc erat Babylonium variegatum, ex hyacintho, & bysso, coccoque & purpura, mirabiliter elaboratum, non indignam contemplatione materie commissionem habens, sed velut omnium imaginem præferens, Cocco enim videbatur*

1 de subtil.
Masil. 1.
Astron. m.

B. 1. 1. m.

videbatur ignem imitari, & bysso terram, & hyacintho aerem, ac mare purpura, partim quidem coloribus, bysso autem & purpura origine, bysso quidem quia de terra, mare autem purpuram gignit; The vaille was Babylonish worke, most artificially imbrodered, with blue, and fine linnen, and scarlet, and purple, hauing in it a mixture of things, not vnworthy our consideration, but carrying a kinde of resemblance of the *Vniuersall*; for by the scarlet, seemed the *fire* to be represented; by the linnen, the *earth*; by the blew, the *aire*; and by the purple, the *sea*, partly by reason of the colours of scarlet and blue, and partly by reason of the originall of linnen and purple, the one comming from the earth, the other from the sea. And *S. Hierome* in his epistle to *Fabiola*, hath the very *Epist* 123. same conceite, borrowed, as it seemes, from *Iosephus*, or from *Philo*, who hath much to like purpose, in his third booke of the life of *Moses*: or it may be from that in the eighteenth of the booke of *Wisedome*, In the *v. 14.* long robe was the whole world: As not only the *vulgar* latten, and *Arias Montanus*, but out of them and the *Greeke* originall, our last *English* Translation reads it.

The *fire* is dry and hot, the *aire* hot and moist, the *water* moist and cold, the *earth* cold and dry: thus are they linked, and thus embrace they one another with their symbolizing qualities, the *earth* being linked to the *water* by coldnes, the *water* to the *aire* by moistnes, the *aire* to the *fire* by warmth, the *fire* to the *earth* by drought: which are all the combinations of the qualities that possibly can bee, hot & cold, as also dry and moist, in the highest degrees, beeing altogether incompatible in the same subject: And though the *earth* & the *fire* bee most opposite in *distance*, in *substance*, & in *activity*, yet they agree in one quality, the two middle being therein directly contrary to the two extreames, *aire* to *earth*, and *water* to *fire*.

Water, as arm'd with moisture and with cold,

The cold-dry earth with her one hand doth hold,

With th' other th' *aire*: The *aire* as moist and warme,

Holds *fire* with one, *water* with th' other arme:

As countie-maidens, in the moneth of May,

Merrily sporting on a holy-day

And lusty dancing of a liuely round

About the May-pole, by the Bag-pipes found,

Hold hand in hand, so that the first is last

(By meanes of those betweene) ynto the last.

But all the linkes of th' holy chaine which tethers

The many members of the world together,

Are such, as none but onely hee can breake them

Who at the first did (of meere nothing) make them.

SECT. 2.

That the Elements still hold the same proportions each to other, and by mutuall exchange the same dimensions in themselves.

THese foure then, as they were from the beginning, so still they remaine the radicall and fundamentall principles of all subcoelestiall bodies, distinguished by their severall and ancient *Situations, properties, actions, and effects*, and howsoever after their old wont they fight and combate together, beeing *single*; yet in *composition* they still accord marueilous well.

*Tu numeris elementa ligas; ut frigora flammis,
Arida convenient liquidis, ne purior ignis
Euolet, aut mersas deducant pondera terras.*

To numbers thou the elements doest tie
That cold with heat may symbolize, and drie
With moist, least purer fire should sore too high,
And earth through too much weight too low should lie.

The *Creator* of them, hath bound them, as it were, to their good behaviour, and made them in euery mixt body to stoope and obey *one predominant*, whose sway and conduct they willingly follow. The *aire* being predominant in some, as in oyle, which alwaies swimmes on the toppe of all other liquors; and the *earth* in others, which alwaies gather as neere the Center as possibly they can. And as in these, they vary not a jot from their natue and wonted properties, so neither doe they in their other conditions. It is still true of them, that *nec gravitant nec levitant in suis locis*, there is no sense of their weight or lightnes in their proper places, as appears by this, that a man lying in the bottome of the deepest *Ocean*, he feeles no burden from the weight thereof: The *fire* still serues to warme vs as it did, the *aire* to maintaine our breathing, the *water* to clense and refresh vs, the *earth* to feede and support vs, and which of them is most necessary for our vse is hard to determine: Likewise they still hold the same proportion one toward another, as formerly they haue done: For howbeit the *Peripatetikes*, pretending heerein the Authority of their *M^r Aristotle*, tell vs that as they rise one about another in *situation*, so they exceede one another, *proportione decupla*, by a tenne-fold proportion, yet is this doubtles a foule errour, or at least-wise a grosse mistake, whether wee regard their *entire bodies*, or their *parts*; If their *entire bodies*, it is certaine that the earth exceeds both the water and the aire by many degrees: The depth of the waters, not exceeding two or three miles, & for the most part not about halfe a mile, as *Marriners* finde by their line and plummet, whereas the *diameter* of the earth, as *Mathematicians* demonstrate, exceeds seven thousand miles. And for the *aire*, taking the height of it from the place of the ordinary *Comets*, it containes by estimation about fiftie two miles, as *Nonius*, *Vitellio*, and *Allhazen* shew by *Geometricall*

Boetius, l. 3.
Met. 9.

2 de Generat.
6. 6.

Clauius in Sa-
crobof. c. 1.

Lib. de Crepusc.
l. 10. propos. 60.
7. Perspect.

metricall proofes. Whence it plainly appeares that there cannot be that proportion betwixt the intire Bodies of the Elements which is pretended, nor at any time was since their Creation. And for their parts, 'tis as cleare by experience, that out of a few drops of water may be made so much aire as shall exceed them five hundred or a thousand times at least

But whatsoeuer their proportion be, it is certain that notwithstanding their continuall transmutation, or transelementation, as I may so call it, of one into another, yet by a mutuall retribution it still remaines the same that in former ages it hath beene, as I haue already shewed more at large in a former Chapter: & Philo most elegantly expresseth, *Egregia Lib. de Mundi quidem est in elementis quaternarum virium compensatio, equalibus, iustisque regulis ac terminis vices suas dispensantium: sicut enim anni circulus quaternis vicibus distinguitur, alijs partibus post alias succedentibus, & per ambitus eosdem usque recurrente tempore: pari modo & elementa mundi vicissim sibi succedentia mutantur, & quod diceret inridibile, dum mori videntur, redduntur immortalia, iterum atque iterum metiendo idem stadium, & sursum atque deorsum per eandem viam cursitando continuè, à terra enim acclivis via incipit, quæ liquefscens in aquam mutatur, aqua porro evaporat in aerem, aer in ignem extenuatur, ac declivis altera deorsum tendit à Capite, igne per extinctionem subsidente in aerem, aerque verò in aquam se densante, aqua verò liquore in terram crassescente.* There is in the Elements a notable compensation of their fourefold qualities, dispensing themselves by even turnes and just measures. For as the circle of the yeare is distinguished by foure quarters, one succeeding another, the time running about by equall distances: in like manner the foure Elements of the World by a reciprocall vicissitude succeed one another: & which a man would thinke incredible, while they seeme to dye, they become immortall, running the same race, and incessantly travailing vp and downe by the same path. From the Earth the way riseth vpward, it dissolving into water, the water vapors forth into aire, the aire is rarified into fire, again they descēd downward the same way, the fire by quēching being turned into aire, the aire thickned into water, & the water into earth. Hitherto Philo, wherein after his vñuall wont he Platonizes, the same being in effect to be found in *Platoes Timæus*, as also in *Aristotles booke de Mundo*, if it be his, in *Damascene*, and *Gregory Nyssen*. And most elegantly the wittiest of Poets.

*Lib. x. de fid.
occh. c. 3
De operibus ex
dicum.
Ovid. Met. 15.*

--- resolutaque tellus
In liquidas rarefcit aquas tenuatur in auras,
Aeraque humor habet dempto quoque pondere rursus
In superos aer tenuissimus emicat ignes.

Inde retrò redeunt: idemque retexitur ordo

Ignis enim densum spissatus in aera transit

Hinc in aquas tellus glomerata cogitur unda.

The Earth resolu'd is turned into streames,
Water to aire, the purer aire to flames:
From thence they back returne, the fiery flakes
Are turn'd to aire, the aire thickned, takes
The liquid forme of water, & that earth makes.

The foure Elements herein resembling an instrument of Musicke with

Cap. 19. v. 17.

four strings, which may bee tuned diverse wayes, and yet the *harmony* still remains sweet, and so are they compared in the booke of *Wisdom*, *The Elements agreed among themselves in this change, as when one tune is changed vpon an instrument of Musick, and the melody still remaineth.*

Bartas.

Sith then the knot of sacred marriage,
Which joynes the Elements, from age to age
Brings forth the worlds babes: sith their enmities,
With fel divorce, kill whatsoeuer dies:
And sith but changing their degree and place,
They frame the various formes, wherewith the face
Of this faire world is so imbellished,
As six sweet notes, curiously varied
In skilfull musick, make a hundred kindes
Of heau'nly sounds, that ravish hardest mindes;
And with division (of a choice device)
The Hearers soules out at their eares entice:
Or as of twice-twelue letters thus transpos'd,
This world of words is variously compos'd,
And of these words, in diverse order sown,
This sacred volume that you read is growen.
Who so hath seene, how one warme lump of waxe
(Without increasfing or decreasfing) takes
A hundred figures, well may judge of all
Th'incessant changes of this neather ball:
Yet thinke not that this changing oft remises
Ought into nought: it but the forme disguises
In hundied fashions, and the substances
Inly, or outly, neither win nor leese.
For all that's made, is made of the first matter
Which in th'old nothing made the All-Creator.
All that dissolues, resolues into the same,
Since first the Lord, of nothing made this frame:
Nought's made of nought, and nothing turnes to nothing,
Things birth or death change but their formall clothing:
Their formes doe vanish, but their bodies bide,
Now thick, now thin, now round, now short, now side.

*Vique novis facilis signatur Cera figuris,
Nec manet ut fuerat, nec formam servat eandem,
Sed tamen ipsa eadem est.*

They be the verses of *Ovid* in the 15. of the *Met.* but may well be rendered by those of *Bartas* touching severall prints stamped vpon the same lumpe of waxe.

SECT. 3.

S E C T. 3.

An objection drawne from the continuall mixture of the Elements each with other answered.

THus then we see that the *Elements* are stil the same, no way impaired in regard of their *portions* or *proportions*: neither doe I find any *objection* against this of any moment or worthy our notice: Let vs now examine whether or no they be impaired in their *qualities*, for which I haue often heard it alleadged, that their frequent *interchange*, their continuall blending and mixing together now for the space of so many thousand yeares, cannot in reason but much haue altered their *inbred vigour* and originall constitution, as *Ilanders*, & in them specially their maritime parts are thought by *Aristotle*, & cōmonly by experience are found to be most tainted in their manners, by reason that lying open to trade, they draw on the commerce & intercouise of sundry foraine Nations, who by long conversation, debauch them in regard of their *Customes*, their *language*, their *habite* & naturall *disposition*. But this allegation is in truth a bare and naked supposition. For though it bee true that such a continuall traffique and inter-change there is betwixt the *Elements*, yet doth it not therefore follow that their *qualities* should thereby degenerate, or become more impure, inasmuch as that impurity which by intercouise they haue contracted, by perpetuall agitation they purge out againe, and by continuall generation each out of other renew their parts, and so by degrees returne to their former estate and purity. Againe, for the *fire*, if we consider it in it's own spheare, (though as the rest of the *Elements*, it be indeed subject to a successiue generation & corruption, in regard of the parts thereof) yet is it alwaies most pure, which is the reason that it neither can be seene, as fiery *Meteors* are, neither can any creature either breed or liue in it. And as for the *Aire*, *Water*, and *Earth*, if they were pure, it is certaine they could not be so seruiceable as they are. If the *Aire* were pure, neither men, nor birds, nor beasts could breath in it, as *S. Augustin* reports of the hill *Olympus*, *Perhibetur in Olympi vertice aer esse tam tenuis ut neque sustentare alites* De Gen. ad li-
possit, neque ipsos qui foris ascenderint homines, crassioris aere spiritu alere si- teram. lib. 3. c. 2.
cut in isto aere consueverunt: It is said that vpon the top of the hill *Olympus*, the aire is so thin & pure, that it can neither beare vp the birds that offer to flye in it, nor be vsfull for the breathing of men, if any come thither, being vsed to thicker ayre. Neither could any *Meteors*, did it still continue pure, be bred in it: as *raine* & *snow* & *dewes* and *frosts* and the like, which notwithstanding are many wayes commodious and profitable for the vse of all liuing creatures, so as they could not liue without them. And for the *water* if it were pure, it could neither feed the fishes nor beare vp vessels of burden. As likewise if the *earth* were pure, it would be altogether Barren, and fruitlesse, like sand or ashes, not able to nourish the plants that hang vpon the breasts of it. The *Elements* then being ordeined for the ornament of the world, but cheifely to serue

the mixt bodies, there is nothing lost, but much gained to the whole, by the losse of their purity, nay the restitution and recovery thereof (if so they were created) would vndoubtedly proue the vtter vndoing of the whole, as the vntainted virginity of either sexe would of the race of mankind; yet for farther satisfaction, it shall not be amisse to consider these three afunder, in reference to the *mixt bodies*, the *ayer* I meane, the *water* and the *earth*, that so it may appeare whether the *ayer* be decayed in it's *temper*, the *water* in it's *goodnesse* and *vertue*, the *earth* in it's *fartnesse* and *fruitfullnesse*.

C A P. 7.

Touching the pretended decay of the ayer, in regard of the temper thereof.

S E C T. I.

Of excessiue drought and cold in former ages and that in forraine Countreys

THAT the *ayer* is not distempered, more then in former ages, will as I conceiue appeare by this, that vnseasonable weather, for excessiue *heate* and *cold*, or immoderate *drought* and *raine*, *thunder* and *lightning*, *frost* and *snow*, *haile* & *windes*, yea & *contagious sicknesses*, *pestilentiall*, *Epidemicall diseases*, arising from the *infection* of the *ayer*, by noysome *mistes* and *vapours*, to which we may adde, *earthquakes*, *burning* in the *bowels* of the *earth*, *blazing Comets*, & the like, were as frequent, if not more, in former ages, then in latter times, as will easily appeare to such who please to looke either into the *Generall history* of the world at large, or the severall *Cronicles* of particular nations. Such burning like that of *Phaeton*, such floods like that of *Ogyges* and *Dencalion* recorded by *Orosius*, *Pliny*, *S. Augustine*, & *Varro*, the world hath not felt or knowne since those times. To like purpose I remember *Iustus Lyppius* a man rather partiall for *Antiquity* then for the present age, hath written an *Epistle* vpon occasion of a great *drought* which happened in the yeare one thousand six hundred and one, and lasted by the space of aboue foure moneths, to which he makes his entrance, *Non tamen nimis insolens aut nova, nisi nobis sic visa*. It is no new or vnusall thing, though to vs so it seeme: wherevpon he produceth sundry instances for excessiue *heate* and *drought* in former ages aswell from the *Romaine history*, as the *Germane Annales*. Among which the most remarkable, are that in the yeare one thousand two hundred twenty eight, the *heate* was such, that their harvest was fully ended before *Midsummer*, or to speake in his words, before the *Festivall* of *S. Iohn the Baptist*, which we commonly call *Midsummer day*. And againe two yeares after, in the moneths of *Iuly*, & *August*, it continued so fervently hot that men *rosted egges* in the sand.

And least wee should think that their *immoderate cold*, was not answerable

nable to their heate, he goes on and tells vs that in the reigne of *Lewis* son to *Charlemaigne*, in the yeare eight hundred twenty one, the winter was so long and sharpe that not only small brookes and streames, but the *Rheine*, *Danubius*, *Albis*, the *Seene*; and generally all the great rivers both of *France* and *Germany* were so hard frozen that for the space of thirty dayes or more, Loaden Carts passed over them, as it had beene vpon Bridges.

*Vndaque jam tergo ferratos sustinet orbes,
Puppibus illa prius, patulis nunc hospita plaustris.*

*Virgill Georg.
gick. 3.*

The river on it's backe now iron wheelles sustaines,
And what did ships ere while, now Wagons entertaines.

But in the yeare one thousand eighty six, the winter continued so bitter that from *S. Martyns* day, which is the Eleventh of *November*, to the first of *Aprill*, the *Rheine* was passible on foote. And for vnseasonable cold, in regard of the time of the yeare, hee reports out of *Hermannus Contractus*, that in the yeare one thousand sixty three, in the midst of *Aprill* for the space of fower dayes the weather was so cruell with raging windes and abundance of snow that it kild their Cattle and birds and destroyed their vines and trees. And lastly he vouches out of *Robertus de Monte* that in the yeare one thousand one hundred twenty fve, it was so fore and byting a winter, that innumerable *Eeles* by reason of the long continuance of the *Ice*, came creeping out of the ditches & hiding themselves in the meddowes, were there found dead, and rotten by the the wonderfull excesse of Cold, & vpon the trees scarce appeared there any leaues till the moneth of *May*: his Conclusion is, *Quorsum ego ista? ut opinio illa novitatis eximatur, quæ male in omni dolore aut querela blanditur, nunquam tale, nemini tantum: nuga et plebei sermones, quos historia refutent & serio lecta, hunc quoque Constantie fructum in animo gignant.* But now to what end are these examples alleadged by me? Surely to no other purpose but to worke out of mens mindes that opinion of novelty and strangeness, wherewith we vsually flatter our selues in our grieve and complaintes, never was the like, no age ever saw or felt it, in such a measure: Trifling speeches, befeeming the vulgar, but confuted by history, which being accuratly read, may serue to arme vs wih constancy against these and the like accidents.

I thinke wee shall hardly reade or heare of a sharper frost in latter ages, then that which *Ovid* mentions, in the place whither hee was banished, at his beeing there.

*Nudaque consistunt formam servantia testa
Vina, nec hausta meri sed data frustra bibunt.*

Ovid de Trist.

Bare wines still keeping forme of Caske stand fast,
Not gulses, but gobbets of their wine they tast.

Agreeable wherevnto is that of *Virgill*,

Caduntq; securibus humida vina,

Georgick. 3.

And liquid wines with axes doe they cleaue.

Serres in the life of *Francis* the first reports, that at the siege of *Luxemburge*, in the yeare 1543, the weather was so cold, that the provant wine ordained for the armie being frozen, was divided with hatchets, and by

Annal. 13.8. by the souldiers carried away in baskets. And *Tacitus* speaking of the *Romanes* warre in *Armenia*, tells vs that the winter was so sharpe, and the earth so long couered with yce, that they could not pitch their tents, vnlesse they had first digged the ground; many of their limmes grew starke with extremitie of cold, and many died in keeping the watch, and there was a souldier noted carrying a fagot, whose hands were so stiffe frozen, that sticking to his burthen, they fell from him as though they had beene cut from his armes.

SECT. 2.

Of excessive draugh & cold and raine in former ages heere at home, and of the common complaint of vnseasonable weather in all ages, together with the reason thereof.

*Survey of
London. ex l.
Bermun.*

ANd if wee looke neerer home, wee shall find that in the yeare one thousand one hundred & fourteene, in the fourteenth yeare of King *Henry* the first, the riuer of *Thames* was dried vp, & such want of water there, that betweene the *Tower* of London & the bridge, and vnder the bridge it selfe, that not onely horse, but a great number of men women and children, did daily wade ouer on foote. And for excessive and vnseasonable frosts, raine, snow, haile, windes & the like, our stories are full, specially *Stowes Chronicles*: & many of them were so immoderate, as wee haue had none of latter times comparable therevnto.

Hollenshead.

Is is true indeede that in generall, all *Ilands*, and ours I beleeue, aboue any other in the world, is subject to such vncertainty of weather, that many times wee can hardly distinguish *Christmas* from *Midsummer*, but onely by the length of daies: So warme it is at *Christmas*, & againe so stormy & cold at *Midsummer*. And for raine, thorow the yeare, I thinke, wee haue more then any where vpon the *Continent*: So that I may justly call our *Iland* *Matulam Planetarum*, the *Vrinall* of the Planets. I will giue one instance for all: In the two and twentieth yeare of *Edward* the third, from *Midsummer* to *Christmasse*, for the more part, it continually rain'd: so that there was not one day and night dry together. But this I take to bee, specially for that it is environed by the *Sea*, & withall stands so farre to the *Northwest*. Since then it is still situate where it was, it is likely that the aire was heere for the most part, tempered or distempered in former ages, as now it is: Yet I know the complaint is common, that our summers by reason of cold and moist, are not so kindly as they haue beene:

Sternuntur segetes & deplorata colonis

Vota jacent, longique perit labor irritus anni:

The corne lies down, the plow-man doth complaine,
His hopes are voide, & toiling all the yeare,
Hee onely hath his labour for his paine.

Neither

Neither will I altogether deny it, it may bee God hath a quarrell to vs for our finnes, or seekes by this chastisement to draw vs neerer to himselfe: But what is this to the vniverfall decay of Nature? doubtlesse the same complaint hath still beene in the times of our *Fathers*, & *Grandfathers*, and *Great Grandfathers*, and so vpward in regard of the *Generations* before them. *Nonne quotidie hoc murmuratis, & hoc dicistis, quam*

diu ista patimur! quotidie peiora & peiora: apud parentes nostros fuerunt dies latiores, fuerunt dies meliores. O si interrogares ipsos parentes tuos, similiter tibi de diebus suis murmurarent: Fuerunt beati Patres nostri, nos miseri sumus, malos dies habemus; Doe you not daily murmur, and thus, say, how long shall wee suffer these things! All things grow worse & worse; Our Fathers saw better & merrier dayes: But I wish thou wouldst aske the question of thy Fathers, & thou shalt finde them murmur likewise in regard of their daies: saying, Oh our Fathers were happy, wee miserable: wee see nothing but badde dayes. But had this complaint beene as true as ancient, as just as vsuall in all ages, wee had not beene left at this day to renew it: wee should by this time haue had no weather to ripen out corne or fruites, in any tollerable manner. For my selfe then, mine opinion is, that men for the most part, being most affected with the present, more sensible of punishments then of blessings, & growing in worldly cares, & consequently in discontent, as they grow in yeares and experience, they are thereby more apt to apprehend crosses then comforts, to repine & murmur for the one, then to returne thanks for the other. Whence it comes to passe that vnseasonable weather, & the like crosse accidents, are printed in our memories, as it were with red letters in an Almanacke: but for seasonable & faire, there stands nothing but a blanke: the one graven in is brasie, the other written in water.

SECT. 3.

Of contagious diseases, and specially the plague, both heere at home and abroad, in former ages.

NOW for contagious diseases, & specially the plague it selfe, it is well known, that this land hath now by Gods favour been in a manner all together free from it since the first yeare of his *Majesties* raigne: whereas heretofore it hath commonly every seaven or eight yeares at farthest spread it selfe through the greatest part of the land, and swept away many thousands. in the yeare one thousand three hundred forty eight, it was so hot in *Wallingford* a Towne of *Barkeshire*, that in a manner it dispeopled the Towne, reducing their *twelve Churches* to one or two which they now only retaine. In *London* it had so sharpe and quick an edge, and mowed downe such multitudes that within the space of *twelve moneths*, there were buried in one *Churchyard* commonly called the *Cisterians*, or *Charterhouse*, above fifty thousand. They writ further, that through the kingdome it made such a ravage, as it tooke away more then halfe of men, *Church-yards*

This was written in the last yeare of King James.

Camden in Barkshire.

Rob. Auesbury & Tabian.

Sam. Daniel, Ann. 22. Eduar. di. 3.

could not suffice to burie the dead, new grounds are purchased for that purpose: And it is noted, that there died, onely in *London* betweene the first of *January* and the first of *July* 57374. Other *Cities* and townes suffering the like, according to their portions: The earth being every where filled with graues, and the aire with cries. In the tenth yeare likewise of *Edward* the second, there was so great a *pestilence*, and generall sickenesse of the common sort, caused by the ill nutriment they receiued, as the *living* scarce sufficed to bury the dead.

Ann. 1317.

Pompon. Letas
Zonaras, tom. 2.Eusebius, l. 7. c.
17.De Constantia, l.
2. c. 22.Procopius, l. 11:
de bello Persico.
Agathias, lib. 5.
Lib. 5. c. 8Lyppius, ut su-
pra.

2. Sam. 24: 15:

Lib. 4. c. 15:

Now if wee cast our eyes abroad vnder the Emperours *Vibius Gallus*, & *Voluntianus* his son, about two hundred & fiftie yeares after Christ, there arose a plague in *Ethiopia*, which by degrees spread it selfe into all the provinces of the *Roman* Empire, and lasted by the space of fiftene yeares together, without any intermission; and so great was the mortality, that in *Alexandria*, as *Dionysius* himselfe, at that very time *Bishop* of that sea reports it, there was not one house of the whole city free, & the whole remainder of the inhabitants did not equall the number of old men in former times: By meanes whereof *S. Cyprian*, *Bishop* of *Carthage*, who liued in the same age, tooke occasion to write, that his excellent Treatise de Mortalitate: And *Lyppius* his censure of this pestilence is, *Non alia vnquam maior lues mihi lecta, spatio temporum sine terrarum*: I neuer read of a more greivous contagion, whether wee regard the long lasting or the large spreading thereof: Yet was that certainly for the time more impetuous and outragious vnder *Iustinian*, the fiercenes whereof was such that onely in *Constantinople* and the places neere adjoyning therevnto, it cut off at least *sine thousand*, & sometimes *tenne thousand* persons in one day: Which my selfe should hardly bee drawne, either to report or to beleue, but that I finde it recorded by faithfull Historiographers of those times. Neither lesse wonderfull was that pestilence in *Africa*, which snatcht away onely in *Nu-midia*, *Octingenta hominum millia*, saith *Orosius*, eight hundred thousand men. Or that vnder *Michael Duca* in *Greece*, which was so sharpe and violent, *Vt viui prorsus pares non essent mortuis sepeliendis*, they bee the words of *Zonaras*, the liuing were no way sufficient to burie the dead. But that which scourged *Italy* in *Petrarches* time, in the yeare one thousand three hundred fiftie nine, as himselfe relates it, in my minde exceeds all hitherto spoken of, there being scarcely left aliue *tenne* of a thousand thorow the whole countrey. Whereby the way I cannot let passe, that vnder *David*, though by most Diuines held to bee supernaturall and miraculous, in which there died of the people *seuenty thousand* men within the space of three dayes.

Now for other infectious Epidemicall diseases in former ages, *Pasquier* assignes a whole chapter to them, which hee thus intitles, *Des maladies qui ont seulement vnifois Cours par La disposition de L' air*. Of those diseases which haue but once had their course through the distemper of the aire. Heere with vs, wee haue not heard of late dayes of any such diseases, as the shaking of the sheeres, or the sweating sicknesse, touching which, it is very memorable that *Mr Camdem* hath deliuered in his description of *Shrewesbury*; as for the cause thereof, saith hee, let others search

search it out, for my own part I haue obserued, that this *malady* hath run through *England* thrise in the ages afore-going, & yet I doubt not but long before also it did the like, although it were not recorded in writing. First in the yeare of our Lord 1485, in which King *Henry* the seventh first began his raigne, a little after the great *Coniunction* of the superiour *Planets* in *Scorpio*. A second time yet more mildly, although the *Plague* accompanied it in the 33^d yeare after, Anno 1518, vpon a great opposition of the same *Planets* in *Scorpio* & *Taurus*, at which time it plagued the *Netherlands* and high *Almany* also. Last of all 33 yeares after that againe in the yeare 1551, when another *Coniunction* of those *Planets* in *Scorpio* tooke their effects: so that by Gods goodnes for the space now of these last seuentie three yeares wee haue not felt that disease. Twise thirty three yeares & more, and the same *Coniunction* and opposition of the *Planets* haue passed ouer, & yet it hath not touched vs. In the 31 yeare of King *Henry* the first, a terrible murraine of cattell spread through the whole kingdome, in so much as whole sties of hogs, and whole stalls of oxen were euery where suddenly emptied, & it continued so long, *ut nulla omnino huius regni villa huius miserie immunis aliterius incommoda ridere posset*, (saith *Malmesburiensis*) so as no one village was so free from this misery that it could laugh at the mishap of others.

Now adayes we heare not of so frequent, of such fowle & fretting kindes of *Leprosies* any-where in the World as were anciently among the *Iewes*, they had the *Leprosie* of the skin, of the flesh, of the scab, of the running sore, of the haire, of the head, and beard: their garments both linnen & wollen were infected with it, so as sometimes it increased and spread it selfe in the very garment, though separated from the body of the diseased. Nay which is more strange, the wals of their houses were not free from it: it tainted the very stones & the morter with greenish & reddish spots, so as they were forced sometimes to plucke downe a part of the House, sometimes the whole, when no other meanes was found to cleanse it. Now their great multitudes of *Lepers* appeares in this, that they had so many, and so solemne lawes for their tryall, for their cleansing, & for the shutting of them vp without the campe. And though we may well conceiue that some of them were stricken with this disease immediately by the finger of God, as *Myriam*, *Moses* sister for her murmuring, *Gehazi* for his bribery, *Azariah* for his backwardnes in reformation of Religion, *Ezziah* for his presumptuous forwardnes in taking vpon him the Priests office, yet those foure that sate together expecting the charity of Passengers at the gate of *Samarita*, & those ten that our *Sauour* healed at once, shew that the number of their ordinary *Lepers* was very great.

Lastly, none can be ignorant, that the sicknesse which wee call the *French* disease, they the *Neapolitane*, and the *Neapolitanes* the *Indian*, (because we borrowed it from the *French*, they from the *Spaniards* at *Naples*, and they againe from the *Indians*) is neither so catching, nor so virulent, nor so contagious, nor so dangerous, as in former times it hath beene.

Novel. l.ij. s. 13.

Levit. 13.

Ibid. v. 55.

Levit. 14. 33.
&c.

a Num. 12. 10.

b 2. Kings. 5.

c 27.

d 2 Kings. 15. 5.

e 2 Chron. 16.

f 19.

g 2 King. 7. 4.

h Luke. 17. 12.

SECT. 4.

Of earthquakes in former ages, and their
terrible effects lively descri-
bed by Seneca.

TO the pestilences and other contagious diseases of former ages may be added the *Earthquakes* arising likewise from the distemper of the *aire*, though in another kind. Of these we haue heard little in these latter times, or at leastwise they haue beene nothing so frequent & fearefull as in the dayes of our more ancient predecessors, in so much as they chiefly gaue occasion to the composing of that *Letter*, and therein to the petition against suddaine death, which by publique authority is vsed through the *Christian Church* at this day by the force of *Earthquakes* contrary to the Proverbe, *Mountaines haue mer;* The Citty of *Antioch* where the Disciples of *Christ* were first called *Christians*, with a great part of *Asia* bordering vpon it, was in *Traianes* time swallowed vp with an *Earthquake*, as writeth *Dion*, reporting very marvailous things thereof. By the same meanes at one time were twelue famous Citties of *Asia* ouer-turned vnder the reigne of *Tiberius*. And at an other time as many townes of *Campania* vnder *Constantine*. And of the dreadfulness of this accident, aboute the pestilence or any other incident to mankind, *Seneca* excellently discourseth in the sixth book of his *Natural questions*: *Hostem muro repellam*, saith hee, *prærupa altitudinis Castellæ, vel magnos exercitus, difficultate aditus morabuntur, à tempestate nos vindicant portus, nimborum vim effusam & sine fine cadentes aquas tota propellunt, fugientes non sequitur incendium, adversus tonitrua & minas Cæli subterranea domus & defossi in altum specus remedia sunt, ignis ille cælestis non transverberat terram, sed exiguo ejus objectu retunditur, in pestilentia mutare sedes licet, nullum malum sine effugio est, nunquam fulmina populos percusserunt, pestilens cælum exhausit vrbes non abstulit, hoc malum latissimè patet, inevitabile, avidum, publicè noxium, non enim domus solum & familias, aut vrbes singulas haurit, sed gentes totas regionesque subvertit, & modo ruinis operit, modo in altam voraginem condit, ac ne id quidem relinquit ex quo appareat quod non est saltem fuisse, sed supra nobilissimas vrbes sine vllò vestigio prioris habitus solum extenditur.* A wall will repell an enemy, rampiers raised to a great height by the difficulty of their access will keepe out powerfull armies, An Haven shelters vs from a tempest, & the couering of our Houses from the violence of stormes & lasting raines, the fire doth not follow vs, if we fly from it, against thunder & the threats of Heaven, vaults vnder ground & deep caues are remedies, those blastings & flashes from aboue, doe not pierce the earth, but are blunted by a little peece of it opposed against them, In the time of pestilence a man may change dwellings, there is no mischief but may be shunned, the lightning neuer stroke a whole Nation, a pestilential ayre hath emptied Cities, not ouer-turned them: but this mischief is large in spreading, vnauidable, greedy of destruction, generally dangerous. For it doth not onely depopulate Houses, & Families, & townes, but layes waste &

makes

Plin. 2.83.

Lib. 68.

Plin. l. 2. c. 14.

Tac. Annal. 2.

10.

Lypsius de Constant. l. 1. c. 16.

Cap. 1.

makes desolate whole Regions and countreyes: sometimes covering them with their own ruines, and sometimes ouer-whelming them, and burying them in deepe gulphes, leauing nothing whereby it may so much as appeare to posterity, that that which is not, sometimes was, but the Earth is levelled ouer most famous Citties, without any marke of their former existence.

S E C T. 5.

*Of dreadfull burnings in the bowels of Aetna,
and Vesuvius, and the rising of a new
Iland out of the Sea with hide-
ous roaring neere Put-
zol in Italy.*

AS the quakings of the earth were more terrible in former ages, so were the *burnings* in the bowels thereof no lesse dreadfull, the one being as it were the *cold* & the other the *hot* fits thereof. The mountaine *Aetna* in *Sicilie* hath flamed in time past so abundantly that by reason of thick smoake and vapours arising therefrom, the Inhabitants thereabout could not see one another (it wee may giue credite to *Cicero*) for two dayes together. And in the yeare of the world 3982, it raged so violently, that *Africa* was thereof an astonished witness. But *Virgils* admirable description thereof may serue for all.

*Sands his Re-
lation, lib. 4.*

--- *Horrificis tonat Aetna ruinis*

Interdumque atram prorumpit ad aethera nubem;

Turbine fumantem piceo, & candente favilla,

Attollitque globos flammarum & sidera lambit,

Interdum scopulos, aruisque viscera montis

Erigit eructans, liquefactaque saxa sub auras

Cum gemitu glomerat, fundoque exastuat imol:

Aetna here thunders with a horride noise,

Sometimes black clouds evaporeth to skies,

Fuming with pitchie curls and sparkling fires,

Tosseth vp globes of flames, to starres aspires:

Now belching rocks, the mountaines entrals torne,

And groaning, hurles out liquid stones there borne

Thorow the aire in showres.

But rightly did another Poet diuine of this mountaine and the burnings therein,

Necque sulphuris ardet fornacibus Aetna

Igneae semper eris, neque enim fuit ignea semper.

Aetna which flames of sulphure now doth raise,

Shall not still burne, nor hath it burnt alwayes.

The like may be said of *Vesuvius* in the kingdome of *Naples*, it flamed with the greatest horror in the first, or as some say in the third yeere of the Emperour *Titus*: where besides beasts, fishes and fowle, it destroyed two adjoyning Citties *Heraculanum* and *Pompeios* with the people sitting in the Theater, *Pliny* the naturall Historian, then Admirall of

*Ovid. Met. Lib.
15.*

the Romane Navy desirous to discover the reason was suffocated with the smoake thereof, as witnesseth his Nephew in an epistle of his to *Cornelius Tacitus*

---Sensit procul Africa tellus,
Tunc ex pulueris geminata incendia nimbis,
Sensit et Aegyptus Memphisque & Nilus atrocem
Tempestatem illam, Campano è littore missam,
Nec caruisse ferunt Asiam Syriamque tremenda
Peste, nec exstantes Neptunij è fluctibus arces
Cyprumque Cretamque & Cycladas ordine nullo
Per pontum sparsas nec doctam Palladis urbem
Tantus inexhaustis erupit faucibus ardor
Ac vapor.

They be the verses of *Hieronymus Borgius* touching the horrible roaring and thundring of this mountaine, and may thus be englished.

Then remote *Africke* suffer'd the direfull heate

Of twofold rage with showers of dust replete

Scorcht *Egipt*, *memphis*, *Nilus* felt amaz'd,

The woofull tempest in *Campania* rais'd,

Not *Asia*, *Syria*, nor the towers that stand

In *Neptunus* surges, *Cyprus*, *Creet*, *Iones* land

The scattered *Cyclades*, nor the *Muses* seate

Mineruaes towne that vast plague scapt such heate

Such vapours brake forth from full jawes -----

Marcellinus farther obserues that the ashes thereof transported in the ayre obscured all *Europe*, and that the *Constantinopolitans* Being wonderfully affrighted therewith (in so much as the Emperour *Leo* forooke the City) in memoriall of the same did yearly celebrate the twelfth of *November*. Who in these latter ages hath euer heard or read of such a fire issuing out of the earth as *Tacitus* in the 13 of his *Annals* and almost the last words describes. The city of the *Inbonians* in *Germanie* confederate with vs (sayth he) was afflicted with a sudden disaster, for fires issuing out of the earth burned towns, feilds, villages every where, and spred even to the wals of a colony newly built, and could not be extinguished neither by raine nor river water, nor any other liquor that could be employed vntill for want of remedie, and anger of such a destruction, certaine peasants cast stones a farre of into it; then the flame somewhat slaking, drawing neare they put it out with blowes of clubs and otherlike, as if it had been a wild beast, last of all they threw in clothes from their backs which the more worne and fowley, the berrer they quenched the fires.

But the most memorable both *Earthquake* and burning is that which *M^r. George Sands* in the forth booke of his *Travels* reports to haue hapēd neare *Putzoll* in the kingdome of *Naples* likewise, in the yeare of our *Lord* 1538, and on the 29th of *September*, when for certaine daies foregoing the countrey thereabout was so vexed with perpetuall *Earthquakes*, as no one house was left so intire, as not to expect an immediate ruine, after that the sea had retired two hundred paces from the shore, leaving

cleaving abundance of fresh water rising in the bottome (there visibibly ascended a mountaine about the second hower of the night with hideous roaring, horribly vomiting stones, and such store of Cinders as overwhelmed all the buildings therabout, and the salubrious Bathes of *Triperegula*, for so many ages celebrated, consumed the vines to ashes, killing birds and beastes; the fearefull inhabitants of *Putt Zoll* flying through the darke with their wiues and children naked, defiled, crying out and detesting their Calamities; manifold mischietes had they suffered, yet none like this which nature inflicted: yet was not this the first land that thus by the force of *Earthquakes* haue risen out of the sea, the like is reported both of *Delos* and *Rhodos*, and some others.

Pliny lib. 2. cap. 85, 86, 87.

SECT. 6.

Of the nature of Comets and the vncertaintie of predictions from them, as also that the number of those which haue appeared of late yeares, is lesse then hath vsually bene observed in former ages, and of other fiery and watry prodigious meteors.

IT remaines that in the next place I should speake somewhat of *Comets* or *Blazing starres*, whether in latter times more haue appeared, or more disastrous effectes haue followed vpon their appearance, then in former ages. Some tooke the *Comet* to haue bene a *starre*, ordained and created from the first beginning of the world: but appearing only by times and by turnes, of this mind was *Seneca*. *Cardan*, likewise in latter times harps much, if not vpon the same, yet the like string. But *Aristotle* (whose weighty reasons and deepe judgment I much reverence) conceiueth the matter of the *Comet*, to be a passing hot and dry exhalation, which being lifted vp, by the force & vertue of the Sun, into the highest region of the ayre is there inflamed, partly by the Element of fire, vpon which it bordereth, and partly by the motion of the heavens which hurleth it about; so as there is the same matter of an *Earthquake*, the *wind*, the *lightning*, and a *Comet*, if it be imprisoned in the bowels of the earth, it causeth an *Earthquake*; if it ascend to the middle region of the ayre, and be from thence beating back, *wind*; if it enter that region and be there invironed with a thick cloud, *lightning*; if it passe that region a *Comet*, or some other fiery *Meteor*, in case the matter be not sufficiently capable thereof.

Natur. Quest. Lib. 7. cap. 23.

The common opinion hath bene, that *Comets* either as *Signes* or *causes*, or both haue allwayes prognosticated some dreadfull mishaps to the world, as outrageous windes, extraordinary droughth, dearth, pestilence, warres, death of Princes and the like.

Nunquam futilibus excaudit ignibus ather.

Manilius.

Ne're did the Heavens with idle blazes flame:

But the late Lord Privy Seale Earle of *Northampton*, in his *Defensatiue* Cap. 16. against the poison of supposed prophesies, hath so strongly incountred this opinion, that for mine owne part I must professe, he hath perswaded mee, there

there is no certainty in those *praditions*, in asmuch as *Comets* doe not alwayes forerunne such euent, neither doe such euent alwayes follow vpon the appearing of *Comets*. Some instances he produceth of *Comets*, which brought with them such abundance of all things, & abated their prises to so low an ebbe, as *stories* haue recorded it for monuments, and miracles to posterity: And the like, saith hee, could I say of others, *Ann. Dom. 1555. 1556. 1557. 1558.* after all which yeares nothing chanced that should driue a man to seeke out any cause about the common reach: and therefore I allow the diligence of *Gemma-Frisius* taking notice of as many good, as badde effects, which haue succeeded after *Comets*. Moreouer hee tells vs that *Peucer*, a great *Mathematician* of *Germany*, prognosticated vpon the last *Comet*, before the writing of his *Defensatiue*, that mens bodies should bee parched and burned vp with heat: But how fell it out? Forsooth, saith hee, wee had not a more vnkindely summer many yeares, in respect of extraordinary cold: neuer lesse inclination to warre, no Prince diseased in that time, and the plague which had beene somewhat quicke before in *Lombardy*, as God would haue it, ceased at the rising of the *Comet*. Besides all this, hee reports of his owne experience, as an eye-witnesse, that when diuerse vpon greater scrupulosity, then cause, went about to dissuade *Queene Elizabeth*, lying then at *Richmond*, from looking on a *Comet* which then appeared, with a courage answereable to the greatness of her state, shee caused the window to be set open, and cast out this word, *iacta est alea*, the dice are throwne, thereby shewing that her stedfast hope & confidence, was too firmly planted in the providence of God, to bee blasted or affrighted with those beames, which either had a ground in nature wherevpon to rise, or at least-wise no warrant in Scripture to portend the mishappe of Princes. Neither doe I remember that any *Comet* appeared either before *her death* (as at her entrance there did,) nor that of *Prince Henry*, nor of *Henry the Great* of *France*, the one being a most peerelesse *Queene*, the other a most incomparable *Prince*, & the third for prudence & valour, a matchlesse *King*. And for the last *Comet* which appeared, it was so farre from bringing any excesssiue heate with it, that for a long time there hath not beene known more cold yeares thē three or foure immediatly ensuing it. And though it bee true, that some great *Princes* died not long after it, yet after that immediatly going before, I cannot call to mind any such effect: but as

Ann: 1558:

An: 1618:

Natur: Quest: 1:
743:

Seneca truly notes, *Naturale est magis noua quam magna mirari*, it is naturall vnto vs to bee inquisitiue & curious rather about things new and strange, then those which are in their owne nature truly great: Yet euen among the Ancients, *Charlemaigne* professed, that hee feared not the signe of the blazing starre, but the Great & potent *Creator* thereof. And *Vespasian*, as *Dyon* reports, when the apparition of a *Comet* was thought to portend his death, replied merrily: No, said hee, *this bushy starre notes not mee, but the Parthian King: Ipse enim comatus est, ego vero caluus sum*: For hee weares bushy locks, but I am bald. Lastly, some *Comets* haue beene the Messengers of happy & ioyfull tidings, as that at the birth of our *Saviour*, & another at the death of *Nero*, *Cometes summe*

bonus

bonus apparuit, qui prænuntius fuit mortis magni illius Tyranni & pestilentiſſimi hominis, ſaith *Tacitus*: There appeared a favourable & auſpicious Comet, as an Herauld to proclaim the death of that great Tyrant and moſt peſtilent man.

The prædiction then, & ſucceſſe of miſchievous & vnfortunate accidents from the appearance of *Comets*, appearing to bee thus vncertaine, it followes in the ſecond place to be conſidered, whether more haue appeared in theſe *latter times*, then in *former ages*. For mine owne part I remember but two, for the ſpace of theſe laſt thirty yeares, and during his late Maſtieſties reigne but one, whereas my Lord of *Northampton*, (as wee haue heard before,) ſpeakes of foure within the compaſſe of foure yeares. Before the death of *Iulius Caſar*, *Virgill* witneſeth.

Georg. l. i.

Non alias cælo ceciderunt plura ſereno

Fulgura, nec diri toties arſere Cometa.

Ne're in cleare ſkymore lightnings did appeare,
And direfull comets never riſer were.

Beda & Paulus Æmilius mention two, which by the ſpace of fourteene dayes appeared together, in the reigne of *Charles Martell*, father to *Charlemaigne*, the one in the morning going before the *Sunne*, & the others in the euening following after it. The like wherevnto I doe not remember wee any where read of. Now that which hath beene ſaid of *Comets* may likewise bee applied to other ſierie & watery *Meteors*, as *streamings*, *swords*, *flying dragons*, *fighting armies*, *gapings*, two or three *Sunnes* & *Moones*, & the like appearing in the aire many times to the great terrour & aſtoniſhment of the beholders: of all which & many more of that kinde, hee that deſires to reade more, I referre him to *Vicomercatus*, *Gargæus*, *Pontanus*, & *Lycosthenes*, de *Prodigijs & Portentis ab Gargæis orbe condito, uſque ad annum 1557*. Of ſtrange & prodigious accidents from the beginning of the world, to the yeare of our Lord 1557. But the ſtrangeſt apparition in the aire in this kinde that ever I heard, or read of, was that which I finde reported by *M^r Fox*, whiles the *Spaniſh* match with *Queene Mary* was in the heat of treating, & neere vp on the concluding, There appeared in *London* on the fifteenth of *February* 1554, a *Rainebow* reuerſed, the bow turning downeward, & the two ends ſtanding vpward: a prodigious & ſupernaturall ſigne indeed of thoſe miſerable & bloody times which quickly followed after.

Ann. & Mon. p. 1637.

SECT. 7.

Of ſtrange and impetuous winds and lighnings, in former ages, aboue thoſe of the preſent.

IN the laſt place wee may adde the impetuous *thunders* & *lightnings*, together with outrageous *windes* in former times, ſuch as latter ages haue ſcarce beene acquainted with. And becauſe the latter of theſe haue of late plaid their parts more fiercely both by ſea & land, it ſhall not be amiſſe to remember, that euen in the Phophet *Dauids* time, when in likelielihood they lanced not forth into the maine, but coaſted

Ann. 1624.

sted along by the shore, they were notwithstanding by the violence of
 Pſal. 107. ver. 26. *tempeſts, lifted vp to heaven, and carried downe againe to the depths: which*
the Poet hath in a manner translated word for word.

*Tollitur in cælum, ſublato gurgite et iſdem
 Voluimur in barathrum.*

With ſurging waues to heaven wee lifted are,
 And in a trice to helward downe we fare.

Act. 27. 20.

It was a terrible *ſtorme*, & ſeldome heard of which encountred S. Paul
 & his company in their voyage towards Rome, though they ſayled in
 ſight of land, rayſed by a tempeſtuous winde called *Euroclydon*, inſo-
 much as beſide their imminent daunger neither *Sunne* nor *Starres*,
 which ſhould haue beene their guides in many dayes appeared vnto
 them. The *concurrence* & combating of contrary windeſ, which is now
 a dayes not often obſerved to happen, & I thinke in courſe of *Nature*
 & diſcourſe of *Reason* can hardly bee, yet *Virgill* mentions it more
 then once,

Acmeid. 1.

*Vnà Eurūſque Nothūſque ruunt creberque procellis
 Affricus & vaſtoſ voluunt ad littora fluctuſ.*

Th' Eaſtwinde, the Weſt, the Southweſt and by Weſt.
 Ruſh forth together, and with boiſtrous ſtormes
 Huge waues to ſhoreward roll--

Georg. 1.

And againe,

Omnia ventorum concurrere praliū vidi,

I ſaw the windeſ all combating together.

Iob. 1. 19:

Such a winde it ſeemes was that, which ſmote at once all the foure cor-
 ners of the houſe of *Iob* eldeſt ſonne.

Let any who is deſirous to inquire into, and compare thingſ of thiſ
 nature, but reade what is recorded in the *Turkiſh* hiſtory of two won-
 derfull great ſtormes, the one by land in *Sultania*, ſet downe in the en-
 trance of *Solyman*ſ life, the other at *Algiers*, not farre from the mi'dſt
 of the ſame life. at *Charles* the 5th hiſ comming thither, as alſo at hiſ par-
 ting from thence; and I preſume hee will admire nothing in thiſ kinde,
 that hath falne out in theſe latter times.

De aſcen: men-
 tis in Deum per
 Scal. Creat
 gradu 2

*Vidi ego, ſaith Bellarmine, quod niſi viდიſſem non crederem, à vehemen-
 tiſſimo vento effoſſam, ingentem terra molem, eamque delatam ſuper pagum
 quendam, vt forvea altiſſima conſpiceretur, unde terra eruta fuerat, & paguſ
 totuſ coopertuſ, & quaſi ſepultuſ manſerit ad quem terra illa deuenerat.* I my
 ſelfe haue ſeene, which if I had not ſeene, I ſhould not haue beleued,
 a very great quantity of earth, digged out and taken vp by the force of
 a ſtrong winde, and carried vpon a village thereby, ſo that there re-
 mained to be ſeene a great empy hollowneſ, in the place from whence
 it was lifted, and the village vpon which it lighted, was in a manner
 all couered ouer & buried in it. Thiſ example I confeſſe, could not be
 long ſince, ſince, *Bellarmino* profeſſes that himſelfe ſaw it, Yet it might
 well be ſome ſkoreſ of yeares before our laſt great windeſ, which not-
 withſtanding by ſome, for want of reading and experience are thought
 to bee vnmatchable: And I know not whether that outragiuſ winde
 which happened in *London* in the yeare 1096. during the reigne of

ohn Stow.

William

William Rufus, might not well bee thought to paralell, at least, this recorded by *Bellarmino*: It bore downe in that City alone, six hundred houses, & blew off the roofof *Bow Church*, which with the beames were borne into the aire a great heighth, six whereof being 27 foote long, with their fall were driuen 23 foote deepe into the ground, the streetes of the citty lying then vnpaired. And in the fourth yeare of the same King, so vehement a lightning, (which as hath beene said, is of the same matter with the winde) pierced the steeple of the *Abbey of Winscomb* in *Glostershire*, that it rent the beames of the roofof, cast downe the *Crucifixe*, brake off his right legge, and withall ouerthrew the image of our *Lady* standing hard by, leauing such a stench in the Church, that neither incense, holy-water, nor the finging of the Monkes could allay it: But it is now more then time I should descend a steppe lower, from the aire to the water.

CAP. 8.

*Touching the pretended decay of the waters
and the fish, the inhabitants thereof*

S E C T. I.

*That the sea, and riuers, and bathes are the
same at this present, as they were for
many ages past, or what they loose
in one place or time, they reco-
uer in another.*

THough the *Psalmist* tell vs, that the Lord hath founded the earth vpon the Seas, and established it vpon the floods, because for the more commodious liuing of man and beasts, hee hath made a part of it higher then the seas, or at least-wise restrained them from incursion vpon it, so as now they make but one intire *Globe*; yet because the waters in the first Creation couered the face of the earth, I will first begin with them. The mother of waters, the great deepe hath vndoubtedly lost nothing of her ancient bounds or depth, but what is impaired in one place, is againe restored to her in another. The riuers which the Earth sucked from her by secret veines, it renders backe againe with full mouth, & the vapours which the Sunne drawes vp, empty themselves againe into her bosome.

The purest humour in the Sea, the Sun
Exhales in th' Aire: which there resolu'd, anon
Returns to water, & descends againe,
By sundry wayes into his mother maine.

Barth.

Her motions of ebbing & flowing, of high springs and dead Neapes, are still as certaine & constant, as the changes of the Moone and course of the Sunne: Her natiue saltnes & by reason thereof her strength, for the better supporting of navigable vessells, is still the same: And as the Sea the mother of waters, so likewise the riuers the daughters thereof, either hold on their wonted courses and currents, or what they haue

Lib. 17

diminished in one age or place, they haue againe recompenced and repayed in another, as Strabo hath well expressed it, both of the sea and rivers, *Quoniam omnia moventur & transmutantur, (aliter talia ac tanta ad ministrari non possent) existimandum est, nec terram ita semper permanere, ut semper tanta sit nec quisquam sibi addatur aut adimatur, sed nec aquam, nec eandem sedem semper ab istis obtineri, presertim cum transmutatio ejus, cognata sit ac naturalis, quinimo terra multum in aquam conueritur, & aqua multum in terram transmutatur. Quare minime mirandum est si eas terra partes quae nunc habitantur, olim mare occupabat, & quae pelagus sunt prius habitabantur. Quemadmodum de fontibus alios deficere contingit, alios relaxari, item & flumina & lacus.* Because things moue and are changed (without which such and so great matters could not well be disposed) we are to thinke that the earth doth not remaine alwayes in the same state, without addition or diminution, neither yet the water, as if they were alwayes bounded within the same lists, specially seeing their mutuall chang is naturall & kindly but rather that much earth is turned into water, & contrarywise no lesse water in to earth it is not thē to be wondered at, if that part of the earth which is now habitable was formerly overflowed with water, and that againe which now is sea, was sometimes habitable, as among fountaines Some are dried vp and some spring forth afresh, which may also be verified of rivers and lakes. wherewith accordes that of the Poet.

Metamorp. 15.

*Vidi ego quod fuerat quondam solidissima tellus
Esse fretum; vidi factas ex equore terras.
Et procul à pelago Choncha jacuere marina,
Et vetus inuenta est in montibus anchora summis:*

*Quodque fuit campus, vallem decursus aquarum
Fecit; & eluvie mons est deductus in equor.
Eque paludosa siccis humus aret arenis
Quaeque sitim tulerant stagnata paludibus hument.
Hic fontes natura novos emisit, et illic
Clausit, & antiquis tam multa tremoribus orbis
Flumina prosiliunt, aut exsiccata residunt.*

What was firme land sometimes that haue I seen
Made sea, and what was sea made land againe,
On mountaine tops old anchours found hane been,
And sea fish shells to lie farre from the maine,
Plaines turne to vales by water falls, the downe
By overflowses is chang'd to champaigne land,
Dry ground erewhile, now moorish fen doth drowne,
And fens againe are turn'd to thirsty sand,
Here fountaines new hath nature opened,
There shut vp springs which earst did flow amaine,
By earthquakes rivers oft haue issued,
Or dried vp they haue sunke downe againe.
The Poet there brings instances in both these: And to like purpose is that of Pontanus.

Lib. 48.
Metem:

Sed nec perpetua sedes sunt fontibus vlla

Aeterni

Eterni aut manant cursus, manantur in eundem

Singula, & inceptum alternat natura penorem;

Quodque dies antiqua tulit, post auferet ipsa

Fountaines spring not eternally

Nor in one place perpetually do tary

All things in every age for evermore do vary,

And nature changeth still the course she once begun,

And will herselfe vndoe what she of old hath done.

which though it be true in many, yet those great ones as *Indus* and *Ganges*, and *Danubius*, and the *Rhenus*, & *Nilus* are little or nothing varied from the same courses and currents which they held thousands of yeares since, as appeares in their descriptions by the ancient *Geographers*; But about all meethinks the constant rising of *Nilus* continued for so many ages, is one of the greatest wonders in the world, which is so precise in regard of time, that if you take of the earth adjoyning to the river and preserve it carefully, that it come neither to be wet nor wasted, and weigh it dayly, you shall finde it neither more nor lesse heavy till the seventeenth of *Iune*, at which day it begineth to groweth more ponderous and augmenteth with the augmentation of the river, whereby they haue an infallible knowledge of the state of the deluge.

Reported by
M^r. Ge. Sands
as a common
experiment,
affirmed by
Alpinus a Phi-
sician, Marchi-
tus the French
Consull Elian-
us a Iesuite,
and Varrat an
Englishman

Now for the *Medicinall* properties of *Fountain* or *Bathes* no man I thinke makes any doubt, but that they are both as many and as efficacious as ever. some it may be haue lost their vertue and are growne out of vse: but others againe haue in stead thereof beene discovered in other places, of no lesse vse and vertue, as both *Baccius* & *Blanchellus* in their bookes de *Thermis* haue observed. And for those hot ones at the city of *Bath* I make no question but *Nechams* verses may as justly be verified of their goodnesse at this present, as they were fower hundred yeares since, about which time he is sayd to haue written them.

Bathonia Tharmas vix prefero Virgilianas

Confecto profunt Balnea nostra seni.

Profunt attritis, collisis, invalidisque,

Et quorum morbis frigida causa subest.

Our Baines at Bath with *Virgills* to compare

For their effects I dare almost be bold:

For feeble folke, and crazie good they are,

For bruf'd, consum'd, farre spent, and very old

For those likewise whose sicknesse comes of cold.

SECT. 2.

*That the fishes are not decayed in regard of there
store, dimensions, or duration.*

BUt it is sayd, that though the *waters* decay not, yet the *fish*, the inhabitants thereof, at leastwise in regard of their *number* are much decayed, so as wee may take vp that of the *Poet*.

---Omne peractum est,

Et iam defecit nostrum mare---

Juvenal Sat. 5.

All our Seas at length are spent and faile.

The *Seas* being growne fruitlesse and barren as is pretended in regard of former ages, & that so it appeares vpon record in our Hauen townes: But if such a thing be, (which I can neither affirme nor deny, hauing not searched into it my selfe) themselves who make the objection, shape a sufficient answer therevnto, by telling vs that it may so be by an extraordinary judgment of *God*, (as he dealt with the *Egyptians*) in the death of our fish for the abuse of our flesh-pots, or by the intrusion of the *Hollander*, who carries from our coast such store as we might much better loade our selues with: and if we should a little enlarge our view, & cast our eyes abroad, comparing one part of the world with another, we shall easily discerne, that though our Coast faile in that abundance, which formerly it had by ouer-laying it, yet others still abound in a most plentiful manner, as is by experience found vpon the Coast of *Virginia* at this present. And no doubt, but were our Coasts spared for some space of yeares, it would againe afford as great plenty as euer. Finally, if the store of fish should decay by reason of the decay of the world, it must of necessity follow that likewise the store of plants, of beasts, of birds, and of men should dayly decay by vertue of the same reason. Nay rather, since the curse lighting vpon man extended to plants and beasts, but not to fishes, for any thing I finde expressly registered in holy Scripture. As neither did the vniuersall Deluge hurt, but rather helpe them, by which the rest perished. There are still no doubt euen at this day as at the first Creation, in the Sea to be found

Barlaam.

As many fishes of so many features,

That in the waters one may see all Creatures:

And all that in this All is to be found,

As if the World within the deepes were drown'd.

Now as the store of fishes is no way diminished: so neither are they decayed either in their greatnes or goodnes. I will instance in the whale, the King of fishes, or as *Iob* termes him, the King ouer the children of pride. That which *S. Basil* in his *Hexameron* reports, namely that the whales are in bignes equall to the greatest mountaines, and their backes when they shew aboue water are like vnto Islands, is by a late learned Writer not vnderstandedly censured, as intollerably hyperbolicall. *Pliny* in the ninth booke and third Chap. of his *Naturall history* tels vs that in the *Indian* Seas some haue beene taken vp to the length of foure acres, that is, nine hundred and sixty feete; whereas notwithstanding *Arrianus* in his discourse *de rebus Indicis* assures vs, that *Nearchus* measuring one cast vpon that shore, found him to be but fifty cubits. The same *Pliny* in the first Chapter of his 32 booke sets downe a relation of King *Inbaes*, out of those bookes which he wrote to *C. Caesar*, son to *Augustus* the Emperour, touching the History of *Arabia*, where he affirms, that in the bay of *Arabia*, Whales haue beene knowne to be 600 foot long, and 360 foote thick, and yet as it is well known by the soundings of *Navigatours*, that Sea is not by a great deale 360 foot deep. But to let goe these fancies: and fables. and to come to that which is more probable. The dimensions of the Whale, saith *Alian*, is fve times beyond the largest Ele-

phant:

Lib. 51. 5. 35

Brierwoods
inquires 6. 13

Lib. 16. 2. 12
Lib. 16. 8. 17

phants: but for the ordinary, saith *Rondeletius*, hee seldome exceeds 36 cubits in length, and 8 in heighth. *Dion* a graue Writer reports it as a wonder, that in the reigne of *Augustus*, a Whale lept to land out of the German Ocean, full 20 foot in bredth, and 60 in length. This I confesse was much, yet to match it with lattet times, *Gesner* in his Epistle to *Polidor Virgill* avoucheth it as most true, that in the yeare of our Lord 1532, in the *Northerne* parts of our own land, not farre from *Tinmouth* hauen, was a mighty Whale cast on land, found by good measure to be 90 foot in length, arising to 30 *English* yards, the very bredth of his mouth was sixe yards and an halfe, and the belly so vast in compasse, that one standing on the fish of purpose to cut off a ribbe from him, and slipping into his belly, was very likely there to haue beene drowned with the moisture then remaining, had hee not beene suddenly rescued. From whence we may gather, that *Iobs* admirable description of this fish vnder the name of *Leviathan*, is still true, & that in vastnes, since *Augustus* his time, he is nothing decreased: And yet I well beleue, that those on the *Indian Seas* may much exceed ours, which might perchance giue occasion to those large relations of *Pliny* & *Iuba*. Herevnto may be added the observation of *Macrobius* touching the growth of the Mullet. *Plinius Secundus* saith he, *temporibus suis negat facile nullum repertum, qui duas pondo libras excederet, at nunc & majoris passim videmus, & presentia hac insana nescimus*. *Plinius Secundus* denies that in his time a Mullet was easily to be found which exceeded two pound weight; but now adayes we euery-where see them of greater weight, and yet are not acquainted with those vnreasonable prises which they then payde for them. Lib. 54
Lib. 4.
Iob. 41.
Satur. l. 3. c. 16.
Nat. hist. 9. 17.

I will close vp this chapter with a relation of *Gesners* in his Epistle to the Emperour *Ferdinand* prefixed before his bookes *De Piscibus*; touching the long life of a Pike which was cast into a pond or poole neere *Hailebrune* in *Sweria*, with this inscription ingraven vpon a collar of brasse fastned about his necke. *Ego sum ille piscis huic stagno omnium primus impositus per mundi Rectoris Frederici Secundi manus, 5 Octobris, anno 1230*. I am that fish which was first of all cast into this poole by the hand of *Frederick* the second governour of the World. 5 of Octob. in the yeare 1230. He was again taken vp in the yeare 1497, & by the inscription it appeared hee had then liued there 267 yeares: so as it seemes, that as fishes are not diminished in regard of their store or growth: so neither in respect of their age and duration. But I leaue floating on the *Waters*, and betake mee to the more stable Element the *Earth*.

wee are to descend to the examination of the *Earths supposed decay.*

Alian in the eight booke of his history, telleth vs, that not onely ^{cap. 11.} the mountain *Ætna*, (for thereof might be given some reason, because of the daily wasting and consuming of it by fire,) but *Parnassius* & *Olympus* did appeare to be lesse and lesse, to such as sayled at sea, the height thereof sinking as it seemed, and therevpon infers, that men most skilfull in the secrets of *Nature*, did affirme that the world it selfe should likewise perish and haue an end. His conclusion I cannot but approue, and most willingly accept of, as a rich testimonie for the confirmation of our *Christian doctrine*, from the penne of a *Gentile*: But that he inferres it, from so weake groundes, I cannot but wonder at the stupidity of so wise a man. For to graunt that those mountaines decrease in their magnitude, yet shall I never yeeld a vniuersall decrease in the whole globe of the *Earth*, since the proportions aswell of the *Diameter* as *Circumference* thereof, are by *Geometricall* demonstrations found to be the same which they were in former ages, or at least-wise not to decrease. And for the difference, which is observed betwixt the Calculation of *Ancient* & *Moderne* writers; it is certainly to be referred to the difference of miles, or of instruments, or the vnskilfullnesse of the Authours; not to the different dimensions of the *Earth*, which I thinke no *Geometrician* euer somuch as dreamed of. Notwithstanding which truth, I must, & doe readily subscribe to that of *Iob*, Surely the mountaine falling commeth to nought, ^{cap. 14. v. 18. 19} and the rocke is remoued out of his place; but let vs take *Iobs* reason with vs, which he immediately adds, The waters weare the stones, thou wasthest away the things which grow out of the dust of the earth: This diminution then of the *Mountaines* (as *Blaucanus* obserues) is caused partly by *Raine-water*, and partly by *Riuers*, which by continuall fretting, by little and little wash away & eate out both the tops, and sides, and feete of *mountaines*; whence the parts thus fretted through, by continuall falling downe, weare out the *mountaines*, and fill vp the lower places of the *valleyes*, making the one to increase as the other to decrease; whence it comes to passe that some old houses, heretofore fairely built, be now almost buried vnder ground, and their windowes heretofore set at a reasonable height, now growen euen with the pauement. So some write of the triumphall Arch of *Septimius*, at the foote of the *Capitol* mountaine in *Rome*, now almost couered with earth; in somuch as they are inforced to descend downe into it, by as many staires as formerly they were vsed to ascend; whereas contrariwise the *Romane Capitoll* it selfe seated on the mountaine which hanges ouer it (as witnesseth *George Agricola*) discouers its foundation plainly aboue ground, which without question were at the first laying thereof deepe rooted in the earth, whereby it appeares, that what the mountaine looseth the valley gaintes; and consequently that in the whole globe of the earth nothing is lost, but onely remoued from one place to another; so that in processe of time the highest mountaines may be humbled into valleyes, and againe the lowest valleyes exalted into mountaines.

If ought to nought did fall;

R

All

Barth.

Ovid. 15. Met.

104.30.

Lucr. l. 3.

16.30.

All that is felt or seene within this all,
 Still blooming somewhat of it selfe, at length
 Would come to nothing: if death's fatal strength
 Could altogether substances destroy,
 Things then should vanish even as soone as die.
 In time the mighty mountaine tops be bated,
 But, with their fall, the neighbour vales are fat-
 And what, when *Trent* or *Avon* overflow (ted
 They reave one field, they on the next bestow.
 And whereas another Poet tels vs that

Eluvie mons est deductus in aquor:
 The mountaine by washings oft
 into the sea is brought.

It is most certaine, and by experience found to be true, that as the ri-
 vers daily carrie much earth with them into the sea, so the sea sends
 backe againe much slime and sand to the earth, which in some places,
 and namely in the North part of *Devonshire* is found to bee a marvel-
 lous great commoditie for the enriching of the soyle.

Now as the *Earth* is nothing diminished in regard of the dimensions,
 (the measure thereof from the *Surface* to the *Center* being the same, as
 it was at the first *Creation*;) So neither is the *faires* & fruitfulness there-
 of, at least-wise since the *flood*, or in regard of *duration* alone, any whit
 impaired, though it have yeilded such store of increase by the space
 of so many revolutions of ages, yet hee that made it, continually re-
 neweth the face thereof, as the Psalmist speakes, by turning all things
 which spring from it into it againe.

Saith one, *Cuncta sup ortus repetunt, matremque requirunt:*
 And another:

E terris orta, terra rursus accipit.
 And a third joynes both together,

Quapropter merito maternum nomen adepta est.
Cedit enim retro, de terra quod fuit ante.
 In terras,

And altogether they may thus not vnfitly be rendred.

All things returne to their originall,

And seeke their mother: what from earth doth spring,

The same againe into the earth doth fall

Neither doe they heerein dissent from *Syracides*, with all manner of li-
 ving things hath hee covered the face of the earth, and they shall returne into
 it againe. And that doome which passed vpon the first man after the
 fall, is as it were ingraven on the foreheads, not onely of his posterity,
 but of all earthly Creatures made for their sakes; *Dust thou art, and un-
 to dust shalt thou returne.*

As the *Ocean* is maintained by the returne of the rivers, which are
 drayned & deriued from it: So is the earth by the dissolution and re-
 uersion of those bodies, which from it receiue their growth and nou-
 rishment. The grasse to feede the beasts, the corne to strengthen, and
 the wine to cheere the heart of man, either are or might bee both in
 regard

regard of the Earth & Heavens, as good and plentifull as euer. That decree of the Almighty, is like the Law of the *Medes & Persians* irrevocable; They shall bee for signes, and for seasons, and for dayes, and for yeares: And againe, Heereafter seed time, and harvest, and cold, and heat, and summer, and winter, and day, and night, shall not cease so long as the Earth remaineth. And were there not a certainty in these revolutions, so that

Gen. 8. 22.

---In se sua per vestigia voluitur anni.

Virgil.

The year in its owne steps into it selfe returns:

It could not well be, that the *Storke* and the *Turle*, the *Crape* and the *Swallow*, and other fowles, should obserue so precisely as they doe the appointed times of their coming and going. And whereas it is commonly thought, and beleueed, that the times of the yeare are now more vnseasonable then heerebefore, and thereby the fruites of the Earth neither so faire, nor kindly as they haue beene; To the first I answer,

Ier. 8. 7.

that the same complaint hath beene ever since *Salomons* time: Hee that obserueth the winde shall not sow, and he that regardeth the clowdes shall not reape. By which it seemes, the weather was euen then as vn-certaine as now; and so was likewise the vncertaine and vnkindely riping of fruites, as may appeare by the words following in the same place: In the morning sow thy seede, and in the evening let not thy hand rest:

Eccles. 11. 4.

for thou knowest not whether shall prosper this or that, or whether both shall bee alike good: And if sometimes wee haue vnseasonable yeares, by reason of excessiue wet and cold, they are againe paid home by unmoderate droughth and heate, if not with vs, yet in our neighbour countries, and with vs. I thinke, no man will bee so ynwise, or partiall, as to affirme that there is a constant and perpetuall declination, but that the vnseasonableness of some yeares, is recompensed by the seasonableness of others. It is true that the erroneous computation of the yeare wee now vse, may cause some seeming alteration in the seasons thereof, & in pro-
 v. 6.

cesse of time, must needes cause a greater if it bee not rectified: but let that error be reformed, and I am perswaded that *communibus annis*, we shall finde no difference from the seasons of former ages: at leastwise in regard of the ordinary course of nature. For of Gods extraordinary judgements, we now dispute not, who sometimes for our sinnes emptieth the botles of heaven incessantly vpon vs: and againe at other times makes the heavens as brasse ouer our heads, and the earth as yron vnder our feete.

SECT. 2.

Another obiection, touching the decay of the fruitfulness of the holy land, fully answered.

W Hen I consider the narrow bounds of the land of *Canaan*, (it being by *S. Hieromes* account, who liued long there, but 160 miles in length, from *Dan* to *Bersheba*, and in bredth but 40, from *Ioppa* to *Bethleem*,) and withall the multitude incredible (were it not recorded in holy Scripture) both of men & castell which it fedde,

Epist. 129. ad
Dardanum.

1: Chron. 13. 3. there meeting in one battle betweene Iudah & Israel twelue hundred thousand chosen men: Nay the very sword-men, beside the Levites and
 2: Chron. 21. 5. Beniamites were vpon strict inquirie found to be fiftene hundred and seuentie thousand, whereof the youngest was twenty yeares old, there being none by the Law to bee mustered vnder that age: and which is
 2: Chron. 17. 14. more strange, the very guards of Iehosaphats person amounted to almost an eleuen hundred thousand. And for the number of Castell, there
 2: Chron. 2. 7. were slaine in one sacrifice at the dedication of Salomons temple, two and twenty thousand bullocks, and an hundred & twenty thousand sheepe: When I say, I compare these multitudes of men & cattell with
 2: 12. the narrow bounds of that countrey, I am forced to beleue that it was indeed a most fruitfull soyle, *flowing with milke and hony*, & richly abounding in all kinde of commodities: Yet the reports of some, who haue taken a survey of it in these latter ages, beare vs in hand, that the fruitfullnes thereof, is now much decayed in regard of those times: From whence they would inferre a generall decay in all foyles, & consequently in the whole course of nature. But it may truly be said that this wonderfull fruitfullnes proceeded from a speciall fauour of Al-
 v: 13. mighty God toward this people, as appeares in the 11 of Deuteronomy, *this land doth the Lord thy God care for, the eyes of the Lord thy God are alwayes vpon it, from the beginning of the yeare euen to the end of the yeare.* And
 v: 3. more cleerely in the 26 of Leviticus: *If you walke in mine ordinances, and keepe my commaundements, I will send you raine in due season, and the land shall yeeld her increase, and the trees of the field shall giue their fruite, and your threshing shall reach vnto the vintage, and the vintage shall reach vnto the sowing time, and you shall eate your bread in plenteousnes, and dwell in your land safely.* But the miraculous prouidence of God shewed it selfe most euidently ouer this land in answering their doubt, what they should
 Levit. 25. v. 20. 21. eate the seuenth yeare, if they suffered the land to rest, as God had in-joynded them; the reply is, *I will send my blessing vpon you in the sixth yeare, and it shall bring forth fruite for three yeares.* Now then as this extraordinary fruitfullnes proceeded from an extraordinary fauour: So this fauour ceasing, the fruitfullnes might likewise cease without any naturall decay of the soyle: The countrey about Sodom & Gomorrha was for fruitfullnes as the Paradise, or garden of the Lord, till the curse of God fell vpon it, then it became a wast land, and so remaines to this day: Yet can it not be gaine said but that beside this speciall blessing of God, this
 Gen. 13. 10. soyle of Palestina was naturally very rich in it selfe, in asmuch as it fed
 Wisdome, 10. 7. one & thirty Idolatrous Kings, with their people, before the entrance of
 Iosua, 12. 24. Gods chosen nation into it, one of which alone possessed, as it should seeme threescore citties and the pomegranats, the figs & the grapes, which the spies (sent by Moses to discouer the land) brought backe with
 Numb. 13. 24. them, were marveilous goodly & faire. And as this soyle was thus rich before the entrance of this people, so since the displanting of them from thence, & the Saracens possessing it, it hath not altogether lost its ancient fruitfullnes whatsoeuer is pretended to the contrary, if wee may credit Brocardus, who about three hundred yeares since was him-
 De Testam. N. part. 2. c. 1. selfe an eyewitnesse thereof. His words are these. *Non est credendum*
 contrarium

contrarium nunciantibus, neque enim eam diligenter considerarunt, his oculis vidi quanta fertilitate Terra benedicta fructificat: frumentum enim vix terra exculta sine stercore & simo mirabiliter crescit & multiplicatur. Agri sunt velut horti in quibus feniculum, salvia, ruta, rosa passim crescunt. There is no heed to be given to them who affirme the contrary; For they haue not throughly cōsidered of the matter, with these eyes did I behold the exceeding fertilitie of that blessed land: The Corne with a very little makeing of the earth prospers and multiplies beyond beliefe, the fields are as it were gardens of delight, in which fennell, sage, rue, and roses every where grow; And so having largely described the admirable fruitfulness thereof in all kinds, at length he concludes: *Denique illic exstant omnia mundi bona, & verè terra fluit rivis lactis & mellis.* Finally there are to be had all the good things the world can afford, so that it may still be truly tearmed, a land flowing with rivers of milke and honey. And if it be degenerated from it's ancient fertility (which vpon the report of *Bredenbachius*, *Adrichomius* and others, I rather beleue) I should rather impute it to the Curse of God vpon that accursed nation which possesseth it, or to their ill manuring of the earth, from which the proverbe seemes to haue growne, that where the *Grand Signiors* horse once treads the grasse never growes afterward) then to any *Naturall* decay in the goodnes of the soyle.

S E C T. 3.

The testimonies of Columella and Pliny produced that the earth in it selfe is as fruitfull as in former ages, if it be made and manured.

NOW that which by *Brocardus* hath beene delivered touching the holy land in particular, is by *Columella* in his bookes of *Husbandry* with no lesse assurednesse averred touching the nature of the Earth in generall: nay to shew his confidence herein, he makes that asser-tion, the entrance to his whole worke, thus beginning the very first chapter of his first booke. *Sepenumero Civitatis nostrae principes audio culpantes, modo agrorum infecunditatem, modo Caeli per multa jam tempora noxiam frugibus intemperiem, quosdam etiam prædictas querimonias velut ratione certa mitigantes, quod existiment ubertate nimia prioris ævi defatigatum & effectum solum, nequire pristina benignitate præbere mortalibus alimenta, quas ego causas Publi Sylvini procul a veritate abesse certum habeo, quod neque fas est existimare rerum naturam quam primus ille mundi genitor perpetua fecunditate donavit (quasi quodam morbo) sterilitate affectam, neque prudentis credere tellurem, quæ divinam & æternam juventam sortita communis omnium parens dicta sit, quia & cuncta peperit & deinceps paritura sit, velut hominem consenuisse, ne posthac reor violentia Caeli nobis ista, sed nostro potius accidere vitio, qui rem rusticam pessimo cuique servorum velut carnifici noxa dedimus quam majorum nostrorum optimus quisque & optimè tractaverit.* I haue often heard the chiefe of our Citty complaining of the vnfruitfulness of the earth, and sometimes againe of the vnkindli-

nesse of the weather now for a good space hurtfull to the fruites, and some haue I heard with shew of reason qualifying these complaints in that they beleue the earth being worne out and become barren by the excessiue fruitfullnesse of former ages, not to be able to yeeld nourishment to mankind, according to the proportion of her accustomed bounty; but for mine owne part *Publius Sylvinus* I am well assured that these pretended causes are farre from truth, it being a peece of impiety so much as oncē to imagine that nature (which the first founder of the world blessed with perpetuall fruitfullnesse) is affected with barrennesse, as a kind of disease, neither is it the part of a wise man to think that the Earth, (which being indued with a *diuine and eternall youth*, is deservedly tearmed the *Common Parent* of all things, inas much as it both doth and hereafter shall bring all things forth) is now *waxen old like a man*, so as that which hath befallne vs I should rather impute it to our owne default then to the *unseasonableness* of the weather, inas much as wee commit the charge of our husbandry to the basest of our slaues, as it were to a publique executioner, whereas the very best of our ancestours with most happy succeſſe vnderwent that charge themselves, and performed that worke with their owne hands. Now *Sylvinus* to whom he dedicated his workes having received and read this resolute assertion by reason he knew it to be against the common tenet, and specially of one *Tremellius*, vpon whose judgment it seemed he much relyed, made a *Quære* thereof, & sent it to *Columella*, to which in the very first chapter of his second booke he returnes answer with this title title prefixed.

*Terram nec senescere nec fatigari, si
stercoretur.*

That the earth is neither wearied nor
waxeth old, if it be made.

And then thus goes on. *Queris à me Publi Syluine quod ego sine cunctatione non recuso docere, cur priori libro veterem opinionem fere omnium qui de cultu agrorum loquuti sunt à principio confestim repulerim, falsamque sententiam repudiauerim censentium longo ævi situ, longique jam temporis exercitatione fatigatam & effatam humum consensuisse.* You demaund a question of mee *Sylvinus*, which I will endeavour to answer without delay, which is, why in my former booke presently in the very entrance, I haue rejected the ancient opiniō almost of all, who haue written of husbandry, & haue cast of their imagination as false, who conceiue that the earth by long tracte of time and much vsage is growne old and fruitles: where he is so farre from recalling his assertion, or making any doubt of the certaine truth thereof: that hee labours farther to strengthen it with new supplies of reasons and at length concludes, *Non igitur fatigatione, quemadmodum plurimi crediderunt, nec senio, sed nostra scilicet inertia minus benigne nobis arua respondent: licet enim maiorem fructum percipere, si frequenti & tempestiua & modica stercoratione terra refoveatur.* It is not through the tirednesse or age of the earth, as many haue beleueed, but through our owne negligence that it hath not satisfied vs, so bountifully as it hath done. For we might receiue more profit from it, if it were cherished

cherished with frequent and moderate and seasonable dressing.

And with *Columella* agrees *Pliny* in the eighteenth booke of his *Natural History*, & third Chapter, where discoursing of the great abundance and plenty in fore-going ages, and demanding the reason thereof, he thereunto shapeth this reply, Surely, saith he, the cause was this, and nothing else: Great Lords and Generals of the field, as it should seeme, tilled themselves their grounds with their own hands. And the Earth again for her part, taking no small pleasure as it were to be aired and broken vp, *Laureato vomere & triumphali aratro*, with ploughs laureat, & ploughme triumphante, strained her self to yeeld increase to the vitermost. Like it is also that these braue men and worthy Personages were as curious in sowing a ground with corne, as in setting a battle in array, as diligent in disposing and ordering of their lands, as in pitching a field. And commonly every thing that cometh vnder good hands, the more neat & cleane that the vsage thereof is, and the greater paines that is taken about it, the better it thriueth and prospereth afterwards. And hauing instanced in *Atrilius Serranus*, and *Quintius Cincinnatus*, he goes on in this manner. But now see how the times be changed: they that doe this businesse in the field, what are they but bond-slaves fettered, condemned malefactors, and in a word noted persons, such as are branded and marked in their visage with an hot yron, yet we forsooth marvaile that the labour of these contemptible slaves and abject viliaines doth not render the like profit, as thattrauell in former ages, of great Capitaines and Generals of Armies. By which it appeares that *Columella* and *Pliny* imputed the barrennes of the Earth in regard of former ages, (if any such were) not to any deficiency in the Earth it selfe, but to the unskilfulness or negligence of such as manured it. To which purpose *Alian* reports a pretty story of one *Mises* who presented the Great King *Artaxerxes*, as hee rode through *Persia*, with a Pomegranate of wonderfull bignesse: which the King admiring, demaunded out of what *Paradise* he had gotten it, who answered, that he gathered it from his owne garden, the King seemed therewith to bee marvailous well content, & gracing him with royall gifts, swore by the *Sunne*, this man with like diligence and care might aswell in my judgement of a little City make a great one. *Videtur autem hic sermo innuere*, saith the Author, *omnes res curâ & continuâ sollicitudine, & indefesso labore meliores & praestantiores quam Natura producat, effici posse.* It seemes by this, that all things by labour and industry may bee made better then Nature produces them. And it is certaine that God so ordained it, that the industry of man should in all things coneuire with the workes of Nature, both for the bringing of them to their perfection, and for the keeping of them therein being brought vnto it. As the Poet speaking of the degenerating of seedes hath truly expressed it.

Vidi lecta diu & multo spectata labore

Degenerare sâmen, in vis humana quotannis

Maxima quâque manu legeret.

Of haue I seene choice seedes, and with much labour tryed,

Est soones degenerate, vnlesse mans industry,

Yearely

Virg. in his
Georgicks l.1

Yearly by hand did leave the greatest carefully: drive bestirred, And this I take to bee the true reason (as before hath beene touched) why neither so good, nor so great store of *wines* is at this day made in this kingdome, as by *records* seemes to have beene in former ages; the neglect I meane, of planting & dressing our vines as they might be, and at this present are in forraine countreyes, and with vs formerly have beene, & this neglect hath perchance arisen from hence, that we, & the *French* being often and long at defiance, & all friendly commerce ceasing betwixt vs, partly to crosse them in the venting of their commodities, & partly to enrich themselves, men were either by publique authority set on worke, or they set themselves on worke, to try the utmost of their endeavour in the making of wines; but since peace and trade hath beene settled betwixt both kingdomes, that practise hath by degrees growne out of use, for that men found by experience that both better wines & better cheape might be had from *France* then could be made heere; and I make no doubt but as tillage with vs, so the planting of *Vineyards* is increased with them; and for this reason, together with the Causes before alleadged, it seemes to be, that the *French* wines are better with vs at this present then they were in the raigne of *Edward* the second, as shall by Gods helpe bee fully manifested in the next Section. And that which hath beene spoken of the making of *wines* may likewise be vnderstood of the making of *Bay-sale* in this kingdome in former ages, for which (as I am credibly informed) *records* are likewise to be seene; for to ascribe either the one or the other to the *Summer* going more *southerly* from vs in Summer, is in my judgement both *unwar- rantable* and *improbable*: *unwarrantable* as hath already beene shewed in this very booke Cap. 4. Sect. 4. *improbable*, for that if this plant should decay for this reason, all other plants, & trees, & hearbes, & flowers should consequently partake of the like decay, at leastwise in some proportion, which our best *Physitians* and *Herbalists* have not yet found to be so, nay the contrary is by them avouched; and as our wines are in a manner utterly decayed here, so their strength in *France*, in *Spaine*, in *Italy*, in *Hungary*, in *Germany*, should vpon the same supposition be much abated, which notwithstanding I have no where found to be observed,

S E C T. 4.

An argument drawne from the present state of husbandmen, and another for the many & miserable deaths in former ages together with an objection taken from the high prizes of victuals answered.

BVt that which farther perswadeth me, that neither the goodnes of the soyle, nor the seasonableness of the weather, nor the industry of the husbandman is now inferiour to that of former ages, is this, that both this fyne and rent being raised, his apparell and education of his

his children more chargeable, & the rates of publique payments more burdensome, yet he fares better, and layes vp more money in his purse, then vsually in those times he did.

Besides it is certaine, that if we compare time with time, the famines of former ages were more grievous then ours: I omit those of *Ierusalem* and *Samaria*, because occasioned by the sieges of those Cities, as also those which either *Civill* warres, or *forraine* invasions hath drawne on. Of the rest that of *Lypsius*. is vndoubtedly true. *Iam de fame nihil profecto nos aut atas nostra vidimus, si videmus antiqua.* Now touching famine verily we and our age haue seene nothing, if wee behold ancient records. Vnder the Emperour *Honorius*, so great was the scarcity & dearth of victuals in *Rome* it selfe, that in the open market-place this voice was heard, *Pone pretium humana carni*, set a price to mans flesh. And long before, euen when *L. Minutius* was made the first over-seer of the graine, *Livy* reports, *multos e plebe, ne diutina fame cruciarentur, caputibus obvolutis sese in Tyberim precipitasse.* That many of the Commons least they should bee tortured with long famine, covering their faces, cast themselues headlong into *Tyber*. What a miserable dearth was that in *Egypt*, held by the *Ancients* for abundance of Corne, the *Granary* of the world) when for want of bread their greatest Nobles were forced to sell not only their lands, but themselues, and become bond-slaues to *Pharaoh*. How vniverfall was that fore-told by *Agabus*, which also came to passe vnder *Claudius Caesar*, as both *Dion* and *Suetonius* beare witnesse to *S. Luke*. But to come nearer home, few histories, I thinke, exceed our owne in this point. About the yeare 514, during the raigne of *Cissa* king of the *South-Saxons* in his countrey raigned such an extreame famine, that both men and women in great flockes and companies cast themselues from the rocks into the Sea, in the yeare 1314, about the beginning of the reigne of *Edward the second*, the dearth was generally such ouer the land, that purposely for the moderation of the prices of victuals, a Parliamēt was assembled at *London*; but it increased so vehemently that vpon *S. Lawrence Eue*, there was scarcely bread to be gotten for the sustentation of the Kings owne family. And the yeare following it grew so terrible, that horses & dogges, yea men and children were stollen for food, and which is horrible to thinke, the theeeues newly brought into the gaoles, were torne in peeces, and presently eaten halfe alive by such as had beene longer there. In *London* it was proclaimed that no Corne should be converted to Brewers vses, which Act the King (moued with compassion towards his Nation) imitating, caused to be executed through all the kingdome: otherwise saith *Walsingham*, the greater part of the people had perished with penury of bread. And againe to conclude this sad discourse, in the yeare 1317, in the tenth yeare of the same King, there was such a murraine of all kinde of cattell; together with a generall fayling of all fruits of the *Earth* by excessiue raines and vnseasonable weather, as provision could not be had for the Kings house, nor meates for other great men to maintaine their *Tables*; Inasmuch as they put away their servants in great numbers, who hauing beene daintily bred, and now not able to worke, skorning to beg,

fell to robbery and spoyle, which added much to the misery of the Kingdome.

It will be said, if the plenty of *corne* and *victuals*, be as great as in former ages, how comes it to passe that their *prices* are somuch inhanced? But if wee compare our prices with those of the ancient *Romanes*, wee shall finde that theirs farre exceeded ours. The *Romane* penny by the consent of the learned, and the judgement of our last Translatours in diverse parts of their Marginall notes, was the eight part of an *ounce*, accounting five *shillings* to the ounce, so that it was worth of our money *seven pence halfe penny*. Now by the testimony of *Varro* and *Macrobius*, their *Peacocks* egges (which are now of no reckoning with vs,) were sold with them for five *Roman* pence a peece: and the *Peacocks* themselves for fifty. *Thrushes* and *Onsells* or *blackebirds* were commonly sold for three pence a peece. Nay *Varro* mentions one *L. Axius*, a *Romane* Knight, who would not let goe a paire of *doues*, *minoris quadringentis denarijs*, for lesse then foure hundred pence. But these *insana pretia*, as *Macrobius* calls them, mad, and vnreasonable prices, wee shall haue fitter occasion to speake of, when wee come to treat of the *luxury* of the *Ancients*. In the meane time it shall not be amisse to remember what our *Sauour* tells vs in the *Gospell*, that two *Sparrowes* or *passerculi*, as *Beza* renders it, were then sold for a *farthing*, thereby implying their great cheapenes: Yet for the same money, it beeing the tenth part of a *Romane* penny, and answering in value to halfe penny farthing of our coyne, more may bee had at this day with vs: But I leaue *foraine Nations* and returne to our owne. If then together with the inhan-
 cing of *prices*, wee likewise take into our consideration the inhan-
 cing of *Coyne*, it will appeare that the prices of things are not so much in-
 hanced as is supposed. About three hundred yeares agoe, in the latter
 part of the reigne of *Edward* the second, and beginning of *Edward* the
 third, an *ounce* of silver was valued at one *shilling* and eight *pence*, where-
 as now it is valued at five *shillings*: so that one hundred pounds then
 was both in *weight* and *worth* fully as much as three hundred pounds are
 now; and consequently, if they gaue a *groat* for that which wee now
 giue a *shilling*, they gaue just the same price which wee now giue. The
 price of *Claret wine*, as appeares vpon record among the statutes of *Ed-
 ward* the second, was at that time *twelve pence* the gallon, so that by pro-
 portion the price should now be *three shillings*, and looke how much it
 comes shott of that price, it is certaine that somuch the cheaper it is
 at this day, then it was in that age. Wherevnto may be added the
 plenty of *coyne* and multitude of *men*, both which are doubles in re-
 gard of those times much increased. For the former of which, though
 it be true that some great ones heaped vp huge *masses* of treasure, yet I
 thinke it will not be denied, but that there are now more rich men
 then in those times: Some wise men being of opinion that there is now
 more *plase* in the land, then there was in *Edward* the thirds time both
money and *plate*: And for the latter, hee that shall duely consider the
 daily enlarging of our *cities* and *tonnes*, and the adding of new *Iles* to
 the greatest part of our *Parish Churches*, within these last two or three
 hundred

hundred yeares, will easily beleetie that the number of our people is not a little increased. Either of which asunder, but much more both together must needs bee a meanes of raising the prices of all things. yet this complaint as it hath beene in all ages, so will it still continue, since ^{Ier:44.18.} wee left to burne incense to the Queene of heaven, and to powre out drinke offerings unto her, wee haue had scarcenesse of all things, and haue beene consumed with the sword and with the famine.

SECT. 5.

That there is no decrease in the fruitfulnessse, the quantities or vertues of plants & simples, nor in the store & goodnes of mettalls & minerals, as neither in the bignes or life of beastes, together with an obiection touching the Elephant in the first of Machabes, answered.

Now if such bee the condition of the Earth it selfe, and the fruites thereof, what reason haue wee to conceiue otherwise of the trees and plants, springing vp and nourished from thence. I cannot finde that either *Dioscorides*, *Theophrastus*, or *Pliny* among the Ancients, or among latter writers, *Ruellius*, *Fuchsius*, or our owne *Gerard* euer obserued any decay, either in the groweth, the vertues or duration of these *Vegetables*; the *Oake* and *Beetch*, rise to as great an high and bignes, spread their branches and rootes as farre, last as long, bring forth as faire mast, as they did a thousand yeare agoe. Those under-ground trees, whose bulkes are sometimes takē vp intire, in *Cheshshire*, *Lancashire*, *Camden*, & other places, & are commonly thought to haue lyen buried there euer since *Noahs* flood, are not found in length or largeness to exceed the bodies of ours at this day. In former ages I graunt was greater choyce of good timber, because greater plenty of woods, but those being cut downe, tillage hath succeeded in the place thereof, which in regard of our increase of people, seemed of the two, the more necessary, & for fewell, it is in most places supplied with other kindes which were not then thought vpon.

The like may be said for the vertues of Plants, *Issop*, *Garlike*, *Hemlocke*, and the rest, they are still indued with the same temper, with the same degrees of heat or cold, & are available for the same vses, as in former ages; as may easily appeare by comparing *Galen de simplicium medicamentorum facultatibus*, with *Wecker* a moderne *Physitian*. The former makes *Garlike* hot in the fourth degree, so doth the latter. The former ^{Prædic. Gene. vol. 4.} *Issop* hot in the third degree, and so doth the latter. The former *hemlocke* extreame cold, so doth the latter. These may suffice for a tast, and thus may wee paralell simples, as for their first, so for their second & third qualities, and application to diseases. The difference of their strength is doubtles very great in regard of the different *Clymates* they grow in: But that it should by succession of ages be abated in their severall species, and in the same *Clymate*, is more I thinke then euer any

Herbalist in his writings, or learned *Physitian* in his practise hath yet observed.

And if there be no decay found in the *Regenables*, very likely it is that the same may likewise be verified of the *beasts*, those at leastwise which make them their food, and are nourished by them. Surely he that shall compare the present proportions of the *elephant*, the *camell*, the *horse*, the *dogge*, with the descriptions of *Aristotle*, as also the present extension of their liues, with that which both hee, and other Ancients record of them, will easily finde that there is in them no sensible decrease. *Vita equorum*, (saith hee) *plurimis ad decimum octavum, atq; etiam vicesimum annum, sed nonnulli viginti quinque, & triginta egerunt: Et si cura diligenter adhibeatur vel ad quinquaginta protrahitur etas* horses commonly liue eightene or twenty yeares, yet some last fūe & twenty or thirty, & if they bee very well kept, they may come to forty or fifty, which hee makes in a manner their vtmost period. Whereas *Albertus* tells vs, that himselfe was assured by a souldier, that the horse hee then vsed, was three score yeares old, and yet was serviceable in the warres. And *Augustinus Niphus* yet latter, that hee was credibly informed by the horsemen of *Ferdinand* the first, that there was then in the *Kings* stable an horse that was seaventy yeares old.

Hist. Annialii,
lib. 12. c. 8.

But *eo*, a man much commended for his rare learning by many learned writers, labouring to demonstrate by *Geometricall* proportions, that the *Arke* was capable of so many severall kinde of beasts, as are said to haue beene in it, as also their provision for one yeare spaces, takes the ground of his demonstration from the present dimensions of their bodies, and their present allowance for foode, proportioning the capacity of the *Arke* therevnto, and is therein applauded not onely by *Goropius Becanus*, but by *Pererius* and *St Walter Rawleigh*: whereas, were there such a continuall diminution in the quantity of their bodies, and consequently in their foode as is supposed, his ground were false, and his demonstration friuolous. Wherevnto may be added that the same allowance of foode, which *Cato*, and *Varro*, and *Columella*, in their bookes of husbandry agreed vpon to be sufficient for an ox, or a horse, or a sheepe in their times, is now likewise thought to be but competent: And the same proportions of body, which the Ancient *Painters* & *Carners* allowed to horses and dogges, is now likewise by the skilfullest in those *Arts* found to be most convenient. Indee in the first booke of *Macchabees* & sixth chapter, is somewhat a strange relation made of *Elephants*, which are there described to be so bigge, that each of them carryed a wooden towre on his backe, out of which fought thirty two armed men, besides the *Indian* which ruled the beast. Whence some haue conceited that the *Elephants* of those times were farre greater then those of the present age: But doubtles the Authour of that booke speakes of the *Indian* race, which are farre beyond the *Ethiopian*, as *Iunius* in his annotations on that place hath observed out of *Pliny*. And there are of them, saith *Ælian*, nine cubits high, which is thirteene foote and an halfe. And those which haue beene in the great *Mogulls* countrey assure vs, that at this day they are there farre more vast

vast and huge then any that wee haue seene in these parts of the world. But leaving the *Vegetables* and *beasts* springing and walking vpon the face of the earth, let vs a little search into the bowels thereof, and take a view of the *mettalls* and *mineralls* therein bredde. Of the *nature, causes,* and *groweth*, whereof *Georgius Agricola* hath written most exactly, but neither he, nor any man else, I thinke euer yet obserued that by continuance of time theirveines are wasted & impaired, one treatise he hath expressly composed *de veteribus & novis metallis*, wherein he shewes that as the old are exhausted, new are discovered. It is true indeede which *Pliny* hath obserued, that wee descend into the entrailes of the earth, wee goe downe as farre as to the seat and habitation of the infernall spirits, and all to meete with rich treasure, as if shee were not fruitfull enough, & beneficiall vnto vs in the vpper face thereof, where shee permitteeth vs to walke and tread vpon her: Yet notwithstanding by the couetousnesse and toyle of men can her mines neuer be drawn dry, nor her store emptied.

lib 33. in Pro-
am.

The Earth not onely on her backe doth beare
Abundant treasures glistering every where,
But inwardly shee's no lesse fraught with riches,
Nay rather more (which more our foules bewitches)
Within the deepe folds of her fruitfull lappe,
So bound-lesse mines of treasure doth shee wrappe,
That th' hungry hands of humane avarice
Cannot exhaust with labour or device.
For they be more then there be starres in heav'n,
Or stormy billowes in the Ocean driv'n,
Or eares of corne in Autumne on the fields,
Or savage beasts vpon a thousand hills,
Or fishes diving in the silver floods,
Or scattred leaues in winter in the woods.

Barth 3 day of
the 1 weeke.

I will not dispute it, whether all mineralls were made at the first creation, or haue since receiued increase by tract of time, which latter I confesse I rather with *Quercetan* incline vnto, they being somewhat of the nature of stones, which vndoubtedly grow, though not by *augmentation* or *accretion*, yet by *assimilation* or *apposition*, turning the neighbour earth into their substance, Yet thus much may wee confidently affirme, that the *minerals* themselues waist not in the ordinary course, but by the insatiable desire of mankind. Nay such is the *divine providence*, that even there where they are most vexed and wrought vpon, yet are they not worne out, or wasted in the whole. Of late within these few yeares *Mendip* hills yeelded, I thinke, more lead then ever, & at this day I doe not heare that the *Iron mines* in *Sussex*, or the *Tinne workes* in *Cornewall* are any whit abated, which I confesse to be somewhat strange, considering that little *corner* furnishes in a manner all the *Christian* world with that mettall: & for *mines* of gold & silver, though by some it be thought that they faile in the *East Indies* in regard of former ages: Yet most certaine it is that in the *West Indies*, that supposed defect is abundantly recompensed.

In his epistle
to Ambertus de
orn & causis
metallorum.

SECT. 6

*An objection taken from the Eclipses of
the Planets, answered.*

BEfore we conclude this Chapter, there remaines yet one rubbe to be remoued touching the *Eclipses* of the *Sunne* and *Moone*. For as some haue beene of opinion, that the *bodies* of those *Planets* suffered by them, so many haue thought that these *inferiour bodies* suffered from them, & consequently that the more *Eclipses* there are, (which by tract of time must needs increase in number) the more do all things depending vpon those *planets* decay and degenerate in their *vertues* & *operations*. But as the former of these opinions is already proued to be certainly false, so is this latter altogether *uncertaine*. What effects *Eclipses* produce, I cannot punctually define. Strange accidents I graunt, aswell in the course of *Nature*, as in the *Ciwill* affaires, haue often followed vpon them, as appeares in *Cyprianus Leonicus*, who hath purposely composed a Tract of them. And Mr *Camden* obserues that the towne of *Shrewesbery* suffered twice most grieuous losse by fire within the compasse of fiftie yeares, vpon two severall *Eclipses* of the *Sunne* in *Aries*, but whether those Accidents were to be ascribed to the precedent *Eclipses*, I cannot certainly affirme. Once wee are sure that the *moone* is *Eclipsed* by the interposition of the *Earth*, as is the *Sun* by the *moone*. Since then the night is nothing else but the interposition of the *Earth* betweene vs and the *Sunne*, I see no reason but wee should daily feare as dangerous effects from every night or thicke cloud, as from any *Eclipse*. But I verily beleeeue that the ground of this errour, as also of the former, sprang frō the ignorance of the *Causes* of *Eclipses*; *Sulpitius Gallus* being the first amongst the *Romanes*, and amongst the *Greekes*, *Thales Milesius*, who finding their nature did prognosticate and forshew them. After them, *Hipparchus* compiled his *Ephimerides*, containing the course and aspects of both these *Planets* for six hundred yeares ensuing, and that no lesse assuredly, then if hee had beene privy to *Natures counsailes*. Great persons and excellent doubtles were these, saith *Pliny*, who aboue the reach of all humane capacity, found out the reason of the course of so mighty starres, and diuine powers. And whereas the weake minde of man was before to seeke, fearing in these *Eclipses* of the starres, some great wrong, or violence, or death of the *Planets*, secured them in that behalfe. In which dreadfull feare stood *Stesicorus* and *Pyndarus* the *Poets*, notwithstanding their lofty stile, and namely at the *Eclipse* of the *Sunne*, as may appeare by their *Poemes*. In this fearefull fit also of an *Eclipse*, *Nicias* the generall of the *Athenians* (as a man ignorant of the cause thereof) feared to set saile with his fleet out of the haven, and so greatly indangered & distressed the state of his countrey: But on the contrary, the forenamed *Sulpitius* being a *Colonell* in the field, the day before that King *Perseus* was vanquished by *Paulus*, was brought forth by the *Generall* into open audience before the whole host, to foretell the *Eclipse* that should

should happen the next morrow, whereby he delivered the army from all penſueneſſe and feare, which might haue troubled them, in the time of battaile, and within a while after he compiled alſo a booke thereof. Thus far *Pliny* touching the harmleſſe and innocent nature of *Eclipſes*, himſelfe in the next chapter reducing their certaine revolutions, and returns to the ſpace of two hundred twenty two moneths.

I will ſhut vp all with a memorable ſtory to this purpoſe taken out of *Iohn de Royas* in his *Epistle to Charles the fifth*, prefixed to his *Commentaries* vpon the plaine *Sphere*. *Colonus* the leader of King *Ferdinands* army, at the *Iland of Iamaica*, being in great diſtreſſe for want of victuals, which he could by no meanes attaine of the Inhabitants, & by his ſkill foreſeeing an *Eclipſ* of the *Moone* ſhortly to enſue, tooke order that it ſhould be declared to the Governours of the *Iland*, that vnleſſe they ſupplied him and his with neceſſaries, imminent danger hanged over their heads, in witneſſe wherof they ſhould ſhortly ſee the *Moone Eclipſed*. The *Barbarians* at firſt, reſuſed his demaunds and contemned his threatning: but when at the ſet time they indeed beheld the *Moone* by degrees to faile in her light, and vnderſtood not the cauſe thereof, they firſt gaue credit to his words, and then ſupply of victuals to his army, caſting themſelues to his feete and craving pardon for their offence.

Finally to the preſent objection, if any harmefull malignant effect be for the preſent or afterward produced by the *Eclipſ* in thoſe parts where it is ſcene, yet no man I thinke will deny it, but to be repairable by the tract and revolution of time, or if irreparable, yet this decay in the Creatures, ariſeth not from any *deficiencie* in themſelues, from any waxing old or removall from their firſt originals, (which is the very poynſt in queſtion) but from an *adventitious* and *externall cauſe*. And ſo I paſſe from the other Creatures to the Conſideration of *Man* the *Commander* and *Compendium* of all the reſt, for whoſe ſake both they were firſt made, and this diſcourſe was firſt vnderſtaken.

LIB. III.

Of the pretended decay of mankind in regard of
age and duration of strength and sta-
ture, of arts and witts.

CAP. I.

Touching the pretended decay of men in regard
of their age, and first by way of comparison
betweene the ages of the Ancients,
and those of latter times.

SECT. I.

Of the short life of man in regard of the duration of
many other Creatures and that he was Created
Mortall, but had he not falne, should haue
become preferred to immortality.

Since vpon exammination wee haue found that there is no
such perpetuall and vniuersall decay as is pretended in the Hea-
uens, in the Earth, in the Ayre, in the Water, the fishes, the plants,
the Beastes, the Mineralls: I see no reason but that from
thence wee might safely and sufficiently conclude that neither is there
any such decay in man. But because this discourse was principally
yndertaken and intended for the sake of mankind, I will consider and
compare them of former ages with those of latter, first in regard of age,
secondly in regard of strength and stature, thirdly in regard of witts and
inventions: fourthly and lastly in regard of manners and conditions. And
if vpon due consideration and comparison it shall appeare that there is
no such decay in any of these as is supposed, the Question I trust touch-
the worlds decay in generall will soone be at an end.

The ordinary age of man being compared with that of the heavens,
the stones, the mettalls, some beasts & trees is very short, but the longest
being cōpared with God and Eternity is but as a span, a shadow, a dreame of
a shadow, nay meere nothing, which the *Romane Oratour* hath both truly
observed, and eligantly expressed. *Apud Hypanim fluium qui ab Europa
parte in pontum insluit, Aristoteles ait bestiolas quasdam nasci quae unum di-
em viuunt, ex ijs igitur hora octaua qua mortua est, procreta atate mortua est,
qua vero occidente sole decrepita, eo magis si etiam Solstitiali die. Confer no-
stram longissimam atatem cum aternitate, in eadem propemodum breuitate
qua ista bestiola reperiemur.* *Aristotle* writes that by the river *Hypanis*
which on the side of *Europe* falls into *Pontus*, certaine little animals are
bred, which liue but a day at most: Amongst them then, such as dye the
eight houre, dy old; such as dye at sun set, dye in their decrepit age spe-
cially.

cially if it be vpon the day of the Summer Solstice. Now compare our age with eternitie, and we shall be found in regard of duration almost in the same state of shortnesse that those Creatures are:

The body of man even before the fall was doubtlesse in it selfe by reason of contrary Elements, contrary humours, and members of contrary temper whereof it was composed, dissoluble and mortall. As also by reason of outward accidents, the daily wasting of his native heate, and the disproportionable supply of his radicall moisture: But these defects his Creator supplied, arming him against outward accidents by divine providence, the guard of Angels and his owne excellent wisdom, against the contrarieties fighting in his body, by the harmony of his soule: against the wasting of his native heat and radicall moisture by that supernaturall vertue & efficacy which he gaue to the fruit of the tree of life: He was then *Naturally Mortall*: (for otherwise even after his fall should he haue continued immortal, as the Apostate Angels did) but by speciall priuiledge and dispensation immortal: *mortalis erat*, saith S. Augustine, *conditione corporis animalis, immortalis autem beneficio conditoris*: He was mortall in respect of his naturall body, but immortal by the fauour of his Creator: Yet doubles had he not sinned, he had not still liued here vpon earth, though in likelihood his age might be extended to some thousands of yeares, but should haue bene at length translated from hence to heaven where he could neither haue sinned nor dyed: *Sic est immortalis conditus*, sayth Gregory, *ut tamen si peccaret, & mori posset, & sic mortalis est conditus, ut si non peccaret etiam non mori posset, atque ex merito liberi arbitrij beatitudinem illius regionis attingeret, in qua vel peccare vel mori non posset*. He was so created immortal that if he sinned he might dye, and againe so was he created mortall that, he could not dye: But by the merit of his freewill should haue bene translated to that place of blisse where he could neither sinne nor dye.

Lib. 7. de Gen.
ad Lit. c. 25.

Moral. lib. 4.
cap. 26.

SECT. 2.

Of the long lines of the Patriarchs, and of the manner of Computing there yeares, and that Almighty God drew out the lines of their liues to that length for reasons proper to those first times.

Though vpon the fall of man the duration of his continuance here vpon the earth was much shortned, yet certaine it is that many of the Ancient Patriarches before the flood liued aboue nine hundred, and some to almost a thousand yeares, Neither ought this to seeme incredible, though Plynny mentioning some who were reported to haue liued five sixe or eight hundred yeares, at length concludes that all these strange reports arise from the ignorance of times past, and for want of knowledg how they made their account. For some, saith he, reckoned the Summer for one yeare and the Winter for another. There were also that reckoned every quarter for a yeare, as the *Arcadians* whose yeare was but three moneths, and some againe

Lib. 7. cap. 48.

Lib. 1. Antiq.
cap. 4.Gen. 5. 12.
Gen. 5. 21.

Gen. 35. 7. 8.

Gen. 7. 11 &
8. 4. 5. 13. 14.Gen. 7. 11. &
4. 5.Lib. 1. Antiq. 6.
4.

you haue, as namely the *Egyptians*, who count every chaunge or *New moone* for a yeare, and therefore no marvell if some of them are reported to haue liued a thousand yeares. Thus *Pliny*. But *Iosephus* to iustifie the trueth of *Moses* his history touching the age of the first *Patriarches*, vouches the authority of *Manathon* the writer of the *Egyptian* story, *Berosus* of the *Chaldean*, *Moschus* and *Esthienus* of the *Phenician*, as also *Hesiodus*, *Hecateus*, *Elamius*, *Achselaus*, *Ephorus* and others, all affirming that those of the first age liued to a thousand yeares, but how they made their computation *Iosephus* doth not expresse: Wherevpon some haue beene so bold as to tell vs, that the yeares *Moses* there speakes of, are not to be computed as ours, but were somewhat aboue the monethly yeare contayning in them thirty six dayes which is a number quadrat, being made vp of six times six: So that one of our yeares containes tenne of them, and those yeares being divided into twelue moneths, there could not aboue three dayes bee attributed to each of them. But this opinion (for I will not spare it though it make for mee,) how not onely false it is, but manifestly repugnant to the *sacred Scriptures*, any man may of himselfe easily discern. For if we embrace this computation, it will from thence follow that *Caynan* and *Enoch* begat children when they were but six yeares old and an halfe, or seauen at most, for the *Scripture* tells vs, that the one begat them when he was but sixty five yeares old, and the other at seventie: so that if tenne of their yeares made but one of ours, it would consequently follow, that they begat children when they were yet but seven yeares of age: Besides, since none of those *Ancient Patriarches* attained to a thousand yeares, if their yeares were so to be accounted, as these men would haue it, none of them should haue arrived to ninety seauen yeares; and yet many we know are now found to passe an hundred. Again, the *Scripture* testifies, that *Abraham* died in a good old age full of dayes, being one hundred seauenty five yeares old, which number according to their computation, makes but seauenteene yeares and an halfe; a ridiculous old age. Lastly, in the seauenth and eight of *Genesis* in that one yeare alone, in which the flood lasted, mention is made of the first, second, and tenth moneth, & least any should imagine, that those moneths lasted onely three dayes, wee haue there named the seauenteenth day of the second, and the twenty seauenth of the seauenth moneth.

To take it then as graunted that *Moses* his computation of the yeare was the same with ours, and that those first *Patriarches* liued much longer then any of latter times; yet from thence cannot any sufficient prooffe be brought, that there hath beene & still continues, a constant and perpetuall decrease in mans age, since for speciall Reasons and by speciall priuiledge Almighty God graunted that to them, which to their successors was denied: which I will rather choose to expresse in *Iosephus* his words then in mine owne. Where hauing assigned some other causes thereof, peculiar to those times & persons, at length he concludes.

Deinde propter virtutes & gloriosas utilitates quauingiter perscrutabantur, id est astrologiam & Geometriam, Deus ipsi ampliora viuendi spatia condonauit, quae non ediscere potuissent, nisi sexcentis uiuerent annis, per tot enim an-

norum curricula magnus annus impletur. Againe in regard of the excellent and profitable vse of *Astronomy* and *Geometry*, which they daily searched into, *Almighty God* graunted them a longer space of life, in as much as they could not well finde out the depth of those *Arts*, vnlesse they liued six hundred yeares, for in that reuolution of time, the *great yeare* comes about. Where what hee meanes by the *great yeare*, since the most learned make a great doubt, I for my part will not vndertake positively to determine. But to this reason of *Iosephus* may well be added another principall one, which is, that God spared them of this first age the longer for the multiplying of the race of mankind, and replenishing the *Earth* with Inhabitants. And as hee graunted them for these reasons a longer space of life by speciall priuiledge: so likewise he fitted their foode, their bodies, and all other necessities proportionable therevnto; as extraordinary carefulnes and skilfulnes in the moderation and choice of their diet together with a singular knowledge in the vertues of plants, and stones, and mineralls, and the like, as well for the preservation of their health, as the curing of all kinde of diseases, which well agrees with that of *Roger Bacon*, speaking of the *Patriarches* in his booke *de scientia experimental*. *Quum fuerunt magna sapientia pradi, excogitauerunt omne regimen sanitatis & medicinas secretas quibus senectus retardabatur & quibus cum venit potuit mitigari & filij eorum hoc regimen habebant & experimenta contra senectutem, nam Deus illustravit in omni sapientia, & ergo diu vivere potuerunt.* They being indued with singular wisdom, found out the whole course of the regiment of health and secret medicines, whereby the pace of old age was slackned, and when it arived the rigour of it was abated, and from them their sonnes as by a tradition derived this skill, and these experiments against old age, for God enlightened them with all kinde of wisdom, and from hence it came to passe that they lived long. Yet euen among them before the flood, wee finde that the first man, who in case of a decrease should in reason haue liued longest, was notwithstanding in number of yeares exceeded not onely by *Methuselah*, and *Iered* before, but by *Noah* after the flood, except wee will adde vnto *Adams* age threescore yeares, as some diuines doe, vpon a supposition that hee was created in the flower of mans age, agreeably to those times.

S E C T. 3.

That since Moses his time, the length of mans age is nothing abated, as appeares by the testimony of Moses himselfe, and other graue authours, compared with the experience of these times.

HOWsoever it fared with the *Patriarches*, sure we are that since *Moses* his time, who was borne in the yeare of the world 2434, or thereabout, about three thousand yeares agoe, when the world was now well replenished, and the most necessary sciences depending vpon observation and experience, in a manner perfected, the

Pfal. 90. 10.

In Thalia.

Laert. l. i. c. 14.

Epist. 51.

2. Sam. 19. 32.
v. 35.

1. King. 1. 1.

1. Chro. 19.

28.

2. Sam. 5. 4.

length of mans age is nothing abated, as cleerely it appears by that most famous and euident testimony of his: *the time of our life, (saith hee) is three score yeares and tenne, and though men bee so strong that they come to foure score yeares, yet is their strength then but labour and sorrow, so soone passeth it away, and wee are gone.* And that these are indeede the words of Moses, appears by the very Title of the Psalme prefixed to it. *A Psalme of Moses the man of God.* For though S. *Augustine* seeme to make some doubt of it, because hee findes it not recorded in his history: And *Aben Ezra* a Iewish Rabbin, thinke the Authour to haue beene one of *Dauids* singers so named, yet S. *Hierome* doubts not constantly to auerre it to be that same *Moses*, who was the penman of holy writ, and the Captaine of the *Hebrewes*, & that we might not call it into question, the *Holy Ghost* seemes purposely to haue annexed that Epithete, *The man of God*, that is, not only a godly religious and excellent man, but a man endued with a propheticall spirit, and so is it taken, 1 *Sam.* 2. 27. & 1. *Kings.* 13. 1. In which regard *Moses* himselfe giues himselfe this same Title, *Deuter.* 33. 1. *This is the blessing wherewith Moses the man of God blessed the children of Israel before his death.* And for S. *Augustines* objection, hee would leaue very few Psalmes to *David* himselfe, were his argument of any force. Yet some *Expositours* there are, who referre it to that story of the *Israelites*, written in the 32 of *Exodus*, Others in the 14 of *Numbers*, which I the rather am induced to beleue, for that of all those six hundred thousand *Israelites*, which vnder the conduct of *Moses* came out of *Egypt*, onely two, *Caleb* and *Iosua* entred into the land of promise, all the rest, men, women, & children, young & old, leauing their carkases in the *Wildernes* within the space of *forty yeares*. True indeede it is, that both *Moses* himselfe and his brother *Aaron* outliued the number of yeares set downe in that Psalme; yet saith judicious *Calvin*, *de communi ratione loquitur*, hee speakes of the ordinary course, how it commonly fared with men in that respect even in those times. And thus doe I take *Herodotus* to be vnderstood jumping in the same number with *Moses*, *spatium vivendi longissimum propositum esse octoginta annos*, that the utmost space of mans life is foure score yeares: Though *Solon* come a degree shorter, making the age of man threescore and ten, as both *Laertius* and *Censorinus* in his booke *De die natali* testifie of him. *Plato* who had (as *Seneca* witnesseth) a strong and able body, borrowing his name from his broad brest, not without much care & diligence arrived to the age of eighty one yeares. And *Barzillai* who liued in *Dauids* time, is said to haue beene *Senex valde*, a very aged man, yet was he by his owne confession, but fourescore yeares old. Nay *David* himselfe is said to haue beene old, *stricken in yeares*, & *Satur dierum*, full of dayes, inso much as they covered him with clothes, but he got no heate: yet was he but threescore and ten when he died, thirty when he began to raigne, and forty yeares he raigned, being naturally of a sound and healthfull constitution. *Solomons* age we cannot by Scripture certainly determine: some *Divines* conjecture, that he little exceeded forty, but the most learned, that hee passed not fifty or threescore at most, yet is it noted of him, that *cum senex esset*, when hee was old, his

wiues

wiues turned away his heart after other Gods: Of all the Kings of *Iu-^{1 King. 11. 4.}* dah and *Ierusalem* which followed after, the greatest part came not to fifty, very few to threescore, and none full home to threescore and tenne. In the whole Catalogue of *Romane, Greeke, French, and Germane Emperours*, onely *four* are found which attained to *four* score, and those not among the first of that ranke. In the bed-roll of *Popes*, *five* only liued to see those yeares, and those of latter dayes in comparision, namely *Iohn 23. Gregory 12 & 13. Paulus 3 and 4.* and which is more remarkeable, our *Queene Elizabeth* of fresh and blessed memory out-liued all her predecessours since the conquest, raigning the yeares of *Augustus*, and liuing the age of *Dauid*.

SECT. 4.

The same confirmed by the testimony of other ancient and learned Writers.

H *Esiodus* the first Writer as I take it (saith *Pliny*) who hath treated *Lib. 7. c. 48. 49.* of this argument, in his fabulous discourse touching the age of man, affirmeth, (but vpon what ground I know not) that a *crow* liueth nine times as long as wee, and the *Harts* or *Staggs* foure times as long as the *crow*, but the *ravens* thrice as long as they: And if we should consult with *Astrologers*, *Epigines* saith, that it is not possible to liue an hundred and two and twenty yeares: and *Berosus* is of opinion, that one cannot passe an hundred and seuentene. In the Oracle of *Sybilla Erithraea* by the testimony of *Phlegon Trallianus* are found these verses.

Viginti & centum reuolutis protinus annis,

Quae sunt humane longissima tempora vite.

When sixe score winters are expir'd, which fate

Of humane life hath made the longest date.

Moreouer *Trebellius Pollio* in his booke to *Constantius* thus writeth, *Doctissimi Mathematicorum centum viginti annos homini ad vivendum datos iudicant, neque amplius cuiquam concessum dicunt, illud etiam adijcentes, Moses ipsum, (ut Iudeorum libri testantur) Dei familiarem viginti quinque ac centum annos vixisse, qui cum interitum hunc ut immutatum forte quereretur, ferunt illi ab incerto Numine responsum, neminem deinceps amplius esse victurum.* The most learned Mathematicians are of opinion, that a man can liue but an hundred and twenty yeares, and that none can goe beyond that period, yet they adde, that *Moses* himselfe, as the writings of the *Iewes* testifie, being familiar with God, liued to the age of one hundred twenty *five* yeares, who when he complained of this change, they report this answer to haue beene giuen him by some *airvine pover*, that no man after that should passe those bounds. Thus *Pollio*: ignorantly mistaking the age of *Moses*, but alluding as it seemes to that speech of God in the sixth of *Genesis*, his dayes shall be an hundred & twenty yeares. Which words notwithstanding I should rather choose to referre to the continuance of the world till the comming of the flood, then to the duration of the age of particular men. For it is certaine that after this, not onely *Noah*, but *Sem* and *Arphaxad*, and *Salah*, and *Eber*, and *Peleg*, and *Nahor*, and *Te-*

rah, and Abraham, and Isaac, and Jacob, some of them by much; and all of them by some number of yeares exceeded this proportion.

Crinitus in his seuenth booke *de honesta disciplina* reports out of Terentius Varro from the authority of Dioscorides a great Astrologer, that the Egyptians, (who tooke speciall care about the imbalming of dead bodies) by a subtill and witty kinde of reasoning found out, within what bounds of space to the very vtmost the age of man is confined, taking their estimate from the weight of the heart, they affirmed then that the life of man is limited to one hundred yeares, so that it could not passe that tearme, which the heart of those, say they, who dye not vntimely, doth manifest, in as much as together with age, if it be examined, it either receiues increase or decrease; It receiuing the increase of two drams euery yeare till a man come to fifty, and then again the decrease of two yearely till he arriue to an hundred, and so returning to its originall weight, it can then make no farther progresse. Now this obseruation though it be doubtlesse more curious then true, yet doth it shew that the common opinion of the Ancients was, that men did seldome passe one hundred years.

Lib. 5. de lingua
latina.

Eccles. 18. 8.

Seculum centum annorum spatium vocarunt, dictum a sene, quod longissimum spatium, id putarint senescendorum hominum, saith Varro, *Seculum* was the space of an hundred yeares, so called a sene, because they held that to be the vtmost point of growing old. And with Varro herein accords the son of Syrach, *The number of a mans dayes at the most are an hundred yeares.* So as that prerogatiue extraordinary of Longevity was as I take it, specially annexed, as to those first ages of the world, so to the Church and people chosen by God in those times. For had men in all places and in all ages arriued to the liues of the Patriarches, the Earth by this time had not beene able to sustaine them with food, nor hardly to contain their multitude, yet can it not be denied but that in all times, and in all Nations some haue beene alwayes found who haue exceeded that number of yeares which many of the Ancients (as we haue heard) accounted the vtmost period of mans life.

SECT. 5.

That in all times and nations some haue beene found who haue exceeded that number of yeares which the wisest of the ancients accounted the vtmost period of mans life, and that often those of latter ages haue exceeded the former in number of yeares, as is made to appeare as well from sacred as prophane story.

Punyl. 7. c. 48.

TO let goe fabulous and vncertaine reports of the Arcadian kings and such like, certaine it is, that Marcus Valerius Corvinus, liued one hundred yeares compleate, Metellus the Pontife or Supream Priest liued full as long. Epimenides the Cretian liued one hundred & fifty, whereof the last fifty he spent vnder ground in a Caue. Zenophanes the Colophonian one hundred and two at the least: for he travelled at twenty

twenty five, and returned at seventy seven after his setting forth, but after his returne how long he liued it is vncertaine. *Gorgias* the *Sicilian* a famous *Rhetorician* in his time, liued to one hundred and eight. *Hippocrates* the renowned *Physitian* to one hundred and fowre, both approving and honouring the excellency of his Art by his age. *Asinius Pollio* inward with *Augustus*, though of a luxurious life, surmounted an hundred. And for women *Ciceroes* wife *Terentia* liued till she was one hundred and three. *Clodia* wife to *Osilius* went beyond her, and saw one hundred & fiftene years, & yet had she in her youth fiftene children: *Luceia* a common *vice* in playes followed the stage and acted thereon an hundred yeares, such another *vice* that played the fool's part, and made sporte betweene whiles in *interludes*, named *Galeria Copiola* was brought againe to act her feates vpon the stage when *Cn. Pompeius* and *L. Sulpitius* were consuls, at the solemne playes vowed for the health of *Augustus Caesar*, when she was in the hundred and fourth yeare of her age. The first time that ever she entred the stage to shew prooffe of her skill in that profession, was ninety one yeares before, and then was she brought thither by *M. Pomponius* an *Edile* of the *Commons* in the yeare that *C. Marius* and *Carbo* were *Consuls*. And once againe *Pompeius* the great, at the solemne dedication of his stately *Theater*, trained the old woman to the stage, thereby to make a shew of her to the wonder of the world.

And if from *prophane* stories wee should come to the *sacred*, we shall there likewise find that some in all ages haue reached to that number of yeares, and that often (which I desire to be observed) those of *latter* times haue exceeded the *former*. To let goe the *Patriarchs* of whome as far as *Isaac* I haue in part already spoken, *Ioseph* attained to an hundred and tenne, his brother *Leui* to one hundred thirty seven, and *Moses* & *Aron* were each of them one hundred and twenty at the least. *Phineas* *Arons* nephew, it may be by *speciall* favour for his great zeale, is supposed to haue liued three hundred yeares: and justly no doubt, if the warre of the *Israelites* against the tribe of *Beniamin*, (in which expedition *Phineas* was consulted with) were acted in the same series of time, in which the *history* is recorded. *Iosua* liued one hundred and tenne. *Iob* after his restitution liued one hundred and forty yeares, notwithstanding that before his affliction he had children of the age of men and women. *Elizens* seemes to haue bene about an hundred, inasmuch as he lived three-score yeares after the assumption of *Elias*; and such he was at that assumption as the children taunted him for his bald pate. *Tobias* the elder liued to one hundred fifty and eight, the younger to one hundred twenty seven. Long after this *Anna* the *Prophetsse* mentioned by *S. Luke* seemes to haue out pitched an hundred, as our common translation reads it, she being a widow fowerscore and fowre years, married seauen, and by common account no lesse then fourteene or fiftene when she was married, which being put together make vp an hundred and six yeares or there about: though I am not ignorant that *Iunius* and our last translation agreeably to the *originall* render it thus, *Et erat vidua annorum quasi octoginta & quatuor*, she was a widow of about fowrescore and

Gen. 50. 26.

Exo. 6. 16.

Deut. 34. 7.

Num. 33. 39.

Iud. 28.

Ios. 24. 29.

Iob. 42. 16.

Tob. 14. 13.

16.

2 cap. v. 37.

and fower yeares that is according to an vsuall *Hebraisme*, about fower
 Gen. 5. 33. score and fower yeares old, as *Noah* is said to haue beene *filius quingen-*
torum annorum, the sonne of fwe hundred yeares, that is, *natus quingentos*
annos, fwe hundred yeares old. *Iohn* the diuine and beloued *desceple* an
 apostle a prophet and an *euangelist*, who of all the *apostles* onely died in his
 bed, all the rest suffering martyrdom for the name of *Christ*, was doubt-
 In Chron: lesse very aged when he resigned his spirit for as witnesseth *Eusebius*
 out of *Irenaeus* he deceased in the 2. yeare of *Traian* which was the 101
 In Comp. frō the nativity, the 68 frō the passion of *Christ*; *Cedrenus* affirms that he
 liued to 106, but surely considering he wrote his *Gospell* after he was 90
 Her. 51 by the testimony of *Epiphanius*, it is more then probable that he drew
 nere vppon 100 if he exceeded it not.

After this againe *Pliny* to shew the errour of some *mathematicians*,
 Lib. 7. c. 49. who thought that the life of man could not even then be extended be-
 yond an hundred yeares, produceth a taxation or review of the severall
 ages of men betweene *Apennine* and the *Poo* made vnder the emperours
Vespasian, the father and the sonne, in which vpon examination were
 found at *Parma* three men that had liued each of them one hundred and
 twenty yeares, at *Brixels* one that was one hundred twenty five yeares old:
 Moreover at *Parma* two, one hundred and thirty yeares of age; at *Plaisance*
 one elder by an yeare: at *Fauentia* there was one woman one hundred
 thirty two yeares old: at *Bononia* *L. Taurentius* the son of *Marcus* & at
Ariminium *M. Aponius* reckoned each of them one hundred and fifty
 yeares. About *Playsance*, is a towne situate vpon the hills named *Vellei-*
acum wherein six men brought a certificate that they had liued one hun-
 dred and ten yeares a peice, foure likewise came in with a note of an hun-
 dred and twenty yeares, & one of an hundred and forty: But because we will
 not dwell (sayth he) vpon a matter so euidēt and commonly confessed
 in the review taken of the eight Region of Italy, there were found in the
 role fifty foure of one hundred yeares of age, fifty seauen of one hundred &
 tenne, two of one hundred twenty five, foure of one hundred and thirty, as
 many that were an hundred thirty five, or one hundred thirty seauen, and
 last of all three men of one hundred and forty.

Now had *Pliny* *vir vnus apud Latinos in observandis investigandisque*
 Crinitus. *Natura arcanis diligens & accuratus*, the only man among the *Latines*
 who is a diligent and curious tracer of the prints of *Natures* footsteps,
 had this man I say obserued any such decrease as is pretended in mens
 ages in regard of former times, he would doubtlesse haue noted it, ei-
 ther in that chapter where so fare an oportunitie was offered him, or
 some where else through his *history*: which I presume cannot be found,
 & I doubt not but if the like review and list were made in those parts at
 this day, as many of like ages would be found within the like compasse,
 or if there were found defect in that place, it may happily be supplied
 in another, or if a generall defect in this age by reason of some
 accidentall occasion, yet may it be repaired & recompenced againe
 in future times by their remoueall: The defect then (if any be) is not in
 the course of *Nature*, but in our wronging it, and yet I make no doubt
 but a number in succeeding ages haue equalled and some exceeded
 those recounted by *Pliny* in number of yeares.

SECT. 6

The same assertion farther proved and enlarged by many instances, both at home & abroad.

Archapius the Philosopher boasted, as witnesseth Roger Bacon in his booke *de erroribus medicorum*, that he had liued 1029 yeares: and farther adds that himselfe had spoken with many eye-witnesses worthy Credit who knew a man *qui magnifico medicamine sumpto vixerat nongentis et multis alijs annis & habuit litteras Papales in testimonium huius rei*, who having vsed a princely preservative liued nine hundred yeares, and had the Popes letters testimoniall to shew for it.

To say nothing of the *wandering Jew*, by some named *Iohannes Butta-deus*, of whom about six yeares since, being seene and conferred with at *Antwerpe*, & againe about sixteene before that, in *France* was every where in those times so much talke, as if he had beene present at our *Saviours* passion, and had liued in this wandering manner euer since; I will onely referre the curious Reader, who desires to be farther informed in that point to the relations of *Guido Bonatus*, (who liued about 400 yeares since) in the first part, 5 tract & 141 consideration of his *Iudiciarie Astrologie*, & to the seaventh booke of the *Historie* of the peace betwixt the Kings of *France* & *Spaine* in the yeare 1604, where the storie is not onely related but learnedly disputed, & to an old manuscript *Chronicle de gestis Regis Iohannis* lately in the keeping of the euer renowned *St Henry Savill*, where report is made that in the yeare of *Grace* 1228, an Archbishop of *Armenia* arriuing as a pilgrime in this kingdom to visite the reliques of our *Saints*, and being demaunded if hee could say any thing touching the *wandering Jew*, of whom at that very time was much rumour, a certaine Knight in his traine made answere for him in *french*, that he knew him well, and had often conuersed with him, and therevpon describes him both for his person, and manners, & the occasion of his liuing in that fashion, Much like as doth *Paule of Eitsen*, Bishop of *Sleswing*, who is sayed to haue met & conferred with him at *Hamborough*, in the yeare 1542, in the *French history* before alleaged, but leauing him to his wandering life, I returne to more certaine Relations.

Paul the *Hermite* liued to one hundred & thirty, *S. Anthony* to one hundred & foue, one *Cornarius* a *Venetian* by weighing his meate and drinke which hee tooke euery meale (as himselfe in his medicinall observations testifies) suruiued an hundred in perfect sense and sound health. *Gartius Arëtinus* great Granfather to *Petrarch*, arriued to one hundred & foure. *Gulielmus Postellus*, a french man in our age held out to almost an hundred & twenty, the tops of his beard in his higher lip being then somewhat blackish & not altogether white. But aboue all, most memorable is the age of *Iohannes de Temporibus*, which *Verstigan* out of the *Dutch* Authours thus reports: Heere by the way, saith he, 'I must note to the Reader that *Iohannes de Temporibus*, that is to say, 'John of times so called for the sundry times or ages he liued, was shield-

'knaue, or *Armour bearer* to *Charles the great*, of whom he was also made
 'Knight. This man being of great temperance, sobriety, & content-
 'ment of minde in his condition of life, but aboue all, of a most excel-
 'lent constitution of body, residing partly in *Germany* where hee was
 'borne, & partly in *France*, liued vnto the ninth year of the reigne of
 'the Emperour *Conrade*, & died at the age of three hundred sixty one yeares,
 'seeming thereby a very miracle of *Nature*, & one in whom it plea-
 'sed *God* to represent vnto latter ages the long yeares & temperate liues
 'of the ancient *Patriarches*. Mine *Authour* goeth on; 'tis said that there
 'hath a man lately liued in the *East Indies*, of some thought to bee yet
 'liuing, of greater age then this *Iohn of Times*: The certainty heereof
 'I cannot affirme, but it is credibly reported, that a woman lately li-
 'ued at *Segonia* in *Spaine* of an hundred & threescore yeares of age.
 And *Franciscus Alvarez* saith, that he saw *Albuna Marc*: chiefe Bi-
 shop of *Ethiopia* being of the age of an hundred & fifty yeares. *Antho-
ny Fume* an *Historiographer* of good account, reporteth that in the yeare
 one thousand five hundred & seaventy, there was an *Indian* presented
 to *Solyman Generall* of the *Turkes* army, who had outliued three hundred
 yeares. And *Sr Walter Rawleigh* tels vs, that himselfe knew the old
 Countesse of *Desmond* of *Inchiquin* in *Munster*, who liued in the yeare
 1589 & many yeares since, & yet was married in *Edward* the fourths
 time, & held her joynter from all the Earles of *Desmond* till then: And
 that this is true (sayth he) all the Noblemen & Gentlemen of *Munster*
 can witnesse. My Lord of *S. Albans* casting her age, brings her to one
 hundred & forty at least, adding withall, *ser per vices dentysse*, that shee
 recouered her teeth after casting them three severall times. The same
 Authour reports that a while since in *Hereford-shire* at their *Maygames*
 there was a *Morice* daunce of eight men, whose yeares put together
 made vp eight hundred, that which was wanting of an hundred in some
 superabounding in others. *Mr Carew* in his survey of *Cornwall*, assures vs
 vpon his own knowledge that fourescore, & fourescore and ten yeares
 of age is ordinary there in every place, & in most persons accompanied
 with an able vse of the body and their senses. One *Polezen*, saith he)
 lately liuing reached to one hundred & thirty, a kinsman of his to one
 hundred & twelue. One *Beauchamp* to one hundred and six, and in the
 parish where himselfe dwelt hee professed to haue remembred the de-
 cease of foure within fourteene weekes space, whose yeares added to-
 gether made vp the summe of three hundred & forty. The same Gen-
 tleman made this merrie Epigram or Epitaph vpon one *Brawne* an Irish
 man, but *Cornish begger*.

Heere *Brawne* the quondam begger lies

Who counted by his tale,

Some six score winters and aboue;

Such vertue is in ale.

Ale was his meate, his drinke, his cloth,

Ale did his death repriue,

And could hee still haue drunke his ale,

Hee had beene still aliue.

And

And I make no doubt but the like observation might be made in other countryes vnder his Majesties dominions, aswell as in those two sheires, if the like particular survey, & search were made.

And if wee please a little to cast our eyes abroad, wee shall likewise finde that euen at this day the *Indians*, a barbarous people and liuing according to *Nature*, reach to a marveilous great age, matchable to any that wee reade of since the flood, either in *sacred* or *prophane* story. *St. Walter Rayleigh* in his discouery of *Guiana* reports that the king of *Aromaia*, being one hundred and tenne yeares old, came in a morning on foot to him from his house which was fourteene *English* miles, and returned on foote the same way: But that which is written by *Monsieur Besanneer* a *French* Gentleman in the relation of *Captaine Laudonniere* his second voyage to *Florida*, is much more strange, and not vnworthy to be set downe at large. Our men, saith he, regarding the age of their *Paracoussy* or Lord of the countrey, began to question with him thereabouts, wherevnto he made answere that he was the first liuing *Originall* from whence fise generations were descended, shewing them withall another old man which farre exceeded him in age, and this man was his father, who seemed rather an *Anatomy* then a liuing body: for his sinewes, his veines, his arteries, his bones, & other parts appeared so cleerely thorow his skin, that a man might easily tell them, & discern them one from another. Also his age was so great that the good man had lost his sight, & could not speake one onely word but with exceeding great paine. *Monsieur d'Ottigni* hauing seene so strange a sight, turned to the younger of these two old men, praying him to vouchsafe to answere to that which he demaunded touching his age: then called he a company of *Indians*, & striking twice vpon his thigh & laying his hand vpon two of them, he shewed by signes that these two were his sonnes; againe smiting vpon their thighes, hee shewed him others not so old, which were the children of the two first, and thus continued he in the same manner vntill the *fift generation*: But though this old man had his father aliue more old then himselfe, and that both their haire was as white as was possible, yet it was told them that they might yet liue *thirty* or *forty* yeares more by the course of nature, although the younger of them both, was not lesse then *two hundred & fifty* yeares old.

Torquemado in the first journey of his discourse tels vs, that being at *Rome* about the yeare 1531: it was bruted thorow all *Italy* that at *Tarentum* there liued an old man, who at the age of an *hundred* yeares was growne young againe, he had changed his skin like vnto the snake & had recovered a new, beeing withall become so young & fresh, as those which had seene him & knowne him before, could then scarce beleieve their owne eyes; and hauing continued aboue *fifty* yeares in this estate, he grew at length to be so old, as he seemed to be made of barkes of trees; wherevnto he further adds (and that the aboue written relation, saith he, may not seeme impossible, we haue a more admirable thing in the same kinde, recorded by *Fernand Lopez* of *Casteguede*, historiographer to the King of *Portugall* in the eighth booke of his *Chronicle*, where

he saith, that *Nonnio de Cugne*, being *Viceroy* at the *Indies* in the yeare 1536, there was a man brought vnto him as a thing worthy of admiration, for that it was auerred by good proofes & sufficient testimony, that he was *three hundred and forty* yeares old, he remembred he had seene that *Citty* wherein he dwelt vnpeopled, being then when hee spake it one of the chiefe of all the *East Indies*; hee had growne young againe foure times, changing his white haire & recouering new teeth. When the *Viceroy* did see him, hee then had the haire of his head & of his beard blacke, although he had not much, & there being by chaunce a *Physitian* at that time present, the *Viceroy* willed him to feele the old mans pulse, which he found as good & as strong as a young mans in the prime of his age. This man was borne in the Realme of *Bengala*, & did affirme that he had hadd at times neere seaven hundred wiues, whereof some were dead and some he had put away. The King of *Portugall* advertised of this wonder, did often enquire, and had yearely newes of him by the fleet which came from thence: He liued aboute *three hundred and seventy* yeares. The same *Castegnede* adds, that in the time of the same *Vice-roy*, there was also found in the *Citty* of *Bengala* another man, a *Moore* or *Mahometane* called *Xequepeer* borne in a *Province* named *Xeque*, who was *three hundred* yeares old, as he said: all those that did know him did also certifie it, hauing great presumption so to doe. This *Moore* was reputed among them an holy man by reason of his austerenesse and abstinence: The *Portugals* did conuerse familiarly with him. Now besides that the histories of *Portugall* touching the *Indies* are faithfully collected and certified by very authentick witnesses, there were in my time, saith *Torquemado*, both in *Portugall* and *Castile* many which had seene these old men.

SECT. 7.

That if our lines be shortened in regard of our Ancestours, we should rather lay the burden of the fault vpon our intemperance, then vpon a decay in Nature.

THe *High-landers* likewise in *Scotland*, and the wild *Irish* commonly liue longer then those of softer education, of nice and tender bringing vp, (which often fals out in the more ciuill times and countreyes) being no doubt a great enemy to *Longevity*, as also the first feeding and nourishing of the *Infant* with the milke of a strange dug; an *unnaturall curiosity*, hauing taught all women but the beggar to find out nurses, which necessity only ought to commend vnto them. Wherevnto may be added *hasty marriages* in tender yeares, wherein nature being but yet greene and growing, wee rent from her, and replant her branches, while her selfe hath not yet any root sufficient to maintaine her own top. And such halfe-ripe seedes for the most part wither in the bud, and waxe olde euen in their infancy. But aboute all things the pressing of *Nature* with *over-mighty burdens*, and when we find her strength defectiue, the help of strong waters, hot spices and provoking fauces, is

it which impaires our health, and shortens our life.

--- Simul asis

Horat. lib. 2.
Sat. 2.

Miscueris elixa simul conchyliis turdis
Dulcia se in bilem vertent, stomachoque tumultum
Lenta feret pituita; vides ut pallidus omnis
Cana defurgat dubia?

Mixe sod with rost, and fish with flesh, straightwayes
The sweet will turne it selfe to bitter gall:
Tough flegme will in the stomacke tumults raise.
Seest nor how doubtfull suppers make men pale:
But elegant to this purpose are those verses of *Lucan*,

--- O prodiga rerum

Luxuries nunquam paruo contenta paratu,
Et quasitorum terra pelagoque ciborum
Ambitiosa fames, & lauta gloria mense.
Discite quam paruo liceat producere vitam,
Es quantum natura petat.
Non auro myrrhaque bibunt, sed gurgite puro
Vita redit, satis est populis furvisque Ceresque.

O wastfull riot neuer well content,
With low-priz'd fare, hunger ambitious
Of Cates by land and sea far fetcht and sent,
Vaine-glory of a table sumptuous:
Learne with how little life may be preferu'd,
In gold and myrrhe they need not to carrouse,
But with the brook the peoples thirst is seru'd,
Who fed with bread and water are not steru'd.

Multos morbos multa fercula fecerunt, saith *Seneca*, our variety of dainty *Epist. 91.*
dishes hath bred variety of diseases. And againe, *Maximus ille medicorum, & huius scientia Conditor, feminis nec capillos desuere dixit, nec pedes laborare: atqui haec jam & capillis destituuntur, & pedibus aegra sunt, non mutata femininarum natura, sed vita est.* The greatest of *Physitians* & the founder of that Science affirms that women neither loose their haire, nor grow diseased in their feete: but now we see they are both bald and gowty, not because their nature is chaung'd, but the course of their life. *Beneficium sexus sui vitis perdiderunt, & quia feminam exuerunt, damnatae sunt morbis virilibus.* They haue forfeited the priuledge of their sexe by their owne vitiousnesse, and hauing together with their modesty put off their womanhood, they are deservedly plagued with mens diseases.

Besides, our *Ancestors* vsed some things now growne out of vse with vs, which were no doubt speciall meanes to preferue their health and prolong their liues, as the annointing of their bodies, their frequent vse of saffron and hony, their wearing of warmer clothes, and dwelling in closter houses with little doores and windowes, choosung rather to admit lesse aire then much light, preferring their health before their pleasure, as also for the most part they vsed lesse Physick and more exercise: so that if our liues be shortned in regard of them, we haue reason to ac-

quit and discharge nature, and to lay the whole burden of the fault vpon our selues.

--- *Natura beatis*

Omnibus esse dedit, si quis cognoverit vii.

Nature allowes that all should blessed be,

Knew they to vse her bountie prudentlie.

And doublesse through our owne ignorance or negligentie it is, if wee make not that vse of Natures bountie which we might and should : and herewith that of Roger Bacon accords in his booke *de retardatione accidentium senectutis*: *Mundo senescente senescunt homines, non propter mundi senectutem, sed multiplicationem viventium insipientium ipsum aerem qui nos circumdat, & negligentiam regiminis & ignorantiam illarum rerum, illarumve proprietatum quae regiminis defectum supplent.* The world waxing old, men likewise waxe old, not so much by reason of the worlds old age, as the multiplication of liuing creatures infecting the aire which environs vs, and our negligence in the gouernement of our health, and our ignorance in the vertue of those things which should supply the defect of that government; and againe in his booke *de scientia experimentalis*. *Causa autem huiusmodi prolongationis & abbreviationis existimauerunt multi à parte caeli, nam existimauerunt quod caeli dispositio fuit optima à principio, & mundo senescente omnia tabescunt, estimantes stellas fuisse creatas in locis convenientioribus, & in meliori proportionem earum ad invicem secundum diuersitatem aspectuum, & projectionem radiorum invisibilem, & quod ab illo statu paulatim recesserunt, & secundum hunc recessum ponunt vitæ decurtationem usque ad aliquem terminum fixum in quo est status, sed hoc habet multas contradictiones & difficultates de quibus non est modo dicendum.* The cause of this prolonging and shortning our liues, many conjectured to be in regard of the Heauens, for they thought that the Heauens were best disposed at the first, and that as the world waxeth old, all things decayed, supposing that the Starres were created in more convenient places, & in a fitter proportion each to other according to the diuersities of their aspects, and the invisible projection of their beames, and that by degrees they are fallen off from that estate, and according therevnto they proportion the decrease of life vntill it come to some settled period, beyond which there is no farther progresse; but this assertion includes many contradictions and difficulties of which I cannot now speake.

Yet me thinkes it may be demonstrated by evident reason, besides the arguments already alleadged, that at the least for these last thousand or two thousand yeares, the age of mankinde is little or nothing abated, which I will indeavoure to make good in the next Chapter.

CAP. 2.

Farther Reasons alledged that the age of man for these last thousand or two thousand yeares is little or nothing abated.

SECT. 1.

The first reason taken from the severall stops and pases of nature in the course of mans life, as the time of birth after our conception, our infancie, childhood, youth, mans estate, and old age, being assigned to the same compasse of yeares as they were by the Ancients; which could not possible bee, were there a universall decay in mankind in regard of age; And the like reason there is in making the same Clymaticall yeares and the same danger in them.

THat the age of mankinde for these last thousand or two thousand yeares is nothing shortned, will farther appeare by the severall stages and stops which the *Ancients* haue marked out, aswell in the growth of the infant in the mothers wombe, and time of birth, as in the distribution of mans age after the birth, agreeable vnto that which is generally receiued by the learned, and for the most part wee finde to be verified by experience at this day. As among *Plants*, those which last longest haue likewise their seedes longest buried vnder the earth before their springing aboue ground: so likewise among *beasts*, those which liue longest, are carried longest in the wombe of their dammes; the *biſch* carries her young but foure moneths, the *mare* nine, the *elephant* two yeares (not *ten* as some haue vainely written) and looke what proportion is found betwixt their conception and birth, the like is commonly found betwixt their birth and death. Nature then in her proceedings in naturall actions beeing alike, aswell to them as to mankind, it should in reason seeme, that as their time is the same which the *Ancients*, (namely *Hippocrates* and *Aristotle*) haue left vpon record, from their conception to their birth, and againe ordinarily (or *ceteris paribus*, as in Schooles we speake) from their birth to their death; so it should fare with mankind too: If then it shall appeare that the *Ancients* assigned the same space of time for the deliuerie of a woman with child, which wee now doe, me thinkes the consequent from hence deduced should bee more the probable, that as the space of their abode in the womb of the mother, and comming from thence into the world, is the same as then it was, so likewise ordinarily, and in the course of nature (if shee bee not wronged or interrupted, nor on the other side by a supernaturall power advanced aboue herselfe) it should bee the same during

during their abode heere in the world, and their returne to the wombe of their common mother the earth: Now though it be true that the space of time from the conception to the birth of man is more variable then that of any other Creature (perchaunce because his foode & fancie are more variable, or because nature is more sollicitous of him, as being her darling) yet most certaine it is, the same periods which by Hippocrates were assigned for his first comming into the light, are now also by Physitians observed, & that so precisely as they exactly agree with him, not only in the number of moneths but of dayes; the moneths assigned by him were the *seaventh*, the *ninth*, the *tenth*, & sometimes the *eleuenth*, & so they still remaine; and as the *eight* was by him held dangerous & deadly, so is it now; & as the *tenth* moneth is our vsuall computation, so was it likewise theirs, as appears by that of *Neptune* in *Homer* speaking to a *Nymph*.

Lauren. hist. A.
nat. l. 8.

Odis. 2.

Anno circumacto speciosum partum edes
nimirum decimo mense.

The yeare ended thou wilt be deliuered
of a faire child, that is to say, in the 10th moneth.

From whence it may be obserued that the *Aolians* (of whom was *Homer*) counted their yeare from thence, as did also the *Romanes* till *Numa's* raigne, I meane from the vsuall time of a womans going with child.

Quod satis est utero matris dum prodeat infans,
Hoc anno statuit temporis esse satis.

Fest. lib. 1.

Sayeth the Poet speaking of *Romulus*.

That space which is vnto our birth assign'd,

The same by him was to the yeare confin'd.

And to the end we may fully know what space is there by him vnderstood, hee presently adds.

Annis erat decimum cum luna receperat orbem,

Hic numerus magno tunc in honore fuit,

Seu quia tot digiti per quos numerare solemus,

Seu quia bis quino famina mense parit.

Our yeare tenne full moones did containe

This number then was honoured

For that a woman going in paine

So long, was then disburdened.

But I proceede from the time of the birth to the *Ancients* distribution of mans age after the birth.

Some of them divided the age of man into three, some into foure, some into five, some into six, some into seaven parts: which they resembled to the seaven Planets, comparing our *infancie* to the *Moone*, in which wee seeme only to liue & grow as plants; the second age or *childhood* to *Mercury*, wherein wee are taught and instructed; the third age or *youth* to *Venus*, the dayes of loue, desire, & vanity: the fourth to the *Sunne*, the strong flourishing and beautifull age of mans life; the fifth to *Mars*, in which wee seeke honour and victory, and in which our thoughts travell to ambitious ends; the sixth to *Iupiter*, in which

wee

Rodog. 10. 61.
62.

we begin to take account of our times, judge of our selues, & grow to the perfection of our vnderstanding: The last & *seauenth* to *Saturne*, wherein our dayes are sad and overcast, & in which we finde by deere & lamentable experience, & by the losse which neuer can be repaired, that of all our vaine passions and affections past, the sorrow only abideth.

Philo Indens in that excellent booke of the workmanship of the world, discourfing of the admirable properties of the *sacred* number of *seauen*, among many other things alleaged to that purpose, he affirms that at the end of euery *seauenth* yeare, there is some notable chaunge in the body of man, and for better prooffe thereof, hee produceth the authority of *Hippocrates*, and an *Elegie* of *Solons* which thus begins.

Impubes pueri septem voluentibus annis

Claudunt enatis dentibus eloquium

Pest alios totidem Diuorum numine dextro

Occlusum pubis nascitur indicium.

Annus ter septem prima lanugine malas

Vestiet aetatis robore conspicuus. &c.

When children once to seauen yeares haue aspired,

The tale of all their teeth they haue acquired.

By that the next seauen ended haue their date

Pubertie comes and power to generate.

The third seauen perfect's growth, and then the chin

With youthly downe to blossome doth begin.

But among all the *Ancients* I haue mette with, *Macrobius* in his first booke of *Scipio's* dreame, extolling (as *Plilo* doth) the rare and singular effects of the *septenary* number, most cleerely and learnedly expresseth the remarkeable pawses and chaunges of *Nature* euery *seauenth* yeare in the course of mans age, as the casting of the teeth in the first seauen, the springing of the pubes in the second, of the beard in the third, the utmost period of growth in the fourth, of strength in the fifth, a consistence in the sixth, and a declination in the *seauenth*. Now that which these *Ancients* obserued touching these secret stations and progresses of *Nature* in the state of mans body and course of his life, is still found to be true, aswell by the *Verdict* and judgement of learned men, as by the prooffe and triall of *Experience*, which could not possibly bee, were there a constant abatement in the length of our whole age, by such an vniuersall & irreuocable decay of *Nature* as is pretended: for then should men doubtles grow to ripenes and perfection sooner, as they are supposed sooner to hasten to death and dissolution, which must needs draw on an alteration and confusion in all the noted changes thorow the course of mans life: And therefore the holy Scripture assigning the *Patriarches* a longer life, assignes them likewise proportionably therevnto a longer time before they were ripened for generation, as *Peter Martyr* hath rightly noted.

It is true and euer was, which *Galen* in his sixth booke of the regiment of health hath obserued, that these chaunges cannot so be tyed to any such precise number of yeares, but that a variation of latitude is

to be admitted in them in regard of some particulars: some growing to their *puberty* at fourteen, others at fifteen: some declining at *thirty*, others at *thirty five*, according to their severall constitutions, educations, diet, situation of Clymates and countreyes and the like. The Poet professed of himselfe aboute *sixteene hundred* yeare agoe, that his beard began to sprout and paint his cheekes before twenty.

Ovid.

*Quamvis jam juvenile decus mihi pingere malas
Caperit, & nondum vicesima veneris atas.*

Though now my beard began my cheekes to grace,
Nor had I liued yet twice tenne yeares space.

But as all rules in Science, so theses are held sufficiently currant and warrantable, if they be found *infallible* in the greatest part, and *uniforme*, where all circumstances concurre in a like degree.

S^r. Augustine makes it loo-
ner. Circa 30
quippe annos de-
finierunt esse c-
tiam huius Se-
culi doctissimi
homines inven-
tutem, que cum
fuerit spacio pro-
prio terminata
inde iam homi-
nē in destrimenta
pergere gravio-
ris & scilicet
tatis.
Civ. dei. 22. 15.
a v. 13.
b De Civit. Dei.
Lib. 22. c. 15.
d Lib. 2. Cap. 39.
e Iohn 8. 57.
f Decherius de
anno ortus &
mortis Christi.

It is now commonly thought, that *thirty three*, or between that and 35 yeares, is the flower & perfection of mans age, (it being the mid way to sevēty, which both *Moses* & *Salom* held the Epilogue & cōclusiō thereof: so as those who run beyōd that, are like Racers which run beyōd the goale.) And this was the age of our blessed Saviour, to the perfection whereof, the Apostle seems to allude in the 4 to the *Ephesians*: Till we meet together vnto a perfect man and vnto the measure of the age of the fullnes of Christ: which passage *S. Augustin* interpreting, is of opiniō, that we shall rise againe by reaso of the perfectiō thereof, *tu ea etate usque quā Christū pervenisse cognovimus*, as men of that age vnto which Christ himselfe the head of the Church arrived. I know there waht not some, as namely *Ire-* *neus* & others, who by occasion of that speech of the *Iewes*, *thou art not yet fifty yeare old, and hast thou scene Abrahame* conjecture that he was about that age: but whether it were his cares & troubles that made him seeme elder then indeēde he was, or the *Iewes* would thereby signifie that though he had beene much elder then he was, yet was it not possible for him to haue scene *Abraham* in the flesh; certaine it is that he came not to fourty: some late *Divines* being of opinion that he reached *thirty five*, but the most part, as also the most Ancient and most learned, that he little exceeded *thirty three*. since then our *infancie* ends and *childhood* begins; our *childhood* ends and *youth* begins; our *youth* ends and *manhood* begins, and lastly our *manhood* ends & our *declining estate* begins where it did a thousand or two thousand yeare agoe, I see no reason, but we may safely conclude, that at leastwise since that time *mankind* is nothing decayed in regard of age. and the like reason there is in there observing anciently the same *Clymaticall* yeares and in them the same danger of sicknesse or death that we do, as appeares not only in *Brodeus* his *Miscellanea* lib. 6. cap. 26. and in a little discourse, which *M. Wright* hath written and annexed to his book of the *passions of the mind*, occasioned as he there professeth by the death of *Queene Elizabeth*) but much more fully in *Baptista Codronchus* a famous both Philosopher and Phisitian who hath purposely cōposed a large treatise *de annis Climactericis*, in which thus begins his preface to that worke *Antiquissimi & peritissimi rerum naturalium observatores, nec vulgares homines vita humana curriculum considerantes septimo quoque anno & presertim tertio supra sexagesimum*

sexagesimum homines plerisque corporis & animi affectionibus conflictari, in discrimine versari, ac sapius interire pluribus observationibus ac periculis cognoverunt. The most ancient and skilfull searchers into naturall things, and those no meane men taking into consideration the course of mans life by many observations and tryals, they found that every seventh yeare, and specially in the 63 most men are sorely affected both in body and mind, are brought into great danger, and many times die outright; I will bring onely one instance from *Antiquity* to shew their agreement as in the other before mentioned, so likewise in this point with these latter ages; it is borrowed from *Gellius* in his *fifteenth* booke, and seaventh chapter of his *Noctes Atticae*, where he thus speaks of this matter, *Observatum in multa hominum memoria, expertumque est in senioribus plerisque omnibus sexagesimum tertium vite annum cum periculo & clade aliqua venire, aut corporis morboque gravioris aut vite interitus, aut animi egri-tudinis.* It hath been of a long time observed and experienced, in almost all old men, that the 63 yeare of their life, hath proued dangerous and hurtfull vnto them, either in regard of some greivous sicknesse of body or death or great greefe of mind: & going on, he alleags to this purpose a part of a letter which *Augustus Caesar* wrote to *Caius* his Nephew. *Aue mi Cai, meus ocellus incundissimus: quē semper medius fidius desidero quum à me abes; sed precipue diebus talibus, qualis est hodiernus, oculi mei requirunt meum Caium, quem ubicunque hoc die fuisti, spero latum & benevolentem celebraſſe: quartum & sexagesimum natalem meum, nam ut vides κλαμακτηρα κομνην seniorum omnium tertium & sexagesimum annum evasimus.* I greet the well my *Caius*, mine owne deare heart, whom in truth I always find wanting as oft as thou art absent from me, but cheifely vppon such days as this is, mine eyes long to behold my *Caius*, which where-so-ever thou wert, I hope thou hast kept festivall, it being my *sixty fourth* birthday, for as thou seest I haue escaped my *sixty third* being the common *climactericall* of all old men.

S E C T. 2.

The second is drawne from the age, of Matrimony and Generation which among the Ancients was fully as forward as ours now is if not more timely.

FOR the better clearing of which poynt, it shall not be amisse somewhat farther to insist vpon the age of Generation and Marriage, which among the Ancients was both in opinion held, and in practise proued to be the same or little different from that which amongst vs is in vse at this day. The third councell of *Carthage* ordained that publicke readers in the Church cum ad annos pubertatis venerint aut cogantur uxores ducere aut continentiam profiteri, when they came to yeares of puberty, should be forced either to marry or vow chastity; and *Quintilian* of his owne wife professeth that hauing borne him two sonnes, she died, *Nondum expleto etatis vndeviceſimo anno* being not yet full one and twenty years of age. *Mulieres statim ab anno decimo quarto, à*

cap. 19.

Proem. Lib. 6.

viris

Enchirid. c. 55. à *viris Domina vocantur*, saith *Epictetus*: women no sooner passe foure-
^a *Digest.* l. 9. de teene, but presently they haue giuen them from men, or from their huf-
^b *Spons.* bands the title of *Mistresses*. The ^a *Civill Lawes* allowed a woman
^c *Burdorf. Synag.* marriage at twelue, so did the ^b *Iewish Talmud* and the ^c *Canons* of the
^d *Lancelot.* l. 2. Church, ^d *Hesiod* at fiftene, ^e *Xenophon* and the ^f *Comedian* at sixteene,
^{tit.} 11. anni *sedecem flos ipse*, ^g *Aristotle* at eightene, ^h *Plato* at twenty: The rea-
ⁱ *Oper. & Dierum.* son of the difference I take to be this: The *Lawes* would not permit
^j *De Spartana* them to marrie sooner, & *Plato* held it not fitt they should stay longer.
^k *Repub.* And as wee commonly are both ripe for marriage, and marrie about
^l *Eunucho. Aft* the same yeares the Ancients did, so men for the most part leaue beget-
^m *2:6:3:* ting, and women bearing of children about the same time as they
ⁿ *Politi.* 7: 16: did.
^o *5 de Repub:*
^p *6 de Legibus*
^q *Tranquillus in*
^r *Claudio.* c. 23:

*Lib: 1. diuini in-
 stit.* cap. 16.

L: Sarcinus 27:
c: de nupt.

Aristoteli: A-
nimal. l. 5: c. 14.
Rom. 4: 19.

7.14.

Exod. 12. 37.

Gen. 46. 26.

Tiberius made a Law, knowne by the name of *Lex Papia*, by which
 he forbadde such men as were past sixty, or women past fiftie to marrie,
 as being insufficient for generation. To which *Lactantius* out of *Seneca*
 seemes to allude, thus jesting at the *Ethnickes* touching their great God
Iupiter. *Quare apud Poetas salacissimus Iupiter desijt liberos tollere, virum
 sexagenarius factus, & ei Lex Papia fibulam imposuit*: How comes it to
 passe that in your Poets the lecherous *Iupiter* begets no more children,
 is hee past *sixtie*, & restrained by the *Papian Law*? Yet this Law by the
 Emperour *Claudius* in part, but by *Iustinian* (almost fivie hundred yeares
 after) was fully repealed as insufficient, in asmuch as men after that age
 were, and still are found to be sufficient for that act; Seldome indeede
 it is that men beget after *seaventy*, or women beare after *fiftie*, and the
 same was long since both observed & recorded by the principall both
Secretarie & great *Register of Nature* in his time, adding farther that men
 commonly left begetting at *sixtie fivie*, & women bearing at *fortie fivie*:
 When *Abrahams* body was now dead in regard of generation, he was
 short of 100. Indeeede *Plutarch* reports of *Cato Maior*, that hee begat a
 sonne at eightie: & *Pliny* of *Masinissa*, after eightie six: but they both
 report it as a wonder, neither want there presidents in this age to pa-
 rallell either of them.

I well know that the accusation is common, & perchaunce in part
 not vnjust, that men now a dayes generally marrie sooner then their
Incestours did, which is made to be one of the chiefe causes of our
 supposed shorter liues: but that many of them abstained not so long
 from marriage as wee now commonly doe, it may be euenced by
 these following examples, drawn from the *Oracles* of *sacred writ*. There
 descended from *Abraham* in the space of foure hundred yeares and
 little more, & from *Iacob* and his sonnes, within 200 or thereabout,
 aboue six hundred thousand men, beside children and those who died in
 the interim, and were slaine by the *Egyptians*: which wonderfull mul-
 tiplication within the compasse of that time, should in reason argue
 that they married timely. In the forty sixth of *Genesis*, *Moses* descri-
 bing old *Iacobs* journey downe into *Egypt*, tells vs that the number of
 persons springing from his loynes, which accompanied him in that
 journey, were sixty six soules, and not content with the grosse summe
 hee specifies the particulars, among which the sonnes of *Iudah* are na-
 med

med to bee *Er*, & *Onan*, & *Shelah*, and *Pharez*, and *Zerah*; (but *Er* and *Onan*, saith the text, died in the land of *Canaan*) and the sonnes of *Pharez* were *Hezron*, and *Hamul*; so that he begat *Pharez* vpon *Thamar* his daughter in law after the death of his eldest sonnes *Er* and *Onan*, who according to the Law had married her successiuelly, and *Pharez* begat *Hezron* and *Hamul*, and yet at this time was *Judah* himselfe but forty foure yeares of age at most, as appeares by this, that *Ioseph* was then but thirty nine, sixteene he was when he was sold by his brethren, & twenty three yeaes after, was his fathers journey into *Egypt*. Now it is evident that *Judah* was but foure yeares elder then *Ioseph*, the one being borne in the eleuenth yeare of their Fathers abode in *Mesopotamia*, and the other after the expiration of the fourteenth: In the compasse then of forty foure yeares or thereabout, had *Judah* sonnes which were married, namely *Er* & *Onan*, after that himselfe by mistake begets another sonne vpon their wife, viz: *Pharez*, who had likewise two sonnes at this time when *Iacob* went downe into *Egypt*. S. *Augustine* is I confesse much perplexed in the loosing of this knot; and so is *Pererius* treading in his steps: They both flying for the saluing of the Text to an Anticipation in the storie, as if some of those who are named by *Moses* to haue descended with *Iacob* into *Egypt*, had beene both begotten & borne long after his setting there: But this glosse seeming to *Pareus* somewhat hard, (as in truth it is) he resolues the doubt, by making both *Judah*, & *Er*, & *Onan*, and *Pharez* to marrie all of them at the entrance of their fourteenth yeare, which in the ordinary course of nature both then was, and still is the yeare of pubertie, and then thus concludes hee: *In his omnibus nihil coactum aut contortum, nihil quod non confecto naturæ ordine fieri potuerit, ut nec miracula fingere sit opus, nec filios Pharez qui in descensu numerantur in Ægypto demum natos asserere sit necessesse*: In all this there is nothing strained or wrested; nothing but may well be done in the ordinary course of nature, so as we need not either fly to miracles, or affirme that the sonnes of *Pharez*, who are ranked in the number of those who descended with *Iacob*, were afterward borne in *Egypt*. And with *Pareus* heerein accords the learned *Arniseus*, (some small difference betweene them in the calculation of yeares set apart) wondering that two such great Clarkes, as *Augustine* & *Pererius* should trouble themselves so much about so slender a difficultie, not considering, as it seemes, the Examples of the like or more timely marriages, recorded in holy Scripture. Whereof we haue a notable one in the same Chapter of *Benjamin*, who at the same time is made the father of ten sonnes, and yet was he then but twenty three or twenty foure yeares of age; being borne in the hundred and sixth yeare of his father, which was the yeare before the selling of *Ioseph*. *Dina* by the testimony of *Polyhistor*, when shee was rauished and sued vnto for marriage by *Sichem* was but tenne yeares of age, and by the computation of *Casertan* but foureteene, of *Pererius* but fifteene or sixteene at vtmost. The blessed *Virgine* when shee brought forth our Saviour, but fifteene. Somewhat more euident is that of *Iosiah*, who was but thirty nine yeares old when he died, eight he was when he began to reigne, and hee reigned

v. 12.

Gen. 38. v. 18.

Gen. c. 37. 41.

Gen. c. 29. 30.

Quest. 128. in

Genel:

Comment. in

38. gen. quest. 1:

Comment. in 38

Gen. pa. 1c. 1.

As doethe

Iewes in the

Sederolam,

making *Er* to

marry at 8, &

Perer to beget

a son at 9.

De iure Conu-

bionum, c. 20:

Sect. 3.

v. 21.

Apud Eusebeum

l. 9. de Preparat.

Euangel. c. ult.

commentar. in

34. Gen.

Nicephorus ex

Euodio, 2. 3.

2. Kings, 22. 1.

thirty one; yet was *Eliakim* his sonne *twenty five* yeares old when he began to reigne, being by *Pharaoh Neco* substituted in the place of his brother *Ichoahaz*, after he had reigned three moneths; so that *Iosiah* by just computation could not well exceede *fourteene* yeares of age, when he was first married: But that of *Ahaz* is yet more remarkeable, who liued but thirty six yeares in the whole; twenty yeares old was hee when he began to reigne, and he reigned *sixteene* yeares; yet was his sonne *Hezekiah*, who immediatly succeeded him, *twenty five* yeares old when he began to reigne: By which account *Ahaz* was married, and begat *Hezekiah* at *eleuen*. or before. And though *Functius* in his *Chronologie*, moued with the strangenes heereof, would make *Hezekiah* the *Legall*, not the *naturall* sonne of *Ahaz*, by adoption, not by generation, and *Iunius* in his annotations referre those wordes; *twenty yeares old was he when he began to reigne*, to *Iothan* the father of *Ahaz*; yet heerein they both stand alone, aswell against *reason*, as the ordinary phrase of *Scripture* and streame of *interpreters*. S. *Hierome* in his epistle to *Vitalis*, to make it good, hath recourse to *Gods Omnipotencie*, *Neque enim valet natura*, saith he, *contra naturæ Dominum*: And againe, *Quod pro miraculo fit, legem Naturæ facere non potest*: That which it pleaseth God to worke supernaturally as a miracle, may not be held for the ordinary law of Nature. Yet himselfe in the same *Epistle* alleages the example of *Salomon* to the same purpose: And another more strange then that, to the relation whereof he prefixes this solemne preface; *Audui, Domino teste, non mentior*, I haue heard, God knowes I faine it not, that a certaine nurse, hauing the education of an exposed child committed to her charge, who lay with her, being now of the age of *tenne* yeares, and protoked to incontinencie by the nurse, overcharged with wine, theee was found with child by him.

The like story hath *Gregory* in his Dialogues, touching a child of nine yeares old

1 King. 14. 21.

1 King. 14. 21.

I will conclude this reason with the example of *Solomon*, who is commonly thought to come to the *Crowne* at *twelue* yeares of age, and the *Scripture* assures vs that he reigned but *forty*, by which account he died at the age of *fifty two*, which is the most received opinion aswell of the *Iewish Rabbines*, as the *Christian Doctours*: yet was *Rehoboam* his sonne and successour *forty one* yeares old when he began to raigne: so that but an *eleuen* yeares at most, are left for *Solomon* when he begat him: Such matches as these in this age, I thinke can hardly be matched neither in truth doe I hold it fit they should.

SECT. 3.

S E C T. 3.

The third is borrowed from the age which the Ancients assigned for charge and imployment in publique affaires, Ecclesiasticall, Civil and Military, they were thereunto both sooner admitted, and therefrom sooner discharged then men now adayes vsually are, which should in reason argue, that they likewise vsually finished the course of their life sooner.

ANother reason tending to the same purpose may not vnfitly bee drawne from the age which the Ancients assigned for charge and imployment in publique affaires. They were thereunto assoone admitted and sooner discharged then men now adayes vsually are, which should in reason argue that they likewise ran their race & finished their course sooner, in asmuch as *quod citius crescit, citius finitur*, that which sooner comts to ripenes and perfection, hastens sooner to rottennes & dissolution. Now publique charges may well be distributed into Ecclesiasticall, Civil, and Military, of the Church, of the State, and of the warres: I will begin with the Ministeriall offices of the Church, and therein with the Principall, which is that of the Bishop: Thomas Becket was chosen Archbishop of Camerbury at the age of forty foure yeares, as witnesseth Mathew Parker (who succeeded him in that See) in his booke of the liues of the Archbishops intituled *Antiquitates Britannica: Is qui ad Episcopalem dignitatem promovendus est, annos natus esse debet non minus triginta, nam ea etate Dominum & baptizatum, & concionatum fuisse legimus*, saith Lancelot in his Institutions of the Canon Law. He who is to bee advanced to the dignity of a Bishop, ought not to be lesse then thirty yeares old, inasmuch as we read that our Lord was baptized and preached at that age. Whereas now adayes with vs seldome is any preferred to that place till he be past forty or fifty. Venerable Bede our famous Countreyman who liued about eight hundred yeares agoe, was by his owne testimony made Deacon at nineteene. And Origen by the testimony of Eusebius, Catechist in Alexandria at eightene yeares of age. But that which to this point is most memorable in the exercise of sacred functions, is that by the commandement of God himselfe, the Levites after the age of fifty yeares were exempted from the execution of their office, which notwithstanding was nothing so painefull as that of the Ministry of the Gospell, if faithfully discharged. Where by Levites it may well be that not only those who serued in inferiour offices vnder the Priests, but the Priests themselves as being of the tribe of Levi are to be vnderstood, to which purpose M. Neriles in his answere to the Iewish part of M. Seldens History of Tithes hath vouched the Rabbines, as named *Aben Ezra* on Leviticus 16. Every Priest is a Levite, but euery Levite is not a Priest. And Iosuah Ben Levi mentioning that text, Numb. 18. 26. Speake unto the Levites, doth vnder the name of Levites vnderstand also Priests, farther adding, that in foure and twenty places the Priests are called Levites, which being

Balduis.

Lib. 1. tit. 7.

Mabmesberien-
sis de gestis An-
gli, Reg. lib. 1.
Hist. Eccles. l.
6. c. 2.

Numb. 8. 25

ing so; I see no reason but that from thence we may safely inferre, that in likelyhood the same space of yeares was assigned to the Priest, aswell for his entrance vpon his office, as his discharge from it, specially considering that his place was of an higher nature.

Des estats &
empires.

Tac. annal. 13

V.3

Lib. 10. 28

Plut. in Gracchis

Lib. 25

3. Olymb.

Lib. 1. in Som.
Sapientis.

Explicat de Mi-
litiis Rom. 1. b. 1
Cap. 12
Sir Henry Sa-
vill in his view
of military
matters

Gen. 34

Now for the warres. The *Gauls* put their sonnes in armes, and prepared them to warre at foureteene. *Cneius Pompeius* at eightene yeares of age, and *Cesar Octavianus* at nineteene sustained civill warres. The *Iewes* indeed ordinarily levied their souldiers from twenty yeares vpward, as plainly appeares in the first of *Numbers* and diverse other places. But the *Romans* from seuentene, which by *Gellius* out of *Tubero* is reported to haue beene the practise and prescript of *Servius Tullius* one of their Kings. The same was afterwards confirmed by the *Gracchi*, *Gracchi lex inuicem annis septendecem militem non legi*. The *Gracchian* Law ordained that none should be levied vnder seuentene. Yet in times of *Necessity* they came vnder those yeares, as in the second *Punick* warre, *Tum decretum*, saith *Livy*, *ut Tribuni plebis ad populum ferrent, ut qui minores annis 17. Sacramento dixissent, is perinde stipendia procederent: ac si 17 annorum aut maiores milites facti essent*. It was then decreed that the *Tribunes* should tell the people that such as being vnder seuentene had taken their military oath, should in like sort receiue their pay as if they had beene full seuentene or past. The *Gracians* indeed entred vpon their military service somewhat latter, but were discharged from it sooner, they tooke vp souldiers for the warres at eightene, but discharged them at forty or thereabout. We finde in *Demosthenes*, that the state being indangered, they were all commaunded to tugg at the oare, *vsque ad eos qui 45 annorum essent*, euen to those that were forty fve: vpon which *Vlpian* the *Scholast* commenteth, that this was an vnusuall practise, *quia Lex apud Athenienses ad annum quadragesimum duntaxat, iubet militare, exorsos a decimo octavo*, because the Lawes among the *Athenians* commaunds men to serue in the warres onely till forty, entring vpon the service at eightene. And it should seeme *Macrobius* aimes at this, discourfing of the efficacy of the *Septenary* number, *Nonnullarum Rerumpub. is mos est, ut post sextam hebdomaden ad militiam nemo cogatur, in plurimis detur remissio post septimam*, it is the custome of some states, that after the sixth weeke no man should be forced to serue in the warres, and in the most they are discharged after the seuenth: where by *weekes* he vnderstands *weekes* of yeares, and in the sixth weeke seemes to point at the practise of the *Athenian* state, in the seuenth to that of the *Romane*. Neither the *Romane* nor the *Gracian* went commonly beyond forty fve, as *Dionysius* affirmeth, or forty fve, as *Polybius*: And euen in dangerous times not beyond fifty, *Lex a quinquagesimo anno militum non cogit, a sexagesimo Senatorem non citat*, saith *Seneca* in his last Chapter *de breuitate vite*, the Law doth not force a Souldier to serue after fifty, nor a Senatour after sixty.

By the testimony of *Polybistor*, and the computation both of *Caietan* and *Pererius*, *Symeon* and *Levi*, when they so fiercely and desperately set vpon the *Sichemites*, little or nothing surpassed the number of twenty yeares, in somuch that *Pererius* breakes out into this admiration: *Subit animum meum vehementer admirari, praeferoce istorum animum, qui vix dum*

*dam adolescentiam egressi tam atrox facinus & animo conceperint & audaci-
 cissime exsequentes perfecerint:* I cannot but exceedingly marvell at their
 wonderfull fiercenes, that being scarce past their youth, they should in
 their mindes conceiue so bloody a fact, & put it in execution so boldly.
 King Edward the fourth hauing beene Conquerour in eight or nine se-
 uerall set battailes, died at the age of forty one, and our famous King Ar-
 thur (if we may beleue Ninnius) hauing victoriously fought in many
 gaue vp the ghost at the same age. *Julian* hauing been for diuerse yeares
 a great Commaunder in the warres, was slaine at one and thirty, and it
 is well knowne that the Great *Alexander* had conquered in a manner
 the knowne World at thirty three. Vpon the consideration whereof *Lu-
 cius Caesar* beholding his statue in the Temple of *Hercules* at *Cales*, fetcht
 a deepe sigh, as being ashamed that at that age himselfe had achieved
 no memorable act, yet was himselfe but 56 when he was slaine.
 Lastly, for the administratiō of Ciuill affaires in the state, *Romulus* first
 King of the *Romans* hauing raigned (saith *Plutarch* in the very end of his
 life) 38 yeares dyed at fifty, by which accout he must begin his raigne at
 12 somewhat too yong (a man would thinke) for a King that was to lay
 the foundation of such an Empire. *Cicero* by the testimony of *Cornelius
 Nepos* (who was his familiar freind, and wrote his life) pleaded publike-
 ly for *Sextus Roscius* at 13, and by the testimony of *Anlus Gellius Euriper-
 des* wrote one of his tragidies. *Natus annos duo de viginti*, at eightene
 yeares of age. *Iosephus* witnesseth of him selfe *annos novendecem natus ad
 Rempub: capi me dare*, I began to apply my selfe to the affaires of the
 weale publique, being but yet nineteene yeares of age. And *Moses* of
Ioseph the Patriarch, that when he had in a manner the whole government
 of *Egipt* committed to his charge by *Pharaoh*, was but thirty yeares old,
 which was likewise *Dauids* age, when he began to raigne. *Augustus*
 entred vpon the Consulship at twenty, and receiued *uirilem togam* at six-
 teene saith *Suetonius* in his life. But *Anrelus Antoninus* a yeare yonger
 as *Spartianus* affirmes, by which ornament or habit, they were judged fit
 for publike imployment in the common wealth. And *Leuius Tor-
 rentius* in his Annotations vpon that place, obserueth that even the lawes
 themselues at that time reputed men fit for action in state affaires at sea-
 uenteene, at which age *Nero* was chosen Emperour: *Tertullian* comes
 much lower, *tempus etiam Ethnicis observant, ut ex lege naturae jura suis sta-
 tibus reddant: Nam feminas à duodecem annis, masculos à duobus amplius ad
 negotia mittunt.* The Ethnicks so obserue their times, that from the
 law of Nature they dispose of their ages in Ciuill affaires: for women
 they imploy after twelue, and men two yeares after that. And as they
 were reputed sooner fit for action then wee: so likewise sooner vnfit:
*cum sexaginta annos habebant, tum erant à publicis negotijs liberi atque expe-
 diti, & otiosi:* when they once came to sixty then were they freed from
 all publike seruice, and left to their ease and rest. In somuch as it
 grew to a Proverbe amongst the *Latins*, *Sexagenarios de ponte deici oportere*,
 that men of sixty deserued to be cast from the bridge, as being vnprofi-
 table for the common wealth after that age. And from thence were
 they commonly called *Depontani* which was vpon this occasion taken

Ad verbum
Sexagenary.

vp, as witnesseth *Festus*. Quo tempore primum per pontem caperunt comb-
vis suffragiis ferre juniores conclamaverunt, ut de ponte deicerentur sexagenary;
quia nullo publico munere fungerantur. at what time they held their assem-
blyes & gave their suffrages vpon the bridge, the yonger sort cryed out
with one voyce, that such as were sixty should be throwne from the
bridge, in as much as they had no publique charge. To which outcry of
theirs our author alludes.

5. Falsum

Elanus lib. 4.

6. 1.

Pars putat, ut ferrent iuvenes suffragia soli,
Pontibus infirmos precipuisse senes.

That yonger men might voices giue alone,
The elder were downe from the bridges throwne.

This motion, the *Barbiccians* at seventy, in effect put in execution, and
septuagesimum annum egressos interficiunt, viros mactando, mulieres vero
stangulando: they make away all that are past seventy; sacrificing the
men and strangling the women. Now then since the age assigned by the
Ancients not onely for marriage, but likewise for their entrance vpon,
& discharge from publique employment, as well in the Church and State
as in the warres, was little or nothing different from that which is both
allowed and practised at this day, (saue that they seemed to haue beene
more indulgent and favourable to themselves then now we are) what
reason haue wee to imagine that the length and duration of time which
they vsually liued, was different from ours?

I will close vp this chapter with an observatiō or two taken frō the
Municipall lawes of our own Land, which account prescription or custome
by the practising of a thing time out of minde (as they call it) and that
time they confine to the same number of 60 yeares, as formerly they haue
done; which could not stand with reason or justice were there such a
notable and sensible abatement in the age of man as is pretended. And
again: Our *Ancestors* for many revolutions of ages in their Leases or
other instruments of conveyance commonly valued three lives but at
one and twenty yeares in account in Law. Whereas now adayes they are
valued by the ablest *Lawyers* at twenty sixe, twenty eight, yea thirty yeares:
Whether it were that the warres and pestilentiall diseases then consu-
med more, I cannot determine, but me thinkes it should in reason argue
thus much; that our liues at leastwise are not shortned in regard of
theirs, which is as much as I desire to be graunted; and more then is
commonly yeilded, though (as I conceiue) vpon no sufficient ground
denyed; and so I passe from the age of men to the consideration of their
strength and stature.

CAP. 3.

C A P. 3.

Containing a comparison betwixt the Gyants
mentioned in Scripture both among
themselues, and with those
of latter ages.

S E C T. 1.

Of the admirable composition of mans Body, and that it can not
be sufficiently proved that Adam as he was the first, so
he was likewise the tallest of men, which in reason
sholud be, were there in truth any such perpe-
tuall decrease in mans stature
as is pretended,

AS the great power of Almighty God doth shine forth and shew it
selfe in the numberlesse variety of the parts of mans body: so
doth his wonderfull goodnesse in their excellent vse, and his singu-
lar wisdom in their orderly disposition, fweet harmony and just sym-
metrie, as well in regard of themselues, as in reference each to other, but
chiefly in the resulstance of the beautifull and admirable frame of the
whole body. The consideration whereof made the Royall Prophet to cry Psal. 139. 13
out: *I will praise thee, for I am fearefully and wonderfully made; in thy booke
were all my members written, and curiously wrought, marvailous are thy works,
and that my soule knoweth right well.* This proportion is in all respects so
euen and correspondent, that the measures of Temples, of dwelling Petrus in l. 3.
houses, of Engines, of ships were by Architects taken from thence, and 6. 1
those of the Arke it selfe too, as it is probably thought. For as the Arke
was three hundred Cubits in length, fifty in bredth, and thirty in heighth, August. l. 15. de
Ciu. Dei c. 26.
& ad Faustuu
man. 12. 14. &
Amb. de Noe &
wea. cap. 6
so the body of man rightly shaped, answers therevnto: The length from
the crowne of the head to the sole of the foot, and bredth from side to
side, and thicknes from back to breast carrying the proportion of three
hundred, and fifty, and thirty each to other: so that looke what propor-
tion fifty hath to three hundred, which is sixe to one, the same hath the
breadth of mans body to his heighth or length. And what proportion
thirty hath to three hundred, which is ten to one, the same hath the
thicknes to his length and bredth. Nay some haue obserued 300 minu-
ta (which I take to be barley cornes, the fourth part of an inch or there-
about) to make vp the length of a mans body of iust stature, and conse-
quently, fifty in the bredth, and thirty the thicknes, answereable to the 6. 7
severall numbers of the Cubits in the severall measures of the Arke.

Now to our present purpose, as God and Nature, (or rather God by
Nature, his instrument and handmaid) hath fashioned the body of Man
in those proportions, so hath he limited the dimensions thereof, (as like-
wise those of all other both vegetable, sensitiue and vn sensible Crea-
tures) within certaine bounds,

Quos ultra citraque nequit consistere

So that though the dimensions of mens bodies be very different in re-
gard

gard of severall *Climats & Races*, yet was there neuer any race of men found to the bignesse of *mountaines* or *whales*, or the littlenesse of *flies* or *annts*, because in that quantity, the members cannot vſefully and commodiously, either dispose of themſelues, or exerciſe thoſe functions, to which they were by their *maker* aſſigned, True indeede it is, that both history of former ages, and experience of latter times teach vs, that a great inequality there is, and hath beene: but that ſince the firſt *Creation* of man there ſhould be any ſuch perpetuall, *uniuerſall*, and *conſtant* decreaſe and diminution, as is pretended, that ſhall I never belecue.

For then in reaſon ſhould the firſt *Man* haue beene a *Gyant* of *Gyants*, the hugheſt and moſt monſtrous *Gyant* that euer the world beheld, and vpon this ground it ſeemes, (though faulſely ſuppoſed) *Iohannes Lucidus* labours to proue him ſo indeede, from that paſſage in the fourteenth of *Iofua*, according to the *Vulgar Tranſlation*: *Nomen Hebron ante vocabatur Cariab-Arbe, Adam maximus ibi inter Enakim ſitus eſt*, which may thus be rendred: *Adam* the greateſt of *Gyants* lies there buried: And this fancie of *Lucidus* is countenanced by that fable of the *Iewiſh Rabbies*, reported by *Moses bar Cephas*, who ſuppoſing *Paradiſe* to be diſoyned from this world, by the interpoſition of the *Ocean*, tell vs that *Adam* being caſt out of it, waded thorow the *Ocean* to come into this, by which account his ſtature ſhould rather be meaſured by *miles* then by *cubits*: But as *Lucidus* by this opinion croſſeth the ſtreame of Antiquity (*S. Ierome* only, & ſome few others his followers excepted) holding that the firſt *Adam* was buried, not in *Hebron*, but in that place where the ſecond *Adam* triumphed ouer death, ſo doth he likewise by following the *Vulgar Tranſlation* corrupt the *Hebrew* originall, which is thus to be rendred: *Nomen autem Hebronis nomen fuerat Kiriath-arbah, is fuerat homo inter Anakeos maximus*: So that the word *Adam* or *homo*, is to bee referred not to the firſt man, but to *Arbah*, the firſt founder as is thought of that *Cittie*; and therevpon our laſt *Tranſlation* reades it thus: *The name of Hebron before was Kiriath-arbah, which Arbah was a great man among the Anakims*. Beſides, the word *Adam* euen in the *Vulgar Tranſlation*, on it ſelfe, is not alwayes vnderſtood as proper to the firſt man, but *common*, as *homo* in *Latine*, or *man* in *Engliſh*: And yet to graunt the word in that place to be vnderſtood of the firſt man, and that he was there buried; well might he be called the *Greatest*, yet not ſomuch in regard of any exceſſiue vaſtneſſe in the dimentions of his bodie, as becauſe he was the headſpring and fountaine of mankind, or in reſpect of that originall *juſtice*, with which before his fall hee ſtood inveſted. There is no neceſſitie then, to beleue that the firſt man was the talleft of men, nay rather as he came ſhort of many that followed after in age, and number of yeares, ſo it may ſafely be thought, that he exceeded them not in ſtature or dimentions of body; there being often found in the Creatures a reciprocall corespondence, betwixt their durations and dimentions, as among the *Gracians*, the ſame word ſignifies both; whence ſome translate it age, and ſome ſtature: So that thoſe *Patriarches* of the firſt age, who by ſpeciall diſpenſation liued longeſt, may well be conceiued by vertue of the ſame diſpenſation, to haue had a ſtature and length of body

Lib. 1. de emendatione Temporum cap. 4. v. ult.

Lib. de Paradiso.

In mat. 27. & in Ephel 5.

Origenes, Athanaſius, Baſilius, Epiphanius, Chriſoſtomus ex Græcis: ex Latinis Tertullianus, Cyprianus ſive qui ſcripſit de opere Cardinalibus, Ambroſius Auguſtinus atque alibi etiam. In Hieronymus mempe epiſt. 172. ad Paul. & E. uſtoch.

Malixia Ephel: 4: 13: Luc. 5: 1:

body in some sort, futable to the lasting and length of their liues.

S E C T. 2.

What those Gyants were which are mentioned
in the 6 of Genesis, & that succeeding a-
ges till Davids time afforded
the like.

YET the first mention that holy Scripture makes of Gyants is in the ^{v:42} sixth of Genesis, not long before the flood, but long after the Creation. There were Gyants in the earth in those dayes, saith the text; and also after that, when the sonnes of God came in vnto the daughters of men, and they beare children vnto them, the same became mighty men which were of old, men of renoune. The Originall word is *Nephelim*, derived from *Naphal*, which signifies to fall, whence *Iunius* referres their name to their defecti^on & apostacie from religion and the worship of the true God. Cal^ouin to the falling of others before them by reason of their ^a excessiue ^a pride, cruelty, and oppression. Philo in his booke, which he hath purposely composed *de Gygantibus*, to their owne falling from piety and godlines to carnall thoughts and earthly desires. From which he fetcheth their name in Greeke: S. Cyrill about the beginning of his ninth booke against *Iulian*, discoursing of this very passage of *Moses*, thus comments vpon it. *Mos est diuina Scriptura Gigantes vocare agrestes & feroces & robustos: Nam de Persis & Medis Iudcam devastaturis, dixit Deus per Isayam, Gigantes venient ut impleant furorem meum.* It is the phrase of holy writ to call such Gyants as are in behauiour rough and rude, wild, and barbarous: So speakes God by the Prophet *Isayah*, of the *Medes* and *Persians*, ordained for the laying wast of *Iudea*; *Gyants shall come and execute my fury vpon you.* So that if we rest in any of these interpretations, there is no necessity we should conceiue these Gyants to haue exceeded other men in stature. Nay, S. *Chrysostome* seemes to deny it, *Gigantes a Scriptura dici opinor non inusitatum hominum genus aut insolitam formam, sed Heroas & viros fortes & bellicosos:* I thinke they are in Scripture called Gyants, not any vncouth kind of men for shape or feature, but such as were *Heroicall* and warlike: Which exposition of his, hath in trueth some ground in the latter part of the same verse, where *Moses* seemes to vnfold himselfe, thus describing those whom immediatly before he had called Gyants, *the same became mighty men, which were of old, men of renoune.*

On the other-side *Cassianus*, *Ambrose*, and *Theodore* are as expresse, that by Gyants, *Moses* there vnderstood men of an huge and vast proportion of body: But for mine owne part, I see not but all these interpretations, (*Chrysostomes* onely excepted) may well enough stand together and be accorded. These Gyants being such as the Interlineary Glosse briefly but pithily describes, *immanes corpore, superbos animo, viribus preualidos & inconditos moribus:* Gyants then they were not onely in regard of their pride, their tyrannie, their incivility, and infidelity, but like wise and that doubtles most properly in respect of the monstrous enormi-

ty of their bodies: most of the former being in likelihood occasioned by this latter.

Now as this is the first place that wee reade of *Gyants* not long before the *flood*, (which should argue they were taller and stronger then any that went before them) so it is not the last, but in all times wee may trace them thorow the *history* of succeeding ages. From whence *Reason* collects, that euen in regard of these irregular prodigious birthes, for ought we finde in *Scripture*, *Nature* hath suffered no apparent or sensible decay. Of this stamp it seemes was *Nymrod*, who hath therefore this *Character* set vpon him, that he was *Robustus Venator coram Domino*, a mighty hunter before the Lord: There were some likewise found of this excessiue stature in the time of *Abraham*, of *Moses*, of *Iosuah*, and of *David*, whom wee haue registred vnder the names of *Rephaims*, *Zuzims*, *Zanzummins*, *Emims*, and *Anakims*. Also the Prophet *Amos* found among the *Amorites* men of *Gyant-like* stature, whose height he compareth to *Cedars* and their strength to *Oakes*. Particularly it is noted in the third of *Deuteronomy* of *Ogge* King of *Basan* foure hundred yeares after *Abraham*, that his bedde of yron kept and shewed as a monument in *Rabbah* was nine cubits long and foure broad: And surely if his stature were answerable to the dimensions of his bed, hee was one of the greatest *Gyants* that wee any where reade of, not only in sacred but in any warrantable *prophane story*. For whereas nine cubits make vp thirteene foote and an halfe, if wee should allow a foote and halfe for the length of his bed-steed at both the ends beyond his body; yet there still remaines twelue foote, which is double to a iust stature. And though I am not ignorant that both the *Chaldee Paraphrase*, and *Complutensian Bible* following it, render it, *In cubito eiusdem Regis*, as if the measure were to be taken by the Cubit of King *Ogge* himselfe; yet *Arias Montanus* and *Tremellius* following the originall, render it, *in cubito viri*, or *virili*; and *Iunius* giues this note vpon it, *id est iusta & communis mensura, qualem mensuram cubitalem quisque Artifex observare solei*: that is, of the iust and common measure, such as *Artificers* vsually obserue in their cubits, and such as himselfe in the third of *Iosuah* translates, *notam mensuram*, the ordinary knowne measure. And to say truth, the measuring of *Ogge* by his owne cubit had beene both to make his stature altogether *uncertaine*, and the commensurations of his body most *disproportionable*, there being no man, whose body is justly framed, who is full foure of his owne cubits in length; neither had such a shape bin only *disproportionable*, but *exceeding weak*, as well for offence, as defence, whereas he is described as a mighty man, and of wonderfull strength. Lastly, if we shall imagine him to haue beene a transcendent *Gyant*, and yet measure him by his owne cubit, double to the ordinary, his length will then arise to twenty foure foote at least, a stature most incredible.

After this in *Dauids* time we reade that *Goliath* the *Philistin* of *Gath*, was a *Gyant* of six cubits and a *spanne* long: Neither doe I remember that in *sacred Scriptures* we haue the measure of any precisely observed, saue of him onely: the armour which he wore weighed five thousand *shekels* of *brasse*, the sheft of his speare was like a *weavers beame*, and his speare head

Gen:10:9:

Gen:14:5:

Num:13:33

Leut:12:20:21

Ios:11:21:

Amos:2:9:

v:11:

v:4:

1:Sam:17:4

head weighted for hundred shekels of yron. Also in the second of *Samuel*, Cap. 21: 19:
there is mention of a brother to this *Goliath*, a man of like stature and
strength. And of two or three, the one of which was slaine by *Iehonatan* Cap. 21: 19:
than Davids Nephew, hee who had twelve fingers and as many toes, v: 20: 21,
four and twenty in number. And that before these, *Samson* was of
forpassing strength and of a stature answerable therunto, no man need
to doubt, considering he *carried* *Lyones* as he had becom a *kidde*, slew thirty
of the *Philistines* at once, and after that a thousand more of them with
the jaw-bone of an ass: And lastly he broke the gates of *Assub*, and the
two postes, & lifted them away with the barres, and put them upon his
shoulders, and carried them to the toppe of the mountain before *He-*
bron.

That latter times have also afforded us like both at home and abroad, especially in the Indies, where they live more according to nature.

THE like may be said of all succeeding ages downe to the present times; It is the confession of *Cassian* in his booke of *Gyants*; *Nemo in tantum seculo aut altero visi sunt, sed ferme ab initio mundi ad Davidis usque tempora propagatum id genus hominum magnitudine porisq; admiranda.* They haue not beene seene in one onely or two ages, but almost from the beginning of the world euen to *David's* time hath that kinde of men of a monstrous bignesse beene deduced. *S. Augustine* goes farther, *Quasi vera corpora hominum modum nostrum longe excederent non etiam nostris temporibus nata sunt;* as if some bodies of men much exceeding our ordinary stature were not likewise borne in these our times. And yet more fully in the ninth Chapter of the same booke; *Nunquam ferme defuerunt qui modum aliorum plurimum excederent;* they haue almost at no time beene wanting who haue much exceeded the ordinary stature.

I will insist onely vpon the most *signall* instances drawne from the testimonies of the most *approved* Authours. In the *Gospels* or writings of the Apostles wee reade not of any, they intending, matters of greater weight and consequence; But *Pliny* tells vs, that during the reigne of *Claudius* the Emperour, a mighty man one *Gabbara* by name was brought out of *Arabia* to *Roome*, nine foote high was he, and as many *inches*. There were likewise in the time of *Augustus* *Cesar* two others, named *Pufio* and *Secondilla* higher then *Gabbara* by halfe a foote, whose bodies were preserved & kept for a wonder within the *Salustian* gardens. *Maximinus* the Emperour, as *Iulius Capitolinus* affirms, exceeded eight foote; And *Andronicus Comminus* terme, as *Nicetas*. In the dayes of *Theodosius*, there was one in *Syria*, (as *Nicephorus* reports) *five cubits* high and an *hand-breadth*. *Eginhardus* and *Kranzius* affirme that *Charlemagne* was seven foot high: But in that they adde of his *own* feet, they both

De Civit: Dei,
15.23.

Lb.7.C.16.

Lib. 12.637.

selfe with the Indies. Melchior Nunnez in his letters where he discourseth of the affaires of China reports that in the chiefe cittie called *Paganin*, the Porters are fiftene foote high, and in other letters written in the yeare 1555, he doth auerre that the King enterraines and feedes five hundred such men for Archers of his Guard. In the West Indies in the region of *Chica* neere the mouth of his streights, *Ortelius* describes a people whom he tearmes *Pentagones*, from their huge stature, beeing ordinarily of five cubits long, which makes seaven foote & an halfe, whence their countrey is knowne by the name of the land of Gyants. Mr Pretty a Gentleman of *Suffalke*, in his discourse of Mr *Candish* his voyage about the world, beeing himselfe imployed in the same action, tells vs that measuring the print of an Indians foote in the sand; not farre from the coast of *Brasil*, he found it to be eightene inches long, by which computation, the Indian himselfe in proportion could be no lesse then nine foote. *Cassanion* likewise acknowledgeth that in the Iland of *Summatra* & neere the *Antarticke Pole*, some are found of tenne or twelue foote high. Lastly, *Antony Pigafet* a great traveller in his time, as testifieth *Goulart*, affirms that he had seene towards the same Pole so tall a Giant, as other tall men did not reach with their heads about his navell; and others beyond the streights of *Magellane*, which had their necks a cubit long, and the rest of their bodies answerable therevnto.

*Simon Maius
dierum Canicul:
colloqias*

*Hackluit in his
English voy-
age.*

*Memorables His
toires de nostre
temps.*

C A P. 4.

More pressing Reasons to proue that for these last two or three thousand yeares, the stature of the Ancients was little or nothing different from that of the present times.

SECT. 1.

The first Reason taken from the measures of the Ancients, which were proportioned to the parts of mans bodie, and in the view of them wee are first to know that they were standards, that is, for publike contracts, certaine and constant; and consequently if the graines of our barley corne, the first principle of measure be the same with theirs, as hath already beene proved, it cannot be but our ordinary measures should bee the same with theirs, and so likewise our statures.

I will not dwell vpon these lighter skirmishes, but proceede on to a more serious fight, and downeright stroakes drawne from the demonstrations of more weighty reasons, whereof the first shall be taken from the comparifon of the measures of the Ancients and ours, vsed in this present age, borrowed from the body of man. It was a memorable saying of *Protagoras*, reported and repeated by *Plato*, that man was *rerum omnium mensura*, the measure of all things; he is the measure of

*In Craylo &
Theeteto.*

Lib. 3. 4. 1:

Gellius out of
Plutarch: 1. 1. 2. 1Trallianus out
of Apollonius de
mirabilibus &
longevis.

measures, the yard, the ell, the pace, the furlong, the mile, they are all measured by the body of man and the parts thereof, which likewise serue for the measuring each of other. So that if they hold that *Symmetrie* & *commodulation*, (as *Vitruvius* calls it) which they ought from the proportion of the head, the hand, the cubit, the foote, the finger, nay the tooth or the least bone, may the dimensions of the whole body be infallibly collected. As *Pythagoras* gathered the heighth of *Hercules* from the proportion of his foote; and *Pulcher* a skilfull *Geometrician* the heighth of a *Giant* (discovered in *Sicily* by an earth-quake) at the commaund of *Tiberius* from the proportion of his tooth, sent from thence to the *Emperour* for a tast and triall of the whole. To lay a ground then to that which I am to say, that the building which I am to raise vpon it may stand the surer, first I take it to be an vndeniable truth, that the cubit, the foote, the inch, the digit were all of them standards, that is, certaine and constant measures, it being not lawfull for euery man to make or take his measures in publique contracts by his owne cubit or foote, or of any whom himselfe would make choyce of, but by that which was common and indifferent to all, legally & publicquely allowed: And this much not onely stands with right reason, but appeares to be true, by that *Amphora Capitolina* amongst the *Romanes*, a standing stable measure, kept in the Capitoll, (with which all other measures were to accord) mentioned by *Iulius Capitolinus* in the life of *Maximinus*, as also by the *Romane Congius*, whereof one was lately in the keeping of *Cardinall Farnese*, & is exquisitely effigiated by *Vyllalpandus* in the latter end of his third tome vpon the Prophet *Ezekiel*. Among the *Iewes* likewise the Law required that they should not vse or haue a double weight or measure, which could not well be avoided, except they had a common measure by which all particulars were to be regulated.

Secondly, this standard of cubits or feete was taken from the proportion of a man, *media* or *mediocris statura*, of a middle stature, and considering that both the *Romane* and *Gracian* foote consisteth of twelue inches, and withall that a foote is the sixth part of a mans body, it must needs follow that a man of a middle stature consisted of six foote by the standard or assise. But because it was obserued that in diuerse *Climates*, or it may be in the same *Climate* in diuerse ages men varied in their stature; and consequently that the middle stature was not alway & in all places the same, they measured the digit, which is the least & last principall of measures in mans body, by barley cornes, allowing foure barley cornes laid athwart for the digit, as *Lucas Gauricus* a great & famous *Mathematician* in his booke of *Geometrie* & the parts thereof, hath truely and wisely obserued, *Nam etsi, faith he, ab humanis membris dimensionum partes designari veteres voluerunt placuit tamen propter humanorum corporum inequalitatem, a certo quodam principio exordiri, ex quo mensura reliqua velut ex certis partibus constitueretur. Stauerunt ergo Geometra granum hordei transversum, id est secundum latitudinem positum, mensurarum modum.* Though the *Ancients* haue pleased to denominate the severall parts of measures from the severall parts of mans body, yet by reason of the inequality of mens bodies, they thought it reasonable

to take their rise from some certaine and vnvariable beginning, from whence other measures might likewise be made vp of euen and certain parts. And to this purpose did the Geometricians make the barley corne layd athwart, or according to its breadth the least and first of all other measures. And that *four* of these make vp a *digit*, appeares by these old verses which I find in the same Author,

Quatuor ex granis digitus componitur unus

Est quater in palmo digitus quater in pede palmus.

One foot foure palmes, one palme containes

Foure digits, and one digit foure graines.

Now that the *barley-corne*, the (Growth as it were, and simplest principle of Measures) or at leastwise the fairest thereof which is vsed to that end, is the same with vs as with the *Ancients*, it cannot well be denied, if the goodnesse and fruitfulness of the *Earth* be not decayed, as I haue sufficiently prooued in a former Chapter, as well by reason as the testimony of *Columella* and other graue Writers. And besides if we still vse the *graines* of barley for the weight of gold and siluer, as the *Ancients* did; I see no reason why wee should except against them in this case. Well then, foure graines now concurring to the making vp of a *digit*, as it did in former ages, it must of necessity follow that our *digit* is the same with theirs, and consequently our *inch*, and *hand-bredth*, and *foote*, and *cubit*, from whence we collect that a body of sixe foot heighth according to those measures, being now accounted but a *middle stature*, as anciently it was, our account is still the same, and our stature at leastwise for the generall the same, as among the *Ancients*. And except it were so, their rules of proportion in *Architecture*, in *lymning*, in *carving* and the *statuary Art* left vs by them could auaile vs little. For howbeit from them we might vnderstand what proportion each part should beare to other, yet can we not know what proportion the whole should beare, vnlesse their measures were the same with ours. But their workes in those kindes yet remaining, shew that the measure which they allowed for an horse or a man of a iust and euen stature, are the same for proportion both with their owne rules and our standing measures vsed at this day: And at this day doe the best *Architects* obserue *Vitruvius* his measures, finding them to agree with, or very little to disagree from ours.

Lib. 22.9.

SECT. 2.

*That in particular the ordinary Hebrew Gracian
and Roman measures were the same with
ours or very little different.*

THose Nations which haue left vs any notable Records of their severall sorts of measures, are to my remembrance but three: the *Hebrewes*, the *Gracians*, and the *Romanes*. For the first it is cleere that as they had some weights sacred or of the *Sanctuary*, which were the bigger, and others of ordinary and common vse, which were the lesser: so were their measures; there was a *speciall Cubit* which contained an handbredth more then the *vulgar*, (borrowed it seemes from

Ezek. 40.5
43.13.

Deut. 3. 11.
Revel. 21. 17.

Gen. 6. 15.
Aug. de Civ. Dei. 15. 27.

the *Persians* during the Captivity of *Babylon*) and an *ordinary*, which I take to be the same with, or very little differing from ours. And this in *holy writ* is tearmed the *Cubit of a man*, and the *measure of a man*, that is, of a man growne vp to ripe age and perfect stature. And both *Iunius* (as before I observed) in his annotations on that of *Deuteronomy* and *Ribera* in his Commentaries on the *Revelation*, seeme both of them to refer it to the *ordinary* measures which *Artificers* commonly vse in taking their distances, and making their dimensions. The *first* measures to my remembrance that we read of in the *sacred Oracles of Scripture* are those of the *Arke*; which *S. Augstine* lead by *Origen* held to be *Geometricall*, containing six common Cubits: but it is certaine, that casting the bignesse of it by the *vulgar Cubit* now in vse, it was a vessell of so ample & huge capacity, that it was fully sufficient for the preserving of all sorts of creatures together with their food by *God* appointed to be reserved in it. The length of it was three hundred Cubits, which multiplied by the *breadth*, namely fifty cubits, and the product by the height of thirty cubits, sheweth the whole concavity to have beene *four hundred and fifty thousand cubits*, large enough for stoage for *Noah* and his company, the beasts, and birds, and their provision, and somewhat to spare, as *Buteo* hath learnedly demonstrated.

1. Kings. 6. 2.
De fabricat. templi. c. 5.

Cap. 3. v. 3.

Cap. 7. v. 15.
Cap. 3. 15.

1. King 7. 2.

v. 10:

Antiquit. 15.
c. 3.

Of *Solomons Temple* it is noted that it was sixty cubits long, twenty broad, and thirty high, which *Ribera* likewise makes to be *vulgar* and *v. suall* cubits. And though the building may seeme to have beene very scant after that proportion, yet if wee consider that none might come within this space but the *Priests* that then served, and that both the *Altar of Houlocasts*, and the *Court of the Priests* who served not, was without, it will seem needlesse to require a longer or larger roome for those services to which it was assigned; Yet since these cubits in the second booke of *Chronicles*, are said to be *ex primaria mensura*, after the primary or chiefe measure, it should seeme they were no *ordinary* cubits, but rather *sacred*, which contained the common and *vulgar* cubit double, as may appeare by this, in that the pillars of brasse *Iachin* and *Boaz* set vp before the porch of the *Temple* in the first of *Kings*, are said to bee *eighteene Cubits high*: but in the second of *Chronicles*, *thirty five*, which together with the basis being *one Cubit* high, make *thirty sixe*, double to eighteene, as the *shekell* of the *Sanctuary* was double to the *vulgar*: yet can it not be gathered that the *vulgar* exceeded ours, nay the pillars with their *Chapiters* & *basis* being by this computation about *sixtie foot* in height, it may well be conjectured, that their foot and Cubit either came *short* of ours, or was at most but *equall* vnto it. And for *Solomons* owne house which was *one hundred* Cubits long, *fifty* broad, and *thirty* high, generally receiued it is, that they were of the *Common measure*. We read that some of the stones laid in the foundation of the house built for his wife *Pharaohs* daughter, were of *ten Cubits*, which allowing a foot and a halfe to the cubit, make vp *fifteene foot*, a very large proportion, euen by the length of the *vulgar* foot now in vse: But those in *Herods Temple*, *twenty five Cubits* long (as witnesseth *Iosephus* who saw it himselfe) if the *cubit* by which he reckoned exceed our *ordinary*, were of a length altogether

gether incredible. And for mine own part, I know not how we should compute either the heighth of *Goliath*, or the length of *Oggs* bed, and the like, but by the vulgar and ordinary cubit, now commonly in vse amongst vs, as most of the learned doe, and if in so doing they erre not, then are our measures, and consequently our present stature vndoubtedly equall with, or at leastwise not much inferiour to theirs that liued in *Moses* time, who as it may well be thought, borrowed this Art of measuring from the *Egyptians*, in whose learning he was so perfectly skilled.

Now for the measures of the *Gracians*, howbeit *Causabon* in his commentaries vpon *Suetonius*, seeme to make the *Grecian* foot, as likewise that of other Nations, of lesse extent then the *Romane*, yet *Georgius Agricola*, who studied this point more thorowly, and hath of set purpose composed a large volume of the *Gracian* and *Romane* weights and measures, affirms the *Grecian* to exceed the *Romane* by halfe an inch, & for prooofe thereof doth he mention a pillar to be seene in the Chappell of the twelue *Apostles* in the *Vatican*, which seemed to him to haue beene brought out of *Greece*, with this inscription graven in the higher part thereof, *μωσ 9*, that is, nine foot, and from the measure and proportion of this would he prooue it to exceed the *Romane* by the quantity aforementioned, yet by his owne confession *Marlianus* who hath written the *Topography* of *Rome*, & exactly described whatsoeuer therein was worth the observing, hath marked no such difference: And for the *Cubit*, though *Herodotus* in one place speake of *Regius Cubitus*, that contained twenty seuen digits, which is three more then the ordinary, yet that their ordinary either digit or cubit exceeded ours, I no-where finde it expressly obserued. And for their stature it is precisely noted by the same Author, that *Phya* the wife of *Pisistratus* was held so tall, that shee was exhibited and applauded as another *Minerva*, and yet wanted shee three fingers of foure cubits. Neither adds he, *Cubitorum Regiorum*, of Regall cubits, as in the other passage, which makes me conceiue that he might rather meane the vulgar. And for the *Persians*, from whom the *Gracians* borrowed their Regall Cubit, he tels vs that one *Artachas* a principall Commander in *Xerxes* his army, was *statura inter Persas procerissima*, the tallest among all the *Persians*, and yet wanted he foure digits of the measure of foue Regall Cubits, so that his heighth according to the vulgar Cubit was about eight foote: And I thinke at this day there are few Kingdomes, though much inferiour to that of *Persia*, which cannot shew one at least not much inferiour to that proportion.

In the third and last place come the ancient *Romane* measures to bee compared with ours: neither haue I met with any who either affirme or so much as conjecture that they exceeded ours: but many that they rather came short of them. *Sr Henry Savill* a severe and exact man in the search of *Antiquity*, speaking of the *quadrantall*, a measure of a Cubicall *Romane* foote, sets this note in the margin, *The Romane foote lesse then ours by halfe an inch*. In like manner *Agricola* censures *Budens* for making vp the *Romane* quadrantall, by the measure of the french foote, whereas, saith he, it exceeds the *Romane* duobus digitis, by two fingers:

and farther adds, that the *standing measure* of the ancient *Romane* foote is yet at this day to be seene cut in stone or marble in diuerse places of *Rome*; and namely in the gardens of *Angelo Colocci*: Some of these, it seemes, *Goropius Becanus* mette with & measured, & by his owne testimony, found them short of foure of his palmes or *hand-breadths*; & yet, saith he, *statura mea mediocritate breuior*; my selfe come short of a middle stature. The mile we know was measured by the pace, and the pace by the foote, now that the *Romane* mile came short of ours, appeares by the great stones set vp at every miles end in the *Appian* way; and the *Italian* mile in vse at this day, taken, as it seemes, from the ancient *Romane*, is shorter then ours, neere about the same proportion, as is the *Romane* foote sayd to be shorter then our foote. To bring it home then to our present purpose; It is by *Suetonius* reported of *Augustus*, that he was indeede somewhat short, neuertheles of a comely stature: Which from the testimony of *Iulius Marathus*, he notes to haue beene *sine* foote and *nine inches*, the iust measure of our late famous *Queene Elizabeth*, who as shee matched that renowned Emperour in happines and duration of reigne, so did shee likewise in the stature of her body, nay if we admit the mentioned difference betweene the *Romane* foote and ours, shee exceeded him in heighth by more then *two inches*: And I see no reason why *Suetonius* should tearme *Augustus* short, comming so neere the middle stature, except onely because he came somewhat short of that. The same *Author* writes that *Nero* leuiued a new legion of *Italians* of *six foote-men*, which he called the *Phalanx* of the great *Alexander*, by which it should seeme that very few exceeded that stature. And of *Tiberius*, he obserues that he was *statura quae iustam excederet*, somewhat, as it seemes, aboue sixe foote. *Valentinian* and *Valens* gaue order that for the common souldier *sine* foote and *seauen inches* should suffice; And *Vegetius* witnesseth of *Marius* the Consull, that such as were *six foote* high, or *sine* & *tenne inches* should be ranked *inter Alares Equites vel in primis legionum cohortibus*, among the principall troupes that served either on horse-backe or on foote. From whence *Causabon* collecteth that such as were *seauen* foote high were counted *Gyants*, & to that purpose voucheth he the authority of *Sidonius Apollinaris* who flourished about the yeare foure hundred and forty.

Gigantomachia.

Cap. 79.

Cap. 19.

Cap. 68.
Cod.Theodo; titulo
de Tyrannibus:
Lib. 12, 5.In Suet; Tyle. c.
68:In Carmine ad
Castulium.

---Spernit senipedem stylum Thalia
Ex quo septipedes vidit Patronos:
Six footed rines *Thalia* doth descie
Ere since she seauen foot *Patrons* did espie,
whom a little after hee rearmeth *Gyants*:
Tat tanique petunt simul *Gigantes*,
Quot vix *Alcinou* culina ferret
Gyants so many & so hugely maine,
As scarce *Alcinous* Kitchen can sustaine.

By all which passages it cleerely appeares, thar our ordinary stature at this day, if it exceede not that of the *Ancient Romanes*, yet doth it equall it at least.

Now before I conclude this Reason & section, it shall not be amisse by

by the way to remember that *Nicephorus* makes the stature of *Christ* by *Lib. 12:40:*
tradition to haue beene, (if *Langus* render him right) *ad palmos prorsus*
septem, full seaven hand breadths. Which length allowing foure hand
breadths to the foote, according to the vsuall account, wants one hand
breadth of two foote. The stature of a dwarfe of the least size: but if
by *palmos* he meanes *spannes*, whereof about three make vp two foote,
so likewise could he bee but *foure* foote & a *spanne* long, too short a sta-
ture for a comely body, such as wee may well and piously conceiue he
had, and all ancient *Christian* writers confesse; and *Lentulus* the *Procon-*
sull in that *Epistle* to the *Romane Senate*, which goes vnder his name, con-
firmes as much: And it should seeme by that of the *Apostle*, till wee *Ephes. 4. 13.*
come to a perfect man, vnto the measure of the stature of the fullnes of *Christ*:
that his stature was compleate and perfect, not excessiue in height, for
then *Zacchens* needed not to haue gone vp to a tree to haue seene him,
nor yet very defectiue, that hauing beene apt to expose him to scorne
& derision. And in likelihood we should haue found it somewhere, by
some one or other among so many and malicious *Adversaries*, objected
vnto him. It is true that none of the *Evangelists*, (most paticular and
precise in setting downe other Circumstances) haue expressed any
thing at all touching his complexion, or feature, or stature: Happily to
this end, that no picture or statue might be made of him, as well know-
ing how inclinable by nature wee are to turne the very resemblances
& memorialls of those, whom wee most honour and reuerence into
dolls. Another thing which I would note is this, that when I call *six*
foote a middle stature, my meaning is not that there are as many found
to be aboue it, as below it (which is the vulgar vnderstanding of that
word) but because it is, and euer hath beene held by the Learned, the
most competent and comely stature; so as he who is vnder that, is
somewhat too short, and he who is aboue it, somewhat too tall in re-
gard of the most euen, iust, and exact proportion. It was so held among
the *Romans*, as appears by *Vitruvius*, & by the *Commentators* on *Sueton-*
ius in the life of *Tiberius*: And yet their ranking of *six* foote men among
their principall troupes, & *Nero* his making vp a legion of the leuiued from
all the parts of *Italy*, which in a kinde of pride and glory he named the
Phalanx of *Alexander the great*, shew that then very few exceeded that
stature: And yet, (which may not be forgotten) was their foote short
of ours *three inches* in the measure of *six* fecte. And surely, now among
vs to raise a Legion of *six* foote & *nine inches* in any of his *Maiesties* king-
domes, or perchaunce in some one of our *shieres*, would proue, I dare
say, no very hard taske, or such as wee should hold a matter worth the
glorying in.

S E C T. 3.

The second reason taken from the ordinary allowance of diet to souldiers and servants, which appeares to be of like quantity with vs, as was that among the Ancient Gracians and Romans, together with a doubt touching Gods allowance to the Israelites, answered.

BVt I passe from this first Reason drawne from the comparison of Ancient and moderne Measures, to a second no lesse weighty and pressing in my judgement, borrowed from the allowance of diet, taking this for my ground, that *ceteris paribus*, men for the most part feed according to the proportion of their bodies; and withall that their publique allowance was made according to their customary feeding. To Hercules, being a man supposed of a mighty stature, is allowed by Homer an ox at a meale when he was hungry. Of Maximinus the Emperour a-bone-named, Capitolinus reports, that he often ate in a day forty pound weights of flesh, and sometimes sixty, as he addeth out of Cordus. Athenæus alleages Theodorus Hieropolis in his bookes of the games of Greece, that the ordinary fare of Milo the Crotonian, was twenty pound of flesh & three Congij, or six gallons of wine. In the yeare one thousand five hundred & eleven, the Emperour Maximilian the first, being at Ausburge at an assembly of the states of Germany; there was presented him a man of an vnrasonable heighth and greatnes, who at a few mouth-fulls and without any stay, would devour a whole sheepe, or a calfe, not caring whether it were rost or raw, saying that it did but sharpen his appetite. Children for the most part are not allowed the like quantily as men of riper yeares, though they be growing, nor among men dwarfs the like as Gyants. And it stands with great reason that the portion of diet appointed for the nourishing of the body, should in some sort be answerable to the proportion of the body nourished. If then it shall appeare that the daily bread allowed by the Ancients to their servants & souldiers, was no more then is by vs allowed at this day to ours, it will, as I take it, from thence be more then probably inferred, that the common stature & strength of our bodies is not somuch inferiour to theirs, as is commonly supposed. And the ordinary allowance in come among the Gracians, was the measure of a Chenix a day, as witnesseth Suidas; & from hence, as it seemes, was borrowed that Motto of Pythagoras, remembered by Plutarch super Chenix come ne stichus, sit not vpon a Chenix, that is, hauing gotten foode for a day, doe not grow secure, as if that would never be spent. And Athenæus tels vs, that Clearchus a great Coyner of new words, was wont vpon this occasion to call a Chenix Hemerotrophidem sustenance for a day. At least-wise in the Campe it was so, if wee credit Herodotus in his Polymnia, where he vittaileth the common souldier in Xerxes army at a Chenix a day: The quantity of which allowance wee shall finde anon very neere to agree both with the Romane, & that which is in vse at this day. The measure then to a Romane foote-man for a moneth

Surin in his
Commenta-
ries of the me-
morable
things of our
time,

Sympt. 7. p. 4. 4.

Lib: 3:

moneth, saith *Polybius*, was two thirds of a *Medimnus* of wheate, which made vp foure *Modij*, the whole *Medimnus* by a generall consent of all the best *Aithours* containing six *Modij* in all. With which rate of *Polybius* precisely agreeth *Donatus* vpon *Terence*, where he limiteth *dimensum serui*, (in the Gospell called, a servants portion of meate) to be foure *Modij* the moneth; the same portion which both *Cato* & *Columella* allow for countrey *Hindes*. Now that it may appeare what this allowance was according to our measures, wee are to know that the *Romane Modius*, howbeit it be vsually in our language rendred a *Bushell*, & be so commonly construed in *Schooles*; yet is it about a pint lesse then a pecke, as is rightly observed, not onely by *S^t Henry Savill* in his view of military matters, but by our last *Translatours* of the Bible, who though they haue set bushell in the Text, yet in the Margin haue they affixed this note, The word in the originall signifieth a measure containyng about a pint lesse then a pecke.

First then to compare the *Græcian* and the *Romane* allowance. The *Medimnus* containing forty eight *Chenixes*, as witnesseth *Budæus* out of *Pollux*, and six *Modij*, as *Tully*, & *Snidas*, & *Nepos*, and others; the *Romane* being allowed foure *Modij* by the Moneth, and the *Græcian* a *Chenix* by the day, their allowances were equall, or not much different, saue that the *Romane* seemes to be somewhat larger: foure *Modij* containing after that reckoning thirty two *Chenixes*, which amongst them was a moneths allowance. With which if we compare our owne measures, it will weekly amount to a pint lesse then a pecke, & allowing two gallons to the pecke, it will arise to about a quart by the day, which is but a competent allowance for a souldier or labour-man (liuing most vpon bread) at this day, as *Budæus* by conference with his *Baker*, hath fully cleared the point. And heere it may not be forgotten that our last *Translatours* (to cleare the whole businesse more fully) in their marginall notes on the sixth of the *Reuelation* at the sixth verse, giue vs to vnderstand, that the word *Charix* there vsed signifieth a measure containing one wine quart, and the twelfth part of a quart. Now I am not ignorant that the *Gomer* of *Manna*, being the daily allowance of the *Iewes* during their abode in the wilderness, by Gods owne appointment, is by *Rabanus* valued at three *Chenixes*, and by *Iunius* two and an halfe, bating one fifth. But I should rather ascribe so large an allowance to Gods speciall bounty, then to their necessity; and so much hath *Iunius* himselfe in his annotations vpon that place confessed: *inde colligitur, quam largiter Deus Israelitas aluerit tam longo tempore*: We may from thence collect, how bountifully God dealt with the *Israelites* making them so large an allowance for so long a time. And this marueilous great plenty, in likelihood was it that gaue them occasion to distast it, to grow weary of it, & cast out those murmuring speeches against God & *Moses* his servant & their leader, *Animam nostram tædet huius panis vilissimi*, our soule loatheth this light bread, & to fall a longing after the cucumbers and leekes, the onyons and garlick of *Egypt*: Though the *Manna*, aswell in regard of the delicacie thereof, as the raining of it downe from heaven, bee by the *Psalmist* tearmed *Angels foode*; & in the booke of *Wisedome* be commended for hauing in it a certaine contentfull delight agreeable to euery mans tast. It is likewise

Lib. 6.

De militia Romana. l. 5. c. 16.

true that the *Romane* allowance to a *horse-man* by the testimony of *Polybius*, seemed to be larger then that of the *foote-man*, there being allotted him monethly *seaven Medimni* of oates or barley for his horse, and two of wheate for himselfe: But it may very well be, as *Lypsius* conjectureth, that he had a spare horse and an attendant or two allowed him, and then his two *Medimni* for himselfe, & his two servants agrees justly with the *two thirds* of a *Medimnus* to a *foote-man*.

SECT. 4.

Diverse other reasons drawne from experience added as from the armour, the bed-steeds, the seats, the doores, the pulpits, the Altars of the Ancients, & other doubts cleared.

Quest. 26.

Miscellane. 4.

TO proceed, that which seemes to make the matter more evident, because it strikes more vpon the *sense*, is the view of the *roofes*, the *doores*, the *tables*, the *seates*, the *robes*, the *bed-steeds*, the *weapons*, the *armour*, the *pulpits*, the *Altars*, the *tombes* of the *Ancients*, yet remaining to be seene; all which argue that they were of the same *stature*, or very little differing from vs. *Aristotle* in his *Mechanicks* giues vs to vnderstand, that the *bed-steeds* in his time, did not commonly exceede *six foote*: Nay *Magius* himselfe, who hath written a large discourse in defence of the contrary & common opinion; yet at last confesseth, that taking an exact measure of the *Tombes* at *Pisa* and other citties in *Italy*, though some of them were made a thousand yeares since, some more; yet found he them in dimensions *parum aut nihil*, little or nothing differing from those of our times, and withall ingenuously acknowledged, that being at *Pisaurum* in the Duke of *Urbines* armory, hee there saw certaine brasse *helmets* digged vp in the fields neere *Metaurum*, where *Asdruball* was overthrowne by the *Romane* forces, and were verily thought to haue layne there since that time: *Qua tamen ab ijs quas modo milites nostri gestare solent ad magnitudinem quod attinet, non discrepabant*: which notwithstanding, saith he, in regard of bignesse, differed not from those which our souldiers now a dayes vsually weare.

I know that the sword of *Edward* the third, the armour of *Iohn* of *Gaunt*, the tilting staffe of *Charles Brandon*, the walking staues and riding staues of *Henry* the eighth shewed in the *Tower* and other places farre exceeded the ordinary of our times: but perchaunce some of them like *Sinesius Grandio* in *Seneca* delighted in great things, or I should thinke that sometimes they were rather for shew then for vse; and for the rest, it only argues the strength & stature of those that vled them, not for others, who liued in the same age with them: Nay if we compare the common armour of the age wherein *Iohn* of *Gaunt* liued, or the most ancient in the *Tower* or elsewhere, with that which is now in vse, we shall finde no such sensible difference as should argue a decay in *stature*. Indeed their *arrowes* generally exceeded ours both in bignesse and length; but this I should rather impute to their continuall practise in shooting from their very infancie, then to their strength and stature. The truth where-

of

of appeares by this, that so long as that practise was continued, (which was till the invention and ordinary vse of *Gunnes*) so long the like dimentions of their shafts were likewise continued without any diminution, as may be seene by comparing the arrowes commonly vsed in *Henry the seaventh & Henry the eight's* time, with those in vse many yeares before, few of which are full a yard by measure, yet my Lord of *S. Albans* witnesseth, that the rebellious *Cornish* in the reigne of King *Henry the seaventh*, not much about one hundred yeare agoe shotte an arrow of a full *Cloth-yard* long.

The doubt which may be made touching the *Altar* of the *Tabernacle* seemes to be of greater consequence, which by Gods appointment was to be *three cubits high*, that is, *four foote and an halfe*, whereas those of latter times are not about *three foote or three & an halfe* at most; which seemes to inferre the difference in succeeding ages of the stature of those that were to serue at the *Altar*: But I would demaund whether the *Cubit*, *Moses* there speakes of, were according to the ordinary stature of men then liuing, if so, then a man rightly proportioned, being at most but *four of his owne Cubits*, there was left but *one cubit* for the *Priest* about the *Altar*, which was much too little for him to minister with ease: And what then shall wee say to *Salomons Altar*, which was *ten cubits high*, surely it must in reason so be vnderstood, that the height be accounted from the lowest floore of the *temple* or *tabernacle* where the people stood; but the *Priest* went vp by certaine slope degrees, certaine easy ascents to the *Altar*, so that the height of those ascents from the floore together with the *Altar* it selfe made vp the full measure there spoken of. It will be replied, that it was expressly forbidden to goe vp by *steps* to the *Altar*: True indeed, but the reason is there added, *that thy nakednes be not discovered thereon*, so as such degrees of ascent as occasioned not any danger or doubt of discovering his nakednesse, who ministered at the *Altar*, seeme there not to be forbidden, which is the interpretation both of *Iunius & Abulensis*, allowing then an *Altar* of three foote & halfe high, & arising to it from the lower floore of a foot high; the height of the altar from the lower floore will be four foot & an halfe, or *three cubits*, which is the measure required in the *Leuiticall Law*, & differs little in height from the *Altars* in forraine parts, or those which are yet standing with vs, if we likewise take their height from the lower floore, which by reason of the continued and easie degrees of ascent to them may not vnfitly be counted their *basis* or foote And most certaine it is, that the *Altars* which amongst *Christians* were built for five or six hundred yeares since, & yet remaine, whereof there are in *France*, & *Spaine*, & *Italy* not a few to be seene; serue as commodiously for the stature of the men of this present age, as they did of those, in whose times they were built: whereas, were there such a decay as is supposed, we now liuing should hardly reach their tops, much lesse bee able to serue at them with any tolerable conueniencie.

S E C. 5.

The same farther proued, first for that the sonne often proues taller then the father. Secondly, for that age and stature holding for the most part correspondence, it being already proued that the age of mankind is not decreased, from thence it followes that neither is their stature. Thirdly, for that if mankinde decreased in stature by the course of nature, so must of necessity all other creatures, they being all alike subiect to the same law of nature. Fourthly, for that if men had still declined since the Creation, by this time they would haue beene no bigger then rats or mice if they had at all beene.

cap. 37.

De Crois, Dei
lib. 15. c. 25.

Lib. 3. c. 14

BEsides were there such a generall and continuall decay of men in stature as is supposed, either the Child would alwayes com short of the Parents in stature, or very seldome would it fall out otherwise, whereas now wee finde it by dayly experience that the sonne very often not only equalls but exceeds the father, and the daughter the mother. *Nicophorus Calistus* in the twelfth booke of his *Ecclesiasticall history* tells vs of one whom himselfe saw, of such an excessiue heighth, that he was held for a monster; *Quem tamen brevis admodum statura mulier in lucem protulit*, saith he, whom notwithstanding a woman of a very short stature brought forth. In the like manner *S. Augustine* reports of a woman who in his time a little before the sacking of Rome by the *Goths*, came thither with her Father and Mother, she was, saith he, of a *Gyant-like* stature far beyond all that saw her, though infinite troopes came to behold that spectacle, *Et hoc erat maxime admirationi*, this was matter of greatest amazement, that both her Parents were but of ordinary stature. I haue seene, saith *Marcellus Donatus* a learned Physitian, a young maiden of a *Gyant-like* stature whom they carried from towne to towne to shew her as a prodigious thing, for the sight of whom euery man gaue some thing, wherewith her mother that conducted her and her selfe were maintained. She was in an hired Chamber by her selfe, and there suffered her selfe to be seene with admiration; going as others did, I enquired carefully of euery point, and did learne both from her selfe and her mother, who was a woman of a meane stature, that the maidens father was not tall, that in all their stocke there was not any one that exceeded the height of other persons. It is likewise reported in the History of the *Netherlands*, that in the yeare 1323, was to be seene in *Holland* a woman *Gyanteffe*, to whom the tallest men seemed children, yet her parents of meane stature. So then, if *Gyants* be sometime borne or begotten of such parents, no marvell that the sonne as often proues taller then the father, as he comes short of him. But it commonly fals out in this kinde, though not in that extremity, as with the *Samogitheans*, a people lying betwixt

betwixt *Prussia* and *Livonia*, of whom *Scaliger* writes, that *per vices tum* Exercit. 263
proceros, tum penè nanos generant, by turnes they bring forth Gyants and
 Dwarfes, like some trees, saith he, which beare very plentifully one
 yeare, and are the next altogether barren: Nature so disposing that
 what was deficient in the *Dwarfe*, is abundantly repayed in the *Gy-*
ant.

Againe, there is for the most part a mutuall connexion betweene *age*
 and *stature*, (whence it may be in the *Greeke*, the same word signifieth
 both) so as that race of men which is tallest and strongest, commonly
 hold out longest, vpon which ground, as it seemes, they who invented
 the fable of the *Pigmies* withall affirmed, that their women vsually
 brought forth at five yeares, and died at eight: But certaine it is, that in
 those barbarous countreyes which are not weakened by luxury, as they
 much exceed vs in duration, so doe they likewise in dimensions, both
 which haue beene fully shewed by sundry examples already alleadged,
 and generally we see that in the severall kinds of *beasts*, of *birds*, of *fishes*,
 of *trees*, of *plants*, the bigger they are in quantiry, the longer they last, &
 the lesser they are, the shorter space they continue: Since then it hath
 beene, as I take it, sufficiently proued in the precedent chapters, that the
 age of men is not so sensibly impaired in regard of former times, as is
 commonly conceiued, it will from thence consequently follow, that
 neither is the stature of man, at least wise by any defect in the *course of*
Nature, so manifestly abated, as is imagined.

I say, by any defect in the *Course of Nature*, for then doubtlesse, all o-
 ther *naturall bodies* should suffer the like defect, even the *Elements* and
 the *Heauens* themselues, all which, (if I flatter not my selfe too much) I
 haue in my former discourse cleerely freed from any such *universall &*
perpetuall declination. And in truth, reason it selfe will easily teach vs, that
 if men were generally in former ages taller and larger then now they
 are, so must the *horses* too vpon which they rode; and if *horses*, other
 kindes of *beasts* too, and if *beasts*, *birds* too, and if *birds*, *fishes* too; and
 if all these, *trees* too; there being no warrantable reason, as I con-
 ceiuue, to be yeilded, why among those kindes of Creatures, (which
 wanting reason, are guided meere by instinct of Nature) some
 should stand at a stay, continuing their ancient perfection, and others
 in tract of time decay by degrees. Indeed *Man* among them
 all by meanes of the abuse of his Reason and free choice, (which was
 giuen him to helpe him, and not to hurt him, (had he the grace to make
 vse of it) is most subject to variation, and so to declination: yet as all
 men doe not alwayes abuse their reason, at leastwise in a greater degree
 then their Predecessors, (as shall God assisting be hereafter made good)
 so doe they not alwayes decline in *strength* and *stature*, for then should
 they by this time scarcely haue exceeded the quantity of Rats or Mice,
 or at most haue but equalled that *Dwarfe* of whom *Nicephorus* reports,
 (how truly I cannot say) that he had the shape, the voice and reason of
 a man, yet was in body no bigger then a Partridge, or that other menti-
 ned by *Sabinus* in his Commentaries vpon the *Metamorphosis*: *Vidis Ita-*
lia nuper virum iusta atate non maiorem cubito circumferri in cavea pſſtaci,
Lib. 12. c. 37
Lib. 6. Fab. 19.

cujus viri meminit in suis scriptis Hieronymus Cardanus. There was lately to be seene in Italy a man of a ripe age not aboue a cubit high, carried about in a Parrets cage, of whom *Hierome Cardan* in his writings makes mention: But me thinkes it being the forme which giues bounds to the matter (of it selfe vnlimited and boundlesse) and the forme of man being still for essence and naturall functions the same which was from the beginning, the bounds of his quantity cannot vary in any great or notorious difference, but through some exorbitancie and aberration in nature, which as they haue beene in all ages, so haue monsters too, not onely in figure and shape, but also both, in excessse and defect.

C A P. 5.

Wherein the principall objections drawne aswell from Reason as from authority and experience are fully answered.

S E C T. I.

Of sundry fabulous narrations of the bones of
Giantlike bodies digged vp, or
found in Caves.

THe Truth being thus settled, it remains that wee now dispell those mists and cloudes with which the brightnes of it is sometimes ouercast: whereof the chiefe is, the huge bodies and bones that at sundry times haue beene digged vp, and yet are kept in many places as monuments of Antiquity to be seene. Such are they which are shewen at *Puteoli* or *Puzole* in the Kingdome of *Naples*, vpon which *Pomponius Latus* hath bestowed verses, which he thus concludes,

*Hinc bona posteritas immania corpora seruat,
Et tales mundo testificatur avos.*

Their huge corpes good posterity keeps here,

To witnesse to the World that once such were.

The like haue I seene at *Wormes* in Germany and other Citties standing vpon the *Rheine* hung vp in Chaines, or laid vp in Megazines and other publique places; but saith *Philippus Camerarius*, I haue heard many dispute and make doubt whether they were the bones of men, or of fishes.

Infinite are the stories which to this purpose are recorded, it would require a iust volume to collect them into one body, and in truth it shall not need, inasmuch as I finde it already done by the same *Camerarius*, by *Gassanion* in his booke of *Gyanis*; and *Faxelus* in his first booke and first Decade of the affaires of *Sicily*; as also by our *Hollenshed* in the fourth chap. of his first volume, but with this Caution; For my part saith he, I will touch rare things, and such as to my selfe doe seeme almost incredible; wherefore I will onely point at a few of the most memorable, lest on the one side I should seeme purposedly to baulke that rubbe which is commonly thought most of all to thwart my way, or on the other side should cloy the Reader with too many unsauory tales.

*Med. sat. histor.
c. 82. sive libro
362.*

*Cassan. c. 11.
Faxelus c. 6.*

In vita Sertory

It is reported by *Plutarch* out of *Gabinus*, (which I confesse, I somewhat

what marvell at in so graue an *Authour*) that *Sertorius* being in *Lybia* neere the streights of *Morocco*, found the body of *Anteus* there buried, sixty cubits, to which *Fazelus* adds ten more, and makes it vp seauenty: But *Strabo* in the seauenteenth of his *Geography*, mentioning the same thing, layes this censure vpon *Gabinus* the *Authour* of it: *Sed nec Gabinius Romanarum rerum Scriptor in describenda Mauritania fabulis prodigiosis abstinet*: neither doth *Gabinus* in his description of *Mauritania* abstaine from the relation of monstrous fables. In the fourteenth yeare of *Henry* the second Emperour was the body of *Pallas*, (as 'twas thought,) companion to *Aeneas*, taken vp at *Rome*, and found in height to equall the walles of that cittie: But as *Galeotus Martinus* hath well obserued, his body was said to haue beene burned,

Fulgosus, l. i. c.

6:

De doctrina promiscua: cap.

36:

Virgil: *Aen*: 11:

Arsurasque comas obnubit amictu,

The locks that shortly should consume in fire

He couered with his Robe.

Which I suppose to be likewise true of many of those bodies, which notwithstanding are reported to haue beene found intire for their proportions long after their deaths, though turned into ashes many yeares before: It being the custome of those countries to burne, as it is ours to burie our dead. Our *Malmesburiensis* likewise in his second booke & thirteenth chapter *de gestis Rerum Anglorum*. mentioneth the same, story shall I call it, or fable, telling vs that in the yeare of grace 1042, & in the reigne of *S. Edward*, the body of *Pallas* the sonne of *Euander*, of whom *Virgill* speakes, *Roma repertum est illibatum ingenti stupore omnium quod tot secula incorruptionem sui superauit*, was found at *Rome* intire and found, to the great astonishment of all men, that by the space of so many ages it had triumphed ouer corruption; and farther to confirme the trueth thereof, he assures vs that the gaping wideness of the wound which *Turnus* made in the midst of his breast, was found by measure to be foure foote & an halfe, a large wound, and the weapon which made it, we cannot but conceiue as large, and by the appearance of it at full, not onely the bones and skinne and sinewes, but the flesh to remaine incorrupt; a matter altogether incredible. Besides he sets vs downe his *Epi-tath* found at the same time,

Filius Evandri Pallans quem lancea Turni

Militis occidit more suo iacer hic,

Which himselfe knowes not well how to giue credit too, *quod non tunc crediderim factum*, (sayth he, which I cannot beleuee was then made, but by *Ennius*, or some other of latter ages: But I proceede.

Herodotus in his first booke tels vs, that the body of *Orestes* being taken vp, was found to be seauen cubits; but *Gellius* is bold to bestow vpon him for his labour the title of *Homo Fabulator*, a forger of fables, rather inclining to the opinion of *Varro*, who held the utmost period of a mans growth to be seauen foote. What would he then haue said to the body of *Oryon*, which *Pliny* makes forty six cubits, or of *Macrofyris* which *Trallianus* makes an hundred cubits, or of that body discovered in a vast caue neere *Drepanum* in *Sicilie*, three of whose teeth, if wee may beleuee *Boccace*, weighed an hundred ounces, and the leadde of

Lib. 3 c. 10.

Lib. 7 c. 16.

De Mirabilibus

& longanis.

De Genealog.

Deorum: l. 4:

his

Cap: 63:

De Croit Dei
Lib: 152: 9:Camden in Es-
sex:Not in Martyr
rel: Jul. 25.De ratione con-
conc onandi lib. 3.
c. 7 ex Hyetius:

Gyantomachia:

Cap: 4:

Hollersford, vol.
1. lib: 1. c: 4.Toward the
latter end of
his life.

his staffe, a thousand and five hundred pounds. And the body it selfe by proportion of some of the bones was estimated to no lesse then two hundred cubits, which makes three hundred feete, somewhat I thinke beyond Pauls steeple. The more I wonder at S. Augustine, who confidently assures vs, that himselfe with others being on the sea shore at *Vtica*, he there saw a mans iaw-tooth so bigge, that being cut into small peeces, it would haue made an hundred such as the men living in his age commonly had, by which computation the body it selfe must likewise in reason haue exceeded the bodies of his age an hundred times, so that being compared with a body of six foote, & exceeding it one hundred times, it will be found six hundred foote high, which is the just double to *Boccace* his *Gyant*. Yet *Ralph* the Munk of *Cogshall*, who wrote 350 yeares agoe (as witnesseth *Camden*) it may be in imitation of S. Augustine, auerres, that himselfe saw the like, which in a Munk is I confesse more tollerable then that which *Lodoricus Viues*, deservedly reputed a graue and learned Authour, vpon that passage of S. Augustines affirms, that going to the Church on S. *Christophers* day (the place he names not, but it seemes to be *Louaine*, because from thence he dates his Epistle dedicatorie to King *Henrie* the 8: He was there shewed a tooth belonging, as it was thought to that S^r bigger then a mans fist, the patterne whereof belike was taken from that huge *Colossus* made to represent him at the entrance of *Nostre-dame* in *Paris* more like a mountaine then a man, whereas notwithstanding *Baronius* professeth in plaine tearmes, *se non habere quid dicat de Gigantea statua qua pingi consuevit*, that he knowes not what to say to that *Gyantlike* stature, in which they commonly set him forth: But *Villaninentius* goes farther, *dubium nemini esse picturam hinc à sanctis Patribus in hunc vsu proprie excogitatum, ut Evangelij pre-conem adumbret*, that no man heede doubt but that picture was deuised of holy men to shadow forth the preacher of the Gospel, who whiles hee lifts vp Christ by his preaching and carries him about to be seene and knowne, is indangered in the waues of this world, and yet vpheld by the staffe of hope. The like tooth is to be seene in the *Netherlands*, pretended to belong to the *Gyant* of *Antwerpe*, but *Goropius Becanus* rather thinks it to be the tooth of an *Elephant*, whose conjecture is therein the more probable, for that, (as witnesseth *Verstegan*) at such time as the famous water passage was digged from *Brussels* vnto the river of *Rupell* at *Willibrooke*, there was found the bones of an *Elephant*, the head whereof, (which is yet reserued) himselfe had seene. Of latter times it hath beene written, and by some strongly auerred, that the body of *William* the Conquerour was found vncorrupt more then foure hundred yeares after it was buried, and in length eight foote, the former of which could not well be, since his tombe being too narrow for the vnbowelled body, (so say our stories) it brake in the laying of it downe, & for the latter there is as litle shew, since they who haue written his life all agree, that he was a man of a *meane* or *middle* stature, though for his limmes *active* & *strong*: And for a full confutation of the said fable, (saith *Stow*) when his restless bones, which so hardly had obtained in-tombing, did afterwards as vnluckily againe lose it in the yeare of *Christ*

1562, viz: when *Chastillon* conducting the remnant of those that escaped at the battell of *Dreux*, tooke the citie of *Cane*, certaine sauage souldiers aswell *English* as others, did beat downe, & viterly deface the noble Monument of that victorious King, pulling out all his bones, which some of them spitefully threw away, (when they could not finde the treasure they falsely surmised had beene laid vp there) and others, specially the *English*, snatched euery one to haue some peece of them, not making any wonder of them, as they would haue done if they had exceeded the length & bignesse of mens bones of latter yeares, whereas indeede there was no such thing noted in them, as I haue beene certainly informed, (saith the same *Authour*) by *English men* of good credit, who were then present eye-witnesses at the spoyle of that Monument & bones, and brought some part of them into this Realme. Theuet likewise in the second Tome of his *Cosmographie*, describing the city of *Cane*, mentioneth the rising of his Monument, but of any such monstrous bones or body there found, hee speaks not a word. And besides it is most vnreasonable to conceiue, that within the compasse of five hundred yeares or little more, there should be such a wonderfull abatement, neither in truth if our measures be the same as then they were, is it at all possible.

Lib. 15.
Cap. 10.

SECT. 2.

Diverse reasons alleadged why such bones might be found in former ages and not now, and yet the ordinary stature of mankind remaine the same.

NOrwithstanding all this, I am not so incredulous & diffident, or so peremptory and daring in this case, as is *Becanus*, *Non credam illud Orionis apud Plinium, licet Lucius Flaccus & Metellus qui visum iussu dicuntur per capita sua iurarent*: I will not credit that story of *Orion* reported by *Pliny*, though *Flaccus* and *Metellus* who are sayd to see it, should sweare by their heads it was true. Let vs not wrong *Antiquity* so farre, but deale with them as we desire our posterity should deale with vs: Let vs not conceiue they were all either so vaine as to affirme they saw that which they saw not, or so weake as not able to distinguish betwixt the figure of the bones of men and those of beasts & fishes: specially when they found the *Skeleton* whole and intire. Much I graunt might be and no doubt was fained, much mistaken, much added to truth thorow error, or an itching desire of *Hyperbolicall* amplifications; yet I cannot but beleue that many of their relations touching this point were true: howbeit a diminution of the stature of mankind in generall cannot from thence be sufficiently inforced.

To let goe then the conceits of *Theophrastus* & *Paracelsus*, that by the influence of the heavens such bones might be bred in certaine tracts & veines of the earth, I should rather choose to ascribe these superlatiue prodigious shapes to artificiall or supernaturall then to naturall & ordinary causes. For the former it may be that either great princes out of ambition and desire of honour in succeeding ages, or cunning vooerke-

Pliny, 36:18:
vide Agricola
de natura fossi-
lium.

men out of curiosity haue framed and composed such peeces which posterity discouering might behold with astonishment, & the infernall spirits thereby to delude men, and the sooner to draw them from the knowledge and worship of the true God to Idolatry and superstition, haue concurred with them heerein, & yeelded them their assistance, who being able to raise wonderfull tempests in the aire & stormes in the sea, I see not but they might be as able to compose such frames vnder the earth. The wit and art of man may goe farre, but being assisted by the Devils helpe, it produceth effects, almost incredible. That *insana substructio*, that huge monstrous peece of worke, knowne by the name of Stone-henge neere Amesbery, though it be by the Ancients tearmed *Chorea Gigantum*, the Gyants daunce; yet shall I neuer thinke that it was performed by the strength of men, but rather by some sleights or Engines now vnknowne, or by some artificiall composition, they being no naturall stones hewen out of the rocke, but artificially made of pure sand by some glewy and vinctuous matter knit and incorporated together, as Camden seemes to conjecture; or whether Merlin (as the common saying is) brought them thither, reared & disposed them in that order by Magicke and the helpe of Devils; I will not take vpon me to determine. howsoeuer it were, it is doubtles a worke for admiration nothing inferiour to the greatest Sceleton or frame of bones that was euer yet discouered. And for teeth, I make no question but they may by meere art be made so liuely to resemble the naturall teeth of men, that the wisest will hardly be able to distinguish the counterfeite from the naturall.

But that which I rather choose to insist vpon, is, that the bodies of such men were begotten by Devils, who that they haue had carnall familiarity with women, is the consent of all Antiquity. *Creberrima fama est*, sayth S. Augustine, *multique se expertos vel ab ijs qui experti essent, de quorum fide dubitandum non est, audisse confirmant, Sylvanos & Fannos, quos vulgo Incubos vocant, improbos saepe extitisse mulieribus, ac earum appetisse & peregisse concubitum, & quosdam Dæmones quos Dufios Galli nuncupant hanc assidue immunditiam & tentare & efficere plures talesque asseuerant, ut hoc negare impudentia videatur.* It is commonly reported & many affirme, that either themselues haue found it by experience, or heard it from those of whose credit there was no doubt to be made, who had themselues experienced it, that Satires and Fayres, whom they call Incubi, haue beene often lewd with women lusting after them, & satisfying their lust with them: and that certaine Devils, whom the Gauls call Dufij, daily both attempt & performe the same filthines such & so many affirme, as to deny this were a point of impudence: nay there are yet many nations, saith Vines in his commentaries on that place, which count it an honour to draw their pedegree from Devils, who had the company of women in the shape of men. Thus not a few of the Ancients imagined those Gyants mentioned in the sixth of Genesis, to haue beene begotten, as the Heathen likewise for the most part deriue their Heroes and mighty men from the like originall. And that the birthes of such monstrous mixtures must needs be monstrous, Tostatus truely observeth

observeth: *Talibus conceptibus robustissimi homines & procerissimi nasci solent*, of such conceptions are wont to be borne the strongest & tallest of men. And *Vallesius* hauing giuen the reason heereof at large, (which for feare of offending chaste eares, I list not heere to reapeate) at last concludes, *Robusti ergo & grandes ut nascerentur, poterant ita Demones procurare*: Thus then the Devills might procure that mighty huge Gyants should be borne, whose both opinion & reasons heerein are both approved and farther proued by *Delrio* in his *Magicall disquisitions*. The evidence heereof will yet farther appeare, if wee consider that where God was least known & the *Devill* most powerfully reigned, there these impure Acts were most frequently practised, which is the reason, as I conceiue, that among the *Hebrewes*, the chosen people of God, wee reade of no such matter: nay those *Gyants* we find mentioned in holy writ, were for the most part of other *Nations*: But since the incarnation of the *Sonne of God* our blessed *Saviour*, who came to dissolve the workes of the *Devill*, the delusions of these spirits haue vanished as a mist before the *Sun*: though their kingdome be not at an end, yet is their malice much restrained and their power abated. Which *Plutarch* himselfe ingeniously confesseth in that excellent discourse of his, *Cur Oracula edi desyrunt*, why the *Oracles* ceased; and to this purpose relates a memorable story, which he reports from the mouth of one *Epitherses*, sometimes his schoole-master, that he imbarcking for *Italy*, and being one euening becalmed before the *Paxe*, (too litle *Ilands* that lie between *Corcyra* & *Lencadia*) they suddainely heard a voyce from the shore, most of the Passengers being yet awake, calling to one *Thamus* a *Pilot*, by birth an *Egyptian*, who till the third call would not answere: then quoth the voyce, when thou art come to the *Palodes* proclaime it aloud, that the great *Pan* is dead, all in the ship that heard this were amased, when drawing neere to the foresaid place, *Thamus* standing on the pup of the shippe, did vter what was formerly commaunded, forthwith there was heard a great lamentation, accompanied with groanes and schreeches: This comming to the knowledge of *Tiberius Caesar*, he sent for *Thamus*, who avouched the truth thereof: And hereby was declared, as we may well conceiue, the subjection of *Sathan* by the death of *Christ*: so that now he had no longer power to abuse the illuminated world with his impostures. By this then appeares both the reason of such vast enormous bodies, as were in former times, and withall the Cause why they haue ceased since in succeeding ages. To which we may adde, that if wee should ascribe these effects to God himselfe and his extraordinary power, for the manifestation of his greatnes; yet as other miracles, so likewise these are now growne out of date and vse: hee manifesting himselfe to vs in a cleerer manner, rather by the gracious power of his word, then the miraculous greatnes of his power, and so our Conclusion still remains firme, that the stature of mankind is not generally impaired in regard of any such universall decay in the course of Nature as is pretended.

S E C T. 3.

An answer to the argument drawne from the testimonies
on behalfe of the aduerse opinion.

THe second maine rubbe, which to many giues occasion of stumbling, and comes now to be remoued, is the *authority* of diuerse graue writers, and those not onely of latter stampe, but such as haue beene, and still are accounted *Venerable* aswell for learning as *Antiquity*. Among which, the most *Eminent* that I finde named by the aduerse part, are *Gellius*, *Pliny*, *Iuuenall*, *Virgill*, and *Homer*, and that I may neither wrong the Authours nor Vouchers, I will produce them speaking in their owne words *Gellius* hauing alleadged the opinion of *Varro*, that the *utmost point* of mans growth in the course of nature is *seauen foote*, and hauing stiled *Herodotus* a *Fabler* for saying the body of *Orestes* was *seauen cubits*, presently adds, *Nisi si ut Homerus opinatus est, vastiora prelixioraque fuerint corpora hominum Antiquorum, & nunc quasi jam mundo senescente, rerum atque hominum decrementa sint.* Vnles as *Homer* thought, men were anciently bigger & taller, and now as if the world waxed old, there be a decrease both of things and men. But this *Nisi si* of *Gellius* is too weake thereby to draw him to their side, specially considering what he had said immediatly before out of *Varro*. Which testimony of his preuailes somuch with *Peter Martyr*, that hee cannot yeeld any decrease since the flood, (si rogarer) sayth he) *an existimem corpora humana, quae postea fuerunt ab his imminuta esse quae ante diluvium producebantur, fortassis annuerem: sed quod à diluvio usque ad hanc nostram aetatem perpetuo decrescant, id non facile concederem, verbis praesertim annotatis quae Aulus Gellius, 3. libr: scripsit ubi ait modum adolescendi humani corporis esse septem pedum: quae mensura hodie quoque videtur esse statura procerioris. In Apocryphis tamen Esdrae legimus, lib. 4. ad finem 5. cap. ne quid dissimulem, & nunc minora esse corpora nostra, ac indies imminuenda, quod natura semper magis effata reddatur. Idemq; ut paulo ante dixi Cyprianus videtur statuere. Sed quare non tam facile assentiar. causam attuli quia de mensura quam Gellius definiuit, hodie nihil propemodum videam immutatum.* If I were demaunded whether I thinke that mens bodies since the flood are decreased in regard of those before the flood, happily I should grant it: but that since the flood downward to this our present age they should still decrease, that would I not easily yeeld, specially observing those words which *Aulus Gellius* hath in his third booke, where hee sayth, that the measure of growth in mans body, is to *seauen foote*, which at this day seemes to be the heighth of those of the tallest stature; yet to conceale nothing, wee read indeede in the fourth booke, and toward the end of the fifth chapter in the apocryphall *Esdras*, that our bodies are lesse then they were, and that still they shall be lessened more & more, in asmuch as nature is every day weakened more then other, and the same opinion (as I said before) seemes to be approved by *Cyprian*; but why I cannot easily yeeld assent therevnto, I have giuen my reason, because I find litle or nothing abated of that measure which *Gellius* defined

Plinies

Lib. 3. c. 10.

Locorum com.
c. 12. claf. 1.

Plinies words I must confesse are more round and resolute; *In plenum autem cuncto mortalium generi minorem staturam indies fieri, propemodum Lib. 7. cap. 16. observatur: rarosque patribus proceriores, consumente veritatem seminum exussione, in cuius vices nunc vergat ævum,* which is thus rendred by Philemon Holland, Doctor in Physicke, whose Latin Copy differed it seemes somewhat from mine: or he added somewhat of his owne. This is obserued for an vndoubted truth, that generally all men come short of the full stature in times past, & decrease every day more then other, & seldome shall we see the sonne taller then his father, for the ardent heate of the Elementary fire (wherevnto the world inclineth already now toward the latter end, as sometimes it stood much vpon the watery Element) deuoureth & consumeth that plentifull humor and moisture of naturall feede that ingendreth all things, and this appeareth by these examples following.

And then hauing brought the examples of *Orion* and *Orestes*, he adds, *Iam verò ante annos prope mille vates ille Homerus non cessauit minora corpora mortalium, quam prisca, conqueri.* And verily that great and famous Poet *Homer*, who liued almost a thousand yeares agoe, complained and gaue not ouer, that mens bodies were lesse of stature euen then, then in old time.

But if I bee not mistaken, this assertion of *Plinies* directly crosseth himselfe in the very entrance of his *Naturall History*, where he thus begins. *Mundum, & hoc quod nomine alio cælum appellare libuit, cuius circumflexu reguntur cuncta, numen esse credi par est, æternum, immensum, neque genitum, neque interiturum vquam.* The world, and this which by another name men haue thought good to call *Heauen*, beleue we ought in all reason to be a *God* without beginning & likewise *Endlesse*. If the world be *Endlesse*, how doth it suffer a perpetuall decrease, and if it suffer any such decrease, how is it *endlesse*. Againe, holding a decrease in *stature*, I see not how he can well auoide a diminution likewise in *age* which notwithstanding in other places he seemes to deny, or at leastwise hauing in sundry seuerall Chapters faire occasion offered, doth not inaintaine, but rather chuseth to passe it ouer in silence, as being thereof somewhat doubtfull. Besides how the ardent heate of the *Elementary* fire should cause any such decay, I cannot for my part conceiue, since that heat for any thing we find is not increased since the first *Creation*, and this supposed decay is commonly attributed rather to a *deficiencie* then an *excesse* of heat. But *Pliny* who held that the Sun and *Starres* were nourished by an Elementary moisture, must of necessity vpon that supposed, though false ground, likewise hold a sensible decay in the World, inasmuch as that moisture cannot possibly suffice those bodies for food. And thus we see how in this assertion he both plainly crosseth himself, and builds it vpon a sandy foundation. He was doubtlesse an admirable Man in that which he vndertooke, the *Historicall* part of Nature: but whether he deserued the like commendation in that which we call the *Philosophicall* part thereof, I leaue it to others to iudge, and passe to the examination of the testimonies of the *Poets*. But before I descend to the particulars, it shall not be amisse a little to consider of the *Vanity* of their

fiction and fables about the Gyants which doubtlesse in part gaue occasion to this common Error touching Mans and the Worlds decay, though I verily belecue that the Poets themselues had a mysticall meaning therein. They faigned them to be borne of the Earth, to haue a thousand hands and snakes for haire, and to wage warre with the Gods.

Ouid, Fast. 5

Terra feros partus immania monstra Gyantes,

Edidit anuros in Iouis ire domum.

Mille manus illis dedit & pro crinibus angues,

Atque ait in magnos arma mouete Deos.

Giants wild monsters earth great mother bare,

Who durst assaile the sacred seat of Ioue,

With thousand hands. and snakes instead of haire,

Arm'd, armes she charg'd them gainst the gods to moue.

Which warre of the Gyants, Cornelius Severus thus elegantly describes.

Tentare nefas olim detrudere mundo

Sydera, captivique Iouis transferre Gyantes

Imperium, & victo leges imponere Cælo.

The Gyants did advance their wicked hand

Against the stars to thrust them headlong down,

And robbing Ioue of his Imperiall crowne,

On conquer'd heauens to lay their proud command.

Saturnal. lib. 1.
cap. 20.

But Macrobius his interpretation of this fable is worth the observing:

Gyantes autem quid aliud fuisse credendum est quam hominum quandam impiam gentem Deos negantem, et ideo existimatam deos à celesti sede pellere voluisse. What other thing should we imagine those Gyants to haue been, but an impious race of men denying the Gods, and were therefore said to haue attempted the chasing of them out of Heauen. Yet these fables no doubt infected the vulgar, as those of Guy of Warwick, Bevis of Hampton, Corineus and Gog-Magog, Robin Hood and little John, Amadis of Gaule, Pontagruel, Gargantua, and the like haue since done: And therefore Plato banished Poets from his common-wealth; and Moses, (as Philo in his booke of Gyants witneseth) both painting and the statuary Art, cōfess Germans to Poetry, *Quod veritatem mendacijs vitient, credulis animis per oculos illudentes.* faith he, because they corrupt the truth with lies, & deceiue credulous mindes by those representations which are presented to their eyes. Yet will we not deny them the fauour to heare what they can say for themselues. Let Iuvenall then first speake.

Satyr. 15.

Saxa inclinat per humum quæ sita laceris

Incipiunt torquere, domestica, seditione

Tela, nec hunc lapidem quali se Turnus & Ajax,

Et quo Tydides percussit pondere coxam

Ænea, sed quam valeant emittere dextra.

Illis dissimiles, & nostra tempore nate.

Nam genus hoc vivo iam decrescerebat Homero

Terra malos homines nunc educat atque pusillos,

Ergo Deus quicumque aspexit, ridet & odit.

Stop-

Strooping for stones them (in brawles alway
 The readiest weapon) they commence their fray
 Not that of *Turne* or *Ajax*, or whereby
 The sonne of *Tydeus* brake *Aeneas* thigh,
 But such as hands vnlike to theirs, and now
 Bred in our dayes well able are to throw.
 For euen while *Homer* liv'd this race decreased
 And mother earth hath euer since beene pleased
 Cowardly dwarfes to breed: those deities
 That them behold, deride them and despise.

Now for asmuch as it is euident that *Inuenall* heerein followed *Virgill*
 and *Homer*, as will cleerely appeare when we come to the examining
 of their testimonies, I will likewise referre the answeere heerevnto, to
 that place. For *Virgill* then, he speaking of *Turnus* and his great strenght,
 thus poetizes:

Saxum antiquum ingens campo qui forte iacebat
Limes agro positus litem vt discerneret arnis
(Vix illum lecti bis sex ceruice subirent
Qualia nunc hominum producit corpora tellus)
Ille manu raptum valida roquebat in hostem.

Æneid. 12.

A huge old stone which then by chaunce lay in the field
 To bound out severall grounds, and quarrells to prevent,
 Scarce twelue choyce men such as now mother earth doth
 Could beare it on their necks, yet he incontinent (yeeld
 Caught it with puissant arme, and to his foe it sent.

With which accords that in the first of his *Georgickes* touching the
 plowing vp of the *Emathean* and *Emonean* fields, where many bloody
 battels had beene fought.

Scilicet & tempus veniet cum finibus illis
Agricola incurvo terram molitus aratro
Exesa inueniet scabra rubigine pila.
Aut gravibus rastris galeas pulsabit inanes
Grandiaque effosis mirabitur ossa sepulchris.

The time will one day come when in those feilds
 The painefull husband plowing vp his ground,
 Shall finde all fret with rust both pikes and sheilds,
 And emptie helmes vnder his harrow sound,
 Wondring at those great bones those graues doe yeeld.

But what credit shall wee giue to *Virgill* in these things who tels vs of
Enceladus.

Fessum quoties motat latus intremere omnem
Trinacriam. ---

As oft as wearied he from side to side doth turne
Trinacria trembles.

And of *Titius*,

--- *Per tota novem cui ingera corpus*
Porrigitur.

Whole bodie stretches to nine akers length.

And

And besides he was doubtles heerein as in many other passages thorow the *Aeneads Homers* ape, who thus brings in *Hector*;

Iliad, 12:

*Hector autem rapiens lapidem portabat, qui portas
Stetit ante, deorsum crassus, sed superne
Acutus erat; hunc neque duo viri e populo optimi
Facile ad plaustrum e terra perducerent,
Quales nunc sunt homines.*

Hector caught vp a stone before the gate that lay,
The vpper pointed was, blunt was the nether part:
Two of the better sort such as liue now a day
Could scarce with all their force mount it into a cart.

Iliad, 5:

To like purpose, and very neere in the same words is that which hee hath in another place of *Diomedes*, throwing a stone at *Aeneas*.

*Saxum accepit manu
Tyrides magni ponderis quod non duo viri ferrent
Quales nunc homines sunt.*

Into his hand *Tyrides* tooke
A stone of wondrous weight,
Two men such as the world now yeelds
To bear't haue not the might

From whence it is manifest that all the alleadged *Authours* herein followed *Homer*, he being named by *Gellius*, *Pliny*, & *Iuvenall*, & so plainly imitated by *Virgill*, that wee neede not doubt from whom hee borrowed it, rendring *Homers*

Quales nunc sunt homines-- into
Qualia nunc hominum producit corpora tellus;

But heerein he exceeds *Homer* that he turnes two into twelue, more tollerably I confesse, because more *Poetically*, that a man may know it at the first blush to be but a fiction.

And as for *Homer* himselte, the founder and spring-head of this opinion, as he was the Authour of many excellent inventions, so as it was truely written of him,

*Hic ille est cuius de gurgite sacro
Combibit arcados vatum omnis turba furores.*

This is the man whose sacred streame hath served all the Crew Of Poets, thence they dranke their fill, thence they their furies drew. And therefore was hee painted vomiting, and the Poets round about licking vp his vomit, yet as a ranke and battell soyle that abounds both in corne and weedes, so was he likewise the fruitfull parent of many errours and fables, which were afterwards taken vp and imbraced with like greedines as were his best and choifest inventions. Such is naturally our affection, that whom in great things wee mightily admire, in them we are not perswaded willingly that any thing should be amisse: The reason whereof is for that as dead flies putrisie the oyntment of the *Apothecarie*: so a little folly him that is in estimation for wisdom. And this in euery profession hath too much authorized the judgement of a few. I will not stand to make a Catalogue of *Homers* mistakes and fictions, which his admirers in succeeding ages haue entertained as certaine truths,

Ecclesi, 1. 10.

truths. That fable of the *Pigmies* (because it hath some affinity with our present matter) and their manner of fighting with *Cranes* shall suffice for all: which many not onely *Poets* but great *Philosophers*, and among them *Aristotle* himselfe relying vpon his authority haue taken vpon trust: whereas all the parts of the world being now in a manner discovered there is no such countrey or people to be found in it. And for this particular opinion, it is not onely objected by *Goropius*, but by *Magius* freely acknowledged that *Homer*, by *Plutarches* computation; (who composed a treatise purposely of his life) living but one hundred yeares or a little more after the *Trojan* warres, made such a difference in mens strength and stature, as was altogether incredible within the compasse of so short a space: nay himselfe makes *Hectors* speare to bee but tenne Cubits long, the ordinary length they are at euē at this day: & brings *Telemachus* *Ulysses* his sonnē thus speaking to his nurce *Euriclea*.

Hand equidem quenquam longinquus sit licet hospes

Absque labore feram contingere Chanica nostram:

No guest though come from farre I thee assure

To touch my *Chanix* will I once endure.

From which *Eudens* inferres that euē then a *Chanix* was the daily allowance for a man, as it likewise was many hundred yeares after *Homers* times among the *Grecians*. For conclusion, though tenne persons be brought to giue testimony in any cause, yet if the knowledge they haue of the thing wherevnto they come as witnesses, appeare to haue growne from some one among them, and to haue spread it selfe from hand to hand, they are all in force but as one testimony; and if it appeare that the fountaine, from which either immediatly or mediately they all draw, be corrupted, if the testimony of the first man vpon whom they depend, proue invalide, then is this one vpon the matter no testimony, which is in truth the case of the counter-witnesses produced in this businesse.

SECT. 4.

Of the wonderfull strength of diuerse in latter ages, not inferior to those of former times.

BVt to graunt that *Hector*, and *Ajax*, and *Diomedes*, and *Hercules*, and the like excelled in strength, yet can it not be denied, but some such haue likewise beene recorded in succeeding ages, as *C. Marius* by *Trebellius Pollio*, *Maximinus* by *Capitolinus*, *Aurelian* by *Vopiscus*, *Scanderbeg* by *Barlet*, *Galior Bardesin* a Gentleman of *Catana*, by *Faxell*, *Tamerlane*, *Ziska*, *Hunniades*, by others; *George Le Fèvre* a learned *Germane* writes, that in his time in the yeare 1529 liued at *Misnia* in *Thuring* one called *Nicholas Klunher Pronost* of the *Great Church* that was so strong, as without *Cable* or *Pulley* or any other helpe he fetch vp out of a *Cellar* a pipe of wine, carried it out of doores and laid it vpon a cart. I haue seene a man, saith *Mayolus* an *Italian Bishop*, in the towne of *Aste*, who in the presence of the *Marquesse* of *Pescara* handed a pillar of marble three foote long, and one foote in diameter, the

which he cast high in the aire, then receiued it againe in his armes; then lasht it vp againe, sometime after one fashion, sometime after another, as easily as if he had beene playing with a ball or some such little thing. There was, sayth the same *Authour*, at *Mantua*, one named *Rodamas*, a man of a little stature, but so strong that he brake a *Cable* as bigge as a mans arme, as easily as it had beene a small twine thread: mounted vpon an horse and leading another by the bridle, he would runne a full *Cariere* and stop in the midst of his course, or when it liked him best. *Froissard* a man much esteemed for the truth and fidelity of his history, reports that about two hundred yeares since, one *Ernando Burg* a *Spaniard*, and companion to the Earle of *Feix*, when as attending the Earle, he accompanied him to an higher roome, to which they ascended by twenty foure steps, the weather cold, and the fire not answerable, and withall espying out at the window certaine asses in the lower court loaden with wood, he goes downe thither, lifts vp the greatest of them with his burden on his shoulder, and carrying it to the roome from whence he came, cast both as he found them into the fire together. *Lebelski* a *Polander* in his description of the things done at *Constantinople* in the yeare 1582, at the circumcision of *Mahumet* the sonne of *Amurath* Emperour of the *Turkes*, writes that amongst many actiue men which there shewed their strength, one was most memorable, who for prooffe thereof lifted vp a peece of wood that twelue men had much adoe to raise from the earth, and afterwards lying downe flat vpon his backe, he bore vpon his breast, a weighty stone, which tenne men had with much adoe rolled thither, making but a iest of it. Many are yet aliue, saith *Camerarius*, that know how strong and mighty *George* of *Fronsbere*, Baron of *Mindlbaim* of late memory was. There is a booke printed & published in the *Germane* tongue containyng his memorable acts, & howbeit *Paulus Iouius* handleth him but roughly, as being an enemy to the *Pope*; yet extolleth hee highly his wonderfull great force, being able by the acknowledgment of *Iouius* with the middle finger of his right hand to remoue a very strong man out of his place, saith he neuer so fast: He stopp'd a horse suddainely, that ranne with a maine *Carriere*, by onely touching the bridle, and with his shoulder would hee easily shoue a Canon whither hee listed. *Cardan* writes that himselfe saw one dauncing with two in his armes, two vpon his shoulders, and one hanging about his necke. *Potocous* a *Polonian* and Captaine of the *Cosakes*, during the reigne of *Stephen Batore*, was so strong, as witnesseth *Leonclanius*, that he would teare in peeces new horse shoes, as it had beene paper. The history of the Netherlands reports, that the woman *Gyantesse* before mentioned was so strong, that shee would lift vp in either hand a barrell full of *Hamborough beere*, and would easilie carrie more then eight men could.

Before these, but long since those ancient *Heroes*, was the *Gyant A-*
Acutus, hisf. nother borne in *Turgaw*, a village in *Sivenia*, who bore armes vnder *Char-*
Belovium, 4.4. *lemaigne*, he felled men as one would mow hay, & sometimes broached a great number of them vpon his pike, and so carried them all vpon his shoulder, as one would carrie little birds spitted vpon a stick. *Hinc*

apparet,

Mediat: Hist:
 2.82.

De subtilitate
 lib: 11.

In supplem: An-
ngl. Turcicor:

Acutus, hisf.
Belovium, 4.4.

apparet (saith Camerarius) quod nostra aetas & natio tales viros produxerit quos fortitudine & robore cum veteribus conferre licet. From hence it appeares that our age and nation hath brought forth such men, as euery way are matchable with the Ancients in actiuity & strength. Of latter dayes and here at home, Mr Richard Carew a worthy Gentleman in his survey of Cornwall assures vs that one Iohn Bray (well known to himselfe, as being his tenaunt) carried vpon his backe at one time by the space well neare of a But-length six bushels of wheaten meale, reckoning 15 gallons to the bushell, and the miller a lubber of 24 yeares age vpon the whole: wherevnto he addeth that Iohn Roman of the same sheire, a short clownish grub would beare the whole carkasse of an oxe, though he neuer tugged with it, when he was a calfe, as Milo did. To these might be added diuerse other domesticall examples of latter times, saue that such kinde of relations seeme as vnfauory and incredible to the most part of Readers, as they are certaine, admirable, and delightfull to the beholders.

It is most true that the great workes our noble Predecessours haue left vs, our Cathedrall Churches, our ruines of Castles and Monasteries, our bridges, our high-ways, and Cauce-ways, and in forraine parts their Arches, Obelisks, Pyramids, Vawies, Aqueducts, Theaters, and Amphitheatres seeme to proclaime, as the greatnesse of their mindes, so likewise of their bodies: But I should rather ascribe this to their industry, their deuotion, their charity, vniting, their forces and purses in publique workes and for the publique good, then to the bodily strength of particular men.

SECT. 5.

Two doubtles cleered, the first touching the strong physicke which the Ancients vsed, the second touching the great quantity of blood which they are sayed vsually to haue drawne at the opening of a veine.

A greater doubt arises touching the litle, but strong physicke which the Ancients vsed, and the great quantity of blood which they vsually drew at the opening of a veine: For the first of these, I should thinke that it rather argued the strength of our bodies, who notwithstanding our disuse of exercise and more frequent vse of Physicke, and that many times from the hands of vnskilfull Empericks, we ordinarily hold out as long as they did: And for the strength of their Physicke, let vs heere Goropius a famous Physitian, and doubtles a very learned man, as his workes testifie, and his greatest aduersaries cannot but confesse. *Dicunt olim medicamenta multo vehementiora data fuisse quam nunc hominum natura ferre possit:* They say that the Physicke which the Ancients administred was much stronger then the nature of man is now capable of; to which he replies, *eos qui sic arbitrantur insigniter falli contendendo, ferunt enim corpora aquè nunc helleborum atque olim eodem vel maiori pondere, ut ipse in alijs & meipso sum expertus: Verum inscitia eorum qui nihil Medici habent præter titulum & vestem longam, & impudentem arro-*

gantiam in causa est ut sic opinentur. I am confident that those who thus thinke are notably deceiued, in asmuch as our bodies can now aswell endure the like or greater quantity of *Elleborum*, as I haue made triall in my selfe & others: But the ignorance of such as haue indeed nothing in them of the Physitian but the bare title, a long gowne, and impudent arrogancie, is the cause that men so thinke. And with him heerein plainely accords *Leonardus Giachinus* of the same profession, who hauing composed a Treatise purposely to shew what damage arises to learning by preferring *Authority* before *reason*, makes this the title of his first Chapter, *Corpora nostra eadem ferre posse auxilia quibus Veteres vsi sunt, idque cum ratione tum experientia comprobari*: That our bodies now a dayes may well enough suffer the same helpes of Physicke which the Ancients vsed, & that this may be made euident aswell by reason as experience. And I suppose skilfull Physitians will not deny, but that the Physicke of former times agrees with ours as in the receites, so for the *dosis* and quantity, and for them who hold a generall decay in the course of *Nature*, they are likewise forced to hold this. For if *plants*, and *drugges*, and *minerals*, decay in their vertue proportionably to the body of man, (as is the common opinion) then must it consequently follow, that the same quantity hauing a lesse vertue may without daunger and with good successe be administred to our bodies though inferiour in strength: *Roger Bacon* in his booke *de erroribus medicorum*, tells vs, that the disposition of the heavens is changed euery *Centenary* or thereabout; and consequently that all things growing from the earth change their complexions, as also doth the body of man; and therevpon infers that *eadem proportionales medicinarum non sunt semper continuande sed exigitur observantia certa secundum temporis discesum*: The same proportions of medicines are not still to be continued, but there is required a certain quantity according to the variation of time. Where, by the change of the disposition of the heavens, I cannot conceiue that he intends it alwayes for the worst, for so should he crosse himselfe in the same booke, neither for any thing I know haue we any certainty of any such change as he speakes of, but this am I sure of, that if together with the heauens, the plants change their tempers, and with the plants the body of man, then needs there no alteration in the proportion of medicines, in asmuch as what art should therein supply, *nature* her selfe preuents & performes: But for mine own part holding a naturall decay in neither, vpon that ground, as I conceiue, may more safely be warranted the continuance of the ancient proportions.

Now touching the *drawing of blood*, I know it is said that *Galen* vsually drew *six pounds* at the opening of a veine, whereas we for the most part stoppe at *six ounces*, which is in truth a great difference if true, specially in so short a time, he liuing three hundred yeares or thereabout since *Christ*. For decission then of this point, we must haue recourse to *Galen* himselfe, who in that booke which he purposely composed of *cures by letting of blood*, thus writes: *Memini quibusdam ad sex vsque libras sanguinem detractum fuisse, ita ut febris extingueretur*. I remember that from some I haue drawne six pounds of blood, which hath riddé them

capitulum:

of

of their feuer: yet from others he tooke but a pound and a halfe, or one pound, and sometimes lesse, as he saw occasion: neither in old time, nor in these present times was the quantity euer definite or certaine, but both then and now variable more or lesse according to strength, the disease, age, or other indications; and in pestilent fevers his advise is, *vbi valida virtus subest, & aetas permittit, usque ad animæ defectum sanguinem mittere expediat* De methodo mcdendi l. 9. c. 4. where the strength and age of the patient will beare it, it will doe well to take blood euen to a fainting or founding, and such was the case (as by his owne words it appeares) in which he drew so great a quantity: Neither is this without example in our age: *Ambrosè Paræ French Surgeon*, (& a man expert in his profession, as his bookes shew) reports that he drew from a patient of his in *four days twenty seven paillets*, euery paillet of *Paris* containing *three ounces & more*, so that he drew from him about *seven pounds*, allowing *twelue ounces* to the pound, which was the account that *Galen* followed, as appeares in his owne Treatise of weights and measures, and so continues it in vse among *Physicians* and *Apothecaries* vnto this day. The whole quantity of blood in a mans body of a sound constitution and middle stature was anciently estimated, and so is it still at about *three gallons*: and I haue beene informed by a Doctour of *Physicke* of good credit and eminent place in this *Vniuersity*, that a patient of his hath bled a gallon at nose in one day, and hath done well after it, which (as I conceiue) could not be so little as *seuen or eight pounds*, allowing somewhat lesse then a pound to a pint, in as much as I haue found a pint of water to weigh *sixteene ounces*. Now what Nature hath done with tollerance of life, Art may come neere vnto vpon just cause without danger. And if any desire to be farther informed in this point, he need goe no further then the *Medicinall observations* of *Io-hannes Shenkinus de capite Humano*, where to his 333 observation hee prefixes this title, *Prodigiosa narium hamorrhagia, qua interdum 18, interdum 20, nonnunquam etiam 40 sanguinis libra profluxere*. Prodigious bleedings at the nose, in which sometimes 18, sometimes 20, sometimes 40 pounds of blood haue issued. The Authors from whom he borroweth his observations are *Mathæus de Gradi* in his commentaries vpon the 35 chapter of *Rasis ad Almans. Brasauolus comment. ad Aphor. 23. lib. 5. Donatus lib. de variolis & morbillis cap. 23. Lusitanus Curat. 100. Cent. 2. And againe Curat. 60, Cent. 7.* his instances are of a Nunne who voided by diuerse passages 18 pounds of blood, of *Diana* a noble Lady of *Est*, who bled onely at the nostrils 18 pounds besides what was spilt on the ground, vpon her apparell, in napkins and other linnen's about her; of one *Andrew Cooke* to *Fredericke Gonzaga* Cardinall, who bled in one day and two nights 20 pounds. And lastly of a yong man named *Berdauid*, from whom there issued at the nose within the space of *sixe dayes* 40 pounds, and yet they all liued after it, and did well. *penes Autores fides esto.*

D. C.

S E C. 6.

A third doubt cleered touching the length of the Duodenum or first gut, as also of the severall opinions of Iacobus Cappelus, and Iohannes Temporarius, touching the decrease of humane strength and stature.

D.B.

Lib. 3. lect. 11

A Noth^r doubt tending to the same end, I receiued from an other Doctour of Physicke of speciall note, & of mine ancient acquaintance, well knowne in London for his sufficiencie in his professiō, and from him likewise I must acknowledge the best part of the answer which I shall frame thereunto. The objection, because, of any I haue met with, it is most fully opened & seriously vrged by Archangelus Piccolomini in his *Anatomicall Lectures*, I wil expresse in his words, where speaking of the first gut, he thus goes on, *Dicitur etiam græcis dodecadactylos, nobis duodenū, quod duodecem digitos longum illis temporibus videretur: nam his nostris temporibus vix 9 digitorum apices aquat, fortasse quod hâc nostrâ ætate homines minores, illis sæculis grandiores essent. idcirco longiora mēbra proportionē respondentia. Dicitur quoq; pylorus, id est ianitor portonarius translato nomine inferioris orificij ventriculi ad superiorem duodeni partem quæ ex eo proximè enascitur.* It is called of the Græcians dodecadactylos, & of vs duodenum, because it seemes in those times to haue beene 12 inches long, whereas in this age it hardly equals the toppes of nine fingers, perchance because now adayes men being lesse and then bigger, they had likewise bigger parts of the body answerable therevnto. It is also called pylorus or the porter, which name is borrowed from the nether orifice of the stomacke, and applyed to the higher part of the duodenum which growes out of it. Thus he; where what he meanes by the apices or toppes of nine fingers, I doe not well apprehend, but Riolanus I am sure in the 2 booke and 12 Chapter of his *Anthropographia* tells vs plainly that *ab Herophylo duodenum dicitur quoniam olim duodecem transversos digitos longum erat, vbi hodie vix quatuor digitos aquat.* It was by Herophylus called duodenum because anciently it was 12 inches long, whereas now it is scarce full foure. How long since this Herophilus liued I cannot certainly determine, nor well coniecture, his name I finde not in Gesners Bibliotheca, indeed Tertullian in his booke *de anima* mentioneth him, by which it appeares that he liued before him, but how long it appeares not; suppose it to bee 5, 6, or 8 hundred yeares (which is as much as in reason can well bee demanded, and vpon that supposition allow him to haue liued two thousand yeares agoe, which being granted, and withall that all the other parts of mans body are decayed proportionably to the duodenum, (which Piccolomini himselfe confesseth, and thereof I thinke no wise or learned man will once offer to make any doubt) this I say being granted, it must of necessitie follow that in the space of 2000 yeares, two thirds of humane stature are lost, for that is the proportiō of 4 to 12; so as if men now be fīue foote high, they were then 15, & 2000 yeares before that againe (if we shall allow the like proportion of decrease to the like space of time (45 foot high, and so vpward, which how vnrea-

sonable

sonable it is to affirme or conceiue, I leaue to the Authors and Patrons of that fancie to imagine. Again I would willingly knowe whether in *Herophilus* time the *inch* were the same with ours or no, if so, then be-like there is no such notorious diminution in stature as from him is collected. and if it be varied according to the diminution of stature, then should our *duodenum* be aswell 12 of our inches now, as was their *duodenum* 12 of their inches then, for to say that theirs was 12 of their inches & ours but 4 of our inches, is both an irregular cōparison, & a matter altogether incredible. And I wonder that *Galen* or *Hippocrates*, or some other of those ancient Physitians had not found the variation thereof in their time in regard of former ages, aswell as wee in ours in regard of theirs, or that finding it, they haue left no record or mention of so notable an observation in any of their writings, which me thinks is a strong presumption that indeed either in their practise or reading they observed no such matter. But to make a plaine and full answer to this objection, we need go no farther then that of *Riolanus* immediatly annexed to the passage before alleadged. *Nec mensuram antiquam deprehendes nisi graciliorem & angustiore ventriculi partem à fundo inferne exportectam usque ad anfractuum principium addideris quam sæpè 12 digitos aquare vidi.* Neither shall you finde the ancient measure, vnlesse you adde to the *duodenum* the lower and narrower part of the stomack, and extend it to that place where the guts begin their pleats and windings, and this haue I often seene to equall 12 inches: out of which words I make mine answer thus, that if we take *duodenum* strictly, onely for so much as is from the lowest orifice of the stomacke to the winding guts, then I say it is scantly foure inches long, but if we take in that thinner part and end of the ventricle which the Greekes call *pyloros*, and the Latines from thence *ianitor* or *portonarius* the porter, then by *Riolans* observation it hath, and no doubt may be found fully as long as the ancient measure. Now that the *pyloros* hath beene by ancient Writers taken into the *duodenum*, and accounted as one with it, not onely *Riolan* in the place before alleadged, and *Laurentius lib. 6. cap. 13.* but *Piccolthomini* himselfe confesseth in the latter part of the passage already quoted, and *Leonardus Fuchsius* in the third booke and 1 chapter of his *Paradoxes* brings to that purpose. *Celsus lib. 4. cap. 1. Avicenses. 6. can. 3. tract. 1. cap. 1. Valescus 4. 21. Iohannes Matthæus de Gradi* in his Commentaries vpon the ninth booke of *Razis cap. 11:* and lastly *Alexander Benedictus* in his second booke of *Anatomie* chapt. 8. and though he thet make *Galen* to speake in a different language, yet are *Riolan* and others of another opinion therein.

Whiles this part was even vpon going to the Presse, there came to mine hands two bookes written by two learned French men, *Iacobus Capellus* and *Iohannes Temporarius*, the one intituled *de mensuris*, the other *Chronologica demonstrationes*, in both which the point in hand is touched to the quicke: The former, *Capellus* I meane, in his very preface sharply censures the Poets, *Homer* & *Virgill* & *Iuvenall* for their hyperbolicall amplifications, in speaking of the enormous stature of the Ancients, and so doth he *Pliny*, *Solinus*, *S. Augustine*, and *Ludovicus Vives* for following them

them therein, and then alleadging that passage of *Iulius Scaligers*, where he affirms that the *Samogithians*, a people seated betwixt *Prussia* & *Lithuania*, by turnes beget *dwarfs* & *giants*; he graunts that this *vicissitude*, though not in that degree, yet in some sort may be obserued in all *nations*: yet this man after all this flourish tells vs, that it cannot be but some kinde of truth there should be in those complaints of the *Poets*, & that the world waxes old, though not in *post-haste* as they would haue it: yet *sensim & sine sensu*, as he tearmes it, soft & faire, & by degrees insensible. The onely reason he buildes vpon being this, that the *measures* of all Nations being proportioned (as he imagineth) to their *statures*, and withall that as the Nations rise in *antiquitie* one aboue another, so doe their *measures*: from whence he inferres, that as the *measures* of the Ancients were longer, so were likewise their *statures*. Wherein he manifestly crosseth both himselfe, and as many as I haue read of that subiect, either occasionally or of set purpose; for himselfe he freely acknowledgeth in another place of the same discourse, that both the present *Parisian* foote in *France* & the *Picen* in *Italy* are bigger then the Ancient *Romane*; for the latter of which, he both vouches and well approues the testimony of *Cardan de subtil: lib. II: Adducor auctoritate scribentium olim de re militari qui tyronum mediocrem magnitudinem quinque pedum esse statuerunt, ut quarta parte pes antiquis mensura pedis nostri minor sit.* I am induced by the authority of those who writing of military matters, set downe five foote for the ordinary stature of a common souldier, to belecue that the ancient foote was by measure a quarter lesse then ours. Againe himselfe confesseth (neither without manifest follie can it bee denyed) that some nations in regard of their *Clymate* much exceed others in *stature*, as for the most part do the *Western*, the *Easterne*, & the *Northerne*, the *Southerne*, so as if his comparison had bene made betwixt the *ancient* and *moderne measures* of the same nation, it might well haue carried at leastwise some semblance of truth, but to make it betwixt different nations though in different ages, as he doth, carries with it in my iudgment no colour at all: Lastly, he holds not the like decrease in *age*, & *wits*, & *manners*, that he doth in *stature*, nor in the *heavens*, the *earth*, the *beasts*, the *plants*, that he doth in *men*; which though it stand with his purpose; yet how it can stand with the *course of nature*, for mine own part I cannot imagine, as neither can I conceiue how there should bee any such *alternatiue vicissitude* of stature in all nations as he holdes, and yet withall an vniverfall and perpetuall decrease: all which himselfe it seemes foreseeing modestly, concludes the point: *Nos igitur hac, ea potius mente in medium adduximus, ut hac vere nobilis questio ab eruditis viris luculentius & accuratius pertractetur, quam quod veluti de inventa veritate gloriemur & nobis ipsi suffeni simus.* We then haue produced these things to this purpose, that this question truly noble, may by learned men be more cleerely and exactly handled, not that I would glory in the finding out of a truth, or as if I were onely pleased with mine owne conceite. Now for *Iohannes Temporarius* he doth not mince the matter as *Capellus*, but in his *Chronologicall demonstrations Anno mundi 410*, and fourth Chapter, strikes downe right blowes,

right blowes, telling vs roundly and plainly that *nothing is altered in the stature of man since the Creation*, and that *eadem est hominum & primi seculi & insecutorum magnitudo*, that the stature of the men of the first age and those which afterward ensued is the same: and that as there were *Gyants* then, so haue there since beene in *all ages* downward, and some euery way as tall, if not taller then they: and afterward discoursing of the *Arke* & the capability thereof our of *Bureo* (though indeed hee name him not) he makes *Moses* his *cubir* to be the same with ours, & the *beasts* then to be of the same bignesse as now they are, & to spend no more *quantitie* of *foode* then now they doe; herein likewise treading in *Bureo* his steps, though in some other things touching the fabrique of the *Arke* he dissent from him.

S E C T. 7.

Another rubbe remoued taken from the impurity of the seede, contracted by the succession of propagation, as also touching some late memorable examples of parents famously fertile, in th^r lineage issuing from their bodies, beyond any examples in that kinde in former ages.

THE last, but in the opinion of many not the least rubbe to be remoued, is drawne from the *impuritie* of the seede, contracted by the succession of propagation, from whence there must needs in reason succeed, as a diminution in the continuance and duration, so likewise an impairing both in the strength and stature of *mankind*. This argument I find thus expressed in a treatise published in M^r *Cuffs* name, and intituled, *The differences of the ages of mans life, As is nutrition*, saith he, to the particular, so is generation to the *species*, in the case of their continuance and preservation: Wherefore as by the nourishment wee take for our naturall moisture, there being supplied not so pure humidity as was lost, the particulars decaying by little and little, are at last cleane consumed: so by *procreation*, (the mainetenance of our *species*) the purity of our complexion being by degrees & time diminished, at length there followes euen of necessity an absolute corruption: but for answer herevnto, though it be graunted that *generation* be as requisite to the continuance of the *species*, as is *nutrition* for the preservation of the particular, & withall that our foode doth not so kindly and fully supply our *radicall moisture*, which is daily wasted by our vitall heate feeding vpon it, whence finally ensueth the *Individuals* extinguishing: Yet that every *individuall* should necessarily yeeld weaker and worse seede for the propagation of the *species* then it selfe was generated of, that I constantly belecue can neuer be proued: Nay the contrary therevnto is manifested by daily experience, in asmuch as wee often see feeble & sickely parents to beget strong & healthy, short to beget tall, & such as haue dyed young, long-liued children: And vndoubtedly if this were so indeede as is pretended, *mankind* had long since beene vtterly extinguished, & with it had this controuersie beene at an end; & not only *mankind*, but the severall kindes of *fowles*, & *fishes*, & *beasts*, & *plants*, since they are all maintained by their seed as man is, whose decay notwithstanding

withstanding is questioned but by few: *Immo et quilibet* would thinke

Before I conclude this discourse touching the comparison of the strength of the *Ancients* with ours, it shall not be amisse to remember a *moderne* example or two of *Parents* famously fertile in the *linage* issued from their bodies, such as I doe not remember any where to be paralleled by *Antiquity*. In the memory of our Fathers, saith *Kives* in his commentary vpon the eight chapter of the fifteenth booke of the *City of God*, there was seene a village in *Spaine* of about an hundred houses, whereof all the inhabitants were issued from one certaine old man who then liued, when as that village was so peopled, so as the name of propinquity how the youngest of the children should call him could not be giuen: *Lingua enim nostra supra Abavum non ascendit*. For our language, saith hee, meaning the *Spanish*, affords not a name aboue the great *Grandfathers* father. Likewise in *S. Innocents Church-yard*, in the city of *Paris*, is to be seene the *Epitaph* of *Telland Bailly*, widow to *M^r Dennis Capell*, a *Proctour* at the *Chstellet*, which doth shew that she had liued eighty foure yeares, and might haue seene 288 of her children and childrens children, shee dyed the 17 of *Aprill* 1514. Now imagine, saith *Pasquier*, how much she had beene troubled to call them by a proper denomination that were distant from her in the fourth and fifth degree. Wherevnto wee may adde, that which *Theodore Zwinger*, a Physician of *Basill*, in the third volume of the *Theatre of mans life*, recites of a noble Lady, of the family of the *Dalburgs*, who saw of her race even to the sixth degree, whereof the *Germanes* haue made this distich.

Lib.6: c: 46.

Lib.11:

Mater ait nata, dic nata filia natam

Vt moneat nata plangere filiolum.

That is to say, The mother said to her daughter, daughter bid thy daughter tell her daughter that her daughters daughter cries. The more I wonder at *Pliny* that he should report it as a wonder, & worthy the *Chronicle*, that *Crispinus Hilarus* *pralata pompa*, with open ostentation sacrificed in the *Capitoll*, 74 of his children & childrens children, attending on him. And so I passe from the consideration & comparison of the stature & strength of mens bodies, to that of their mindes, consisting in the more noble faculties of the reasonable soule, and the beautifull effects thereof.

Lib:74.13.

CAP. 6.

Containing a discourse in generall, that there is no such universall
and perpetuall decay in the powers of the minde, or in the
Arts & Sciences as is pretended.

SECT. I.

The excellencie of the Ancients in the powers of the mind
compared with those of the presents, as also their helpes and
hinderances in manner of learning, ballanced.

SINCE it is a received conclusion of the choicest, both Divines & Philosophers, that the reasonable soule of man is not conveyed vnto him from his Parents, but infused immediatly by the hand of the Creator; & withall, that the soules of all men at their first Creation & infusion, are equall & perfect alike, endued with the same essence & abilities; it must needs bee, that the inequality & disparity of actions, which they produce, arise from the diverse temper of the matter which they inform, and by which, as by an instrument they worke. Now the matter being tempered by the disposition of the bodies of our parents, the influence of the heavens, the quality of the elements, diet, exercise, & the like, it remaines, that as there is a variety & vicissitude of these in regard of goodnes, so is there likewise in the temper of the matter whereof wee consist, & the actions which by it our soules produce: Yea where both the agents & the instruments are alike, yet by the diversity of education or industry, their workes are many times infinitely diversified.

The principall faculties of the soule, are imagination, iudgement, and memory. One of the most famous for memory among the Ancients, to my remembrance, was Seneca the Father, who reports of himselfe, that hee could repeate two thousand names, or two hundred verses, brought to his Master by his Schoole-fellowes backward or forward: But that which Muretus reports of a young man of Corsica, a student in the Civill Law, whom himselfe saw at Padua, farre exceeds it; he could, faithfully, recite thirty six thousand names in the same order as they were delivered, without any stay or staggering, as readily, as if he had read them out of a booke: His conclusion is, *Huic ego ne ex antiquitate quidam quem opponam habeo, nisi forte Cyrum quem Plinius, Quintilianus, & alij Latini Scriptores tradiderunt tenuisse omnium militum nomina.* I find none among the Ancients, whom I may set against him, vnlesse Cyrus perchance, whom Plinie, Quintilian, and other Latine writers, report to haue remembered the names of all his souldiers, which yet Muretus himselfe doubts was mistaken of them: Zenophon, of whom onely or principally they could learne it, affirming onely that hee remembered the names, not of souldiers, of his Captaines or cheife commanders. And Eneas Sylvius in his history of the Council of Basill (at which himselfe was present) tels vs of one Iudricus Pontanus of Spoleto, a Lawyer likewise by profession, (who dyed of the Pestilence at that Council, at thirty yeares of age) that he could recite not the titles onely, but the in-

Proserpio, lib. 1.
Controvers.

V. riarum Le.
tionum, j. 3.

tire bodies of the Lawes, being for vastnes and fastnes of memory, *nemi-
 ni Antiquorum inferior, as he speaks*. Nothing inferiour to any of the
Ancients. It is to this purpose very memorable, which *Famianus Sra-
 da*, in the first booke of his *Academicall Prelusions*, relates of *Francis Sua-
 rez*, who hath, sayeth he, so strong a memory, that he hath *S. Augustine*
 (the most copious & various of the Fathers) readie by heart, alleading
 euery where (as occasion presents it selfe) fully & faithfully, his senten-
 ces, & which is very strange, his very wordes; nay if he be demaunded
 any thing touching any passage in any of his volumes (which of them-
 selues are almost enough to fill a Librarie,) *Statim quo loco, quaque pagi-
 na differuerit ea super re expedite docentem ac digito commonstrantem sape vi-
 dimus*; I my selfe haue often seene him instantly shewing and pointing
 with his finger, to the place & page in which he disputed of that mat-
 ter; This is I confesse the testimonie of one *Iesuite*, touching another.
 But of *Dr Rainolds*, it is most certaine that he excelled this way, to the
 astonishment of all that were inwardly acquainted with him, not only
 for *S. Augustines* workes, but almost all *Classike* Authours: so as in this
 respect it might truely be said of him, which hath beene applyed to
 some others, that he was a *living librarie*, or *third vniuersitie*. I haue
 heard it very credibly reported, that vpon occasion of some writings,
 which passed to & fro, betwixt him & *Dactour Gentilius*, then our Pro-
 fessour in the *Ciwill Lawes*, he publicquely professed, that he thought *Dr
 Rainolds* had read, and did remember more of those Lawes then him-
 selfe, though it were his profession. And for the excellency of the other faculties of the mind, together
 with that of the memory It is wonderfull the testimonhy that *Vnius*
 (himselfe a man of eminent parts) in his Commentaries on the second
 booke, and 17 Chapter *de ciuitate Dei*, giues *Budaeus*, *Quo viro*, (saith he)
*Gallia acutiore ingenio, acriore iudicio, exactiore diligentia, maiore eruditione
 nullum vnquam produxit, hac vero aetate nec Italia quidem*, then which man,
France never brought forth a sharper wit, or more peircing judgement,
 of more exact diligence, and greater learning, nor in this age *Italy* it
 selfe. And then going on, tells vs, that there was nothing written in
Greeke or *Latine*, which he had not turned ouer, read, examined; *Greeke
 & Latine* were both alike to him, yet was he in both most excellent,
 speaking either of them as readily, & perchaunde with more ease then
 the french, his mother tongue; he would reade out of a *Greeke* booke in
Latine, & out of a *Latine* booke in *Greeke*. These things which wee see
 so exquisitely written by him, flowed from him *ex tempore*; hee writes
 more easily both in *Greeke* & *Latine*, then the most skilfull in those lan-
 guages vnderstand. Nothing in those tongues is so abstruse & difficult,
 which he hath not ranlacked, entred vpon, looked into, & brought as it
 were another *Cerberus* from darkenesse to light. Infinite are the signifi-
 cations of words, the figures, & properties of speech, which vnkown to
 former ages, by the only help of *Budaeus*, studious men are now acquaint-
 ed with. And these so great & admirable things, he without the dire-
 ctions of any teacher, learned meere by his owne industry; *Felix &
 fecundum ingenium, quod in se uno inuenit, & doctorem, & discipulum, &
 docendi*

docendi viam rationemq;, & cuius decimam partem, alij sub magnis magistris vix discunt, ipse id solum à se magistro edoctus est: An happy & fruitfull wit, which in it selfe alone found both a master, a scholler, & a methode of teaching, and the tenth part of that which others can hardly attaine vnto vnder famous teachers; all that learned he of himselfe, being his owne reader, and yet (sayth he) hitherto haue I spoken nothing of his knowledge in the lawes, which being in a manner ruined, seeme by him to haue beene restored, nothing of his Philosophy, whereof he hath giuen vs such a triall in his bookes *de Affe*, that no man could compose them, but such a one as was assiduously versed in the bookes of all the Philosophers, & then having highly commended him for his piety, his sweet behaviour, & many other rare & singular vertues added to his great wit; hee farther adds, that notwithstanding all this, hee was continually conversant in domestick & state affaires at home, & ambassages abroad, so as it might truely be said of him, as *Plinius Cacilius* speakes of his vncke *Secundus*, when I consider his state affaires, & the happy dispatch of so many businesses, I wonder at the multiplicite of his reading & writing; & againe, when I consider this, I wonder at that, & so leaue him with that happy Distich of *Buchanan*:

*Gallia quod Græcia est quod Græcia barbara non est
Vtraq; Budæo debes vtrumque suo:*

That France is turn'd to Greece, that Greece is not turn'd rude
Both owe them both to thee, their deare great learned Bude.

And if wee looke ouer the *Perynees*, *Metamorus*, in his Treatise of the *Vniuersities* & learned men of *Spaine*, spares not to write of *Tostatus*, Bishop of *Abulum*, *si alio quam suo seculo viuere contigisset, neque Hipponi Augustinum, neq; Stridonæ Hieronymum, nec quempiam ex illis proceribus Ecclesia antiquis nunc invidemus*. Had he lived in any other age saue his owne, wee should not haue needed now to enuy either *Hippo* for *Augustine*, or *Striden* for *Hieron*, nor any other of those ancient noble worthies of the Church. To which *Possenn* in his *Apparatus* adds, that at the age of two & twenty yeares, hee attained the knowledge of almost all Arts & Sciences. For beside *Philosophy* & *Diuinity*, the *Canon* & the *Ciwill Lawes*, *history* & the *Mathematicques*, he was well skilled in the *Greek* & *Hebrew* tongues: so as it was written of him,

Hic stupor est mundi, qui scibile discussit omne,

*Beilarm: de Ec-
clesiæ script:*

The worlds wonder for that hee
Knowes whatsoever knowne may bee:

Hee was so true a student, & so constant in sitting to it, that with *Didymus* of *Alexandria*, *anea habuisse intestina putaretur*, he was thought to haue a body of brasse, & so much he wrote & published, that a part of the epitaph ingraven on his tombe was,

Prima natalis luci folia omnia adaptans

Quandocumque fuerit pagina trina satis;

The meaning is, that if of his published writings, wee should allow three leaues to euery day of his life, from his very birth, there would be yet some to spare, & yet withall hee wrote so exactly, that *Ximenes* his scholler, attempting to contract his Commentaries vpon *Matthew*,

Lib. 5. c. 38.

could not well bring it to lesse then a thousand leaues in folio, and that in a very small print, and others haue attempted the like in his other workes with like successe. But that which *Pasquier* hath obserued out of *Monsirelet*, is yet more memorable, touching a young man who being not aboue 20 yeares old, came to *Paris* in the yeare 1445, and shewed himselfe so admirably excellent in all *Arts*, *Sciences*, & *Languages*, that if a man of an ordinary good wit and sound constitution should liue one hundred yeares, and during that time study incessantly without eating, drinking, sleeping, or any recreation, he could hardly attaine to that perfection: insomuch that some were of opinion, that hee was *Antichrist* begotten of the *Deuill*, or somewhat at leastwise aboute humane condition: Which gaue occasion to these verses of *Castellanus*, who liued at the same time, and himselfe saw this miracle of wit.

J'ay veu par excellence
Un jeune de vingt ans
Auoir toute science & les degrez montans
Soy se vantant scauoir dire
Ce qu' onques fut escrit
Par seule fois le lire

Comme un jeune Antichrist.

A young man haue I scene

At twenty yeares so skill'd,

That euery Art he had, and all

In all degrees excell'd.

What euer yet was writ

He vanted to pronounce

Like a young *Antichrist*, if he

Did read the same but once.

Not to insist vpon supernaturals, were there among vs that industry; & that vnion of forces, & contribution of helpes as was in the *Ancients*, I see no sufficient reason but the wits of this present age might produce as great effects as theirs did, nay greater, inasmuch as we haue the light of their writings to guide and assist vs: wee haue bookes by reason of

Gillius 1. 3. c. 19

the *Art of Printing* more familiar, and at a cheaper rate: most men being now vnwilling to giue three hundred pound for three bookes, as *Plato* did for those of *Phylolaus* the *Pythagorean*. And by this meanes are wee freed from a number of grosse errors, which by the ignorance or negligence of vnskillfull Writers crept into the text: yet on the other side it is as true, that wee are forced to spend much time in the learning of *Languages*, specially the *Latin*, *Greeke*, and *Hebrew*, which the *Ancients* spent in the study of things, their learning being commonly written in their owne *Language*. Beside the infinite & bitter controversies among *Christians* in matter of *Religion* since the infancie thereof euen to these present times, hath doubtlesse not a little hindered the advancement & progresse of other *Sciences*, together with a vaine opinion, that all *Arts* were already fully perfected, so as nothing could be added therevnto, and that the *Founders* of them were *Giants*, more then men for their wits in regard of vs, and we very dwarfs, sunke below our species in regard

gard of them. *Sed non est ita*, saith *Lodovicus Vives*, *nec nos sumus nani, nec illi homines Gigantes, sed omnes eiusdem stature, & quidem nos altius erecti* *De Causis. cor-rupt. Animarum l. 1.*
eorum beneficio, maneat modo in nobis quod in illis, studium, attentio animi, vigilantia & amor veri; quæ si absint, iam non sumus nani, sed homines iuste magnitudinis humi prostrati. It is not so, neither are we *Dwarfs*, nor they *Giants*, but all of equall stature, or rather we somewhat higher, being lifted vp by their meanes, conditionally there be in vs an equall intension of spirit, watchfulnesse of minde, and loue of truth: for if these bee wanting, then are we not so much dwarfs as men of a perfect growth lying on the ground.

Likewise it cannot be denied, but that the encouragements for study & Learning were in former times greater: what liberall bountifull allowance did *Alexander* afford *Aristotle* for the entertainment of *Fishers, Fawkeners* and *Hunters* to bring him in beasts, fowles, & fishes of all kindes for the discovery of their severall natures & dispositions: Nay the dayly wages of *Roscium* the stage-player, as witnesseth *Macrobius* *Saturnal. lib. 3. c. 4.*
 was a thousand *denary*, which amounteth to thirty pound of our coyne. And *Æsop* the *Tragædian* grew so rich by the onely exercise of the same trade, if we may credit the same *Author*, as he left to his sonne above one hundred and fifty thousand pound sterling: Wherevnto may bee added, that the *Ancients* copying out their bookes for the most part with their own hands, it could not but worke in them a deeper impression of the matter therein contained, and being thereby forced to content themselues with fewer bookes, of necessity they held themselues more closely to them. And it is most true which *Seneca* hath aswell in reading as eating, in bookes as dyet, *Varietas delectat, certitudo prodest*, Variety is delightfull, but certaintie more vsfull and profitable.

So that vpon the matter, all reckonings being on all sides cast vp, and one thing being set against another, as wee want some helpes which the *Ancients* had, so are we freed from some hinderances wherewith they were incumbered, as againe it is certaine that they both wanted some of our helpes, and were freed from some of our hinderances: if then wee come short of their perfections, it is not because *Nature* is generally defectiue in vs, but because we are wanting to our selues, & doe not strue to make vse of, and improoue those abilities wherewith God & *Nature* hath endowed vs. *Male de Natura censet quicunq; vno illam aut altero partu effatam esse arbitratur*, saith *Vives*; He thinkes vnworthily and irreverently of *Nature* who conceiues her to be barren after one or two births; no, no, that which the same *Author* speakes of places, is likewise vndoubtedly true of times, *Vbiq; bona nascuntur ingenia, excolantur modo, alibi fortassis frequentiora, sed vbiq; nonnulla*. Euery-where & in all ages good wits spring vp, were they dressed & manured as they ought, though happily more frequently in some places & ages then in others. *Scythia* it selfe anciently yeelded one *Anacharsis*, and no doubt had they taken the same course as he did, more of the same mettall would haue beene found there.

S E C T. 2.

*That there is both in wits and Arts as in all things
besides, a kinde of circular progresse aswell
in regard of places as times.*

THere is (it seemes) both in wits & Arts, as in all things besides, a kinde of circular progresse: they haue their birth, their growth, their flourishing, their fayling, their fading, and within a while after, their resurrection, and re flourishing againe. The Arts flourished for a long time among the Persians, the Chaldeans, the Egyptians, and therefore is Moses said to bee learned in all the wisdom of the Egyptians, who well knowing their owne strength, were bold to object to the Grecians, that they were still children, as neither hauing the knowledge of Antiquity, nor the antiquity of knowledge: But afterwards the Grecians got the start of them, & grew so excellent in all kinde of learning, that the rest of the world in regard of them were reputed Barbarians, which reputation of wisdom they held euen to the Apostles time, *I am debtor,* saith S. Paul, *both to the Grecians and to the Barbarians, both to the wise and to the vnwise.* And againe, *the Iewes require a signe, and the Grecians seeke after wisdom.* By reason whereof they relished not the simplicity of the Gospel, it seeming foolishnesse vnto them: And in the 17 of the Acts the Philosophers of Athens, (sometimes held the most famous Vniuersity in the World) out of an opinion of their owne great learning scorned S. Paul and his doctrine, tearing him a *sower of words*, a very Babler or trifler: yet not long after this, these very Grecians declined much, & themselves (whether thorow their owne inclination, or by reason of their bondage vnder the Turke, the common enemy both of Religion and Learning, I cannot determine) are now become so strangely barbarous, that their knowledge is converted into a kinde of affected ignorance, as is their liberty into contented flauery: yet after the losse both of their Empire and Learning, they still retained some sparke of their former wit and industry.

A^d. 7. 22.

Rom. 1. 14.

1st Cor. 1. 22

Iuven. Sat. 7

*Ingenium velox, audacia perdita sermo
Promptus, & Isao torrentior, ede quid illum
Esse putas quemvis hominem secum attulit ad nos
Grammaticus, Rhetor, Geometres, Pic^{tor}, A^liptes,
Augur, Schanobates, Medicus, Magus, omnia novit
Graculus esuriens, in calum iusseris, ibit.*

Quickwitted, wonderous bold, well spoken, then
If *aeus* fluenter, tell who all men
Brought with him selfe: a Southsayer, a Physitian,
Magician, Rhetorician, Geometrician,
Grammarian, Painter, Ropewalker, all knowes
The needy Greeke, bid goe to heauen, he goes.

But now they wholly delight in ease, in shades, in dancing, in drinking, and for the most part no farther endeavour the enriching either of their mindes or purses then their bellies compell them.

The

The lampe of Learning being thus neere extinguished in Greece, now
in Latium sprouts Academia migrat Athens
Athens forsaken by Philosophie,
She forthwith travell'd into Italie
He beganne to shine afresh in Italy neere about the time of the birth of
Christ, there being a generall peace thorow the world & the Roman Em-
pire being fully settled & established, Poets, Orators, Philosophers, Histori-
ans, neuer more excellent. From thence this light spread it selfe ouer
Christendome, & continued bright till the invadation of the Gothes and
Hunnes, & Vandals, who sacked Libraries, and defaced almost all the
monuments of Antiquity, in somuch that Lampe seemed againe to be
put out by the space of almost a thousand years, & had longer so con-
tinued, had not first Measor King of Africa & Spaine raised vp & spurred
forward the Arabian wises to the restoration of good letters, by propos-
ing great rewards & encouragements vnto them. And afterwards Pe-
trarch a man of a singular wit & rare naturall endowments, opened such
Libraries as were left vnderpolished, beat off the dust from the moth-
eaten bookes, & drew into the light the best Authors. He was seconded
by Boccace & John of Ravenna, & loone after By Arline, Philosphus, Valla,
Poggius, Omnibonus, Vergerius, Blondus, & others. And those againe were
followed by Aeneas Sylvius, Angelus Politianus, Hermolaus Barbarus, Mar-
silius Ficinus, & that Phoenix of Learning Iohannes Picus Earle of Miran-
dula, who as appears in the entrance of his Apologie proposed openly
at Rome nine hundred questions in all kinde of faculties to be disputed, in-
viting all strangers thither, from any part of the knowne world, and of-
fering himselfe to beare the charge of their travell both coming and
going, and during their abode there: so as he deservedly receiued that
Epitaph which after his death was bestowed on him.

Iohannes iacet hic Mirandula, cetera norunt

Et Tagus, & Ganges, sorsan & Antipodes.

Heere lies Mirandula, Tagus the rest doth know,
And Ganges, and perhaps th' Antipodes also.
And rightly might that be verified of him, which Lucretius sometimes
wrote of Epicurus his Master.

Hic genus humanum ingenio superavit, & omnes

Præstrinxit stellæ exortus vñ ætherei sol.

In wit all men he farre hath overgone,
Eclipsing them like to the rising Sunne.

This path being thus beaten out by these Heroicall spirits, they were
backed by Rodolphus Agricola, Reuceline, Melancthon, Ioachimvs Camerari-
us, Wolphangus Lazius, Beatus Rhenanus, (Almaines) the great Erasmus a
Netherlander, Ludovicus Vives a Spanyard, Bombus, Sadoletus, Engubinus I-
talian, Turpinus, Muretus, Ramus, Pithæus, Budæus, Amiot, Scaliger,
Frenchmen, Sir Thomas More, and Linaker Englishmen. And it is worth
the observing, that about this time the slumbering drowzie spirit of the
Græcians began againe to be revived and awakened, in Bessarion, Gem-
mistius, Trapezontius, Gaza, Argyropilus, Calcondilas, and others. Nay,
those very Northerne Nations which before had giuen the greatest

wound to learning, began now as by way of recompence to advance the honour of it by the same of their studies, as *Olaus Magnus, Holsterius, Tycho Braye, Hemingius, Danes, Hesius, Frixius, Crummenius, Polonians*: But the number of those worthies, who like so many sparkling starres haue since thorow Christendome succeeded, and some of them exceeded these in learning & knowledge, is so infinite, that the very recitall of their names were enough to fill whole volumes: And if we descend to a particular examination of the severall professions, *Arts, Sciences, and Manufactures*, we shall surely finde that prediction of the *Divine Seneca*

Natural. quest.
1.7.31.

Annal. 1.3.12.

Prefat. Schol.
Mathebat.

accomplished, *Multa venientis ævi populus ignota nobis sciet*, the people of future ages shall come to the knowledge of many things unknowne to vs: And that of *Tacitus* most true, *Nec omnia apud priores meliora, sed nostra quædam et a multis laudis et æmulationis imitanda posteris tabis*: Neither were all things in ancient times better then ours, but our age hath left vnto posterity many things worthy praise and imitation. *Ramus* goes further, and perchance warrantably enough: *Maiores doctorum hominum et operum profectum sacula vix vidimus, quam totis ætatis 14. maiores nostri viderant*. We haue seene within the space of one age, a more plentiful crop of learned men & works, then our Predecessors saw in fourteen; next going before.

C. A. P. 7. *Touching that three principall professions, Divinity, Law, and Physicke.*

S. B. C. 1. *Of the Divinity of the Gentiles and fewer before Christ, and the next ages after Christ.*

WE will begin with the high and noble profession of Divinity, this among the *Gentiles* was partly prophane and fabulous in their vaine discourses touching the *Genealogie*, the number & nature of their *Gods*, & partly mixed with much error and weaknesse in their *Metaphysicks*, professing themselves to be wise, they became vaine in their imaginations, and their foolish heart was darkened. *Ante Christum quam molesta disputationes, saith Lodericus Fives in his 5 booke & 9 chapter de veritate fidei Christiana*, how irksome where the disputes: how tedious their deliberations in comparing honesty with profit: because they knew not what was honesty, nor in very truth what was truly profitable. How diverse and uncertaine were their ends of goodnesse: which held mens mindes in suspense, but *Christ* hath now fully cleered & opened all points, we are now well acquainted with the true end and the meanes that conduce to that end, what is honest, what profitable, what hurtfull, the resolutions are now easie and perspicuous, and in the fourth chapter of the same booke, *nunc reconditisima mysteria scitu digna & necessaria, melius nostra muliercule intelligunt, quam maximi olim philosophi*: Our silliest women now better vnderstand the deepest Mysteries worthie or needefull to be knowne, then the

Rom. 1.21.22.

profoundest Philosophers then did. They were (as the *Apostle* speaks in another case) *euē learning*, but neuer came, nor indeed could euē come to the knowledge of truth, in as much as the meere naturall man perceiue not, nor can perceiue the hidde things of God; the mysteries of the kingdome of heauen; which made them to bee, as *Minutius Felix* in his *Octanius* hath truely obserued; *Semper aduersus sua vitia facundi*, alwaies eloquent in declayming against their owne vices; but wee (saith he) *qui non habitu sapientiam sed mente praeferrimus*, who doe not place, or weare wisdom in the robe but in the mind: *non eloquimur magna sed viuimus*, we speake not bigge but liue well, & glory in this, that wee haue found that, which they with all eagernesse sought, but could not finde. His conclusion is: *Quid ingrati sumus? quid nobis inuidemus, si ueritas diuinitatis nostri temporis etate maturuit? fruamur bono nostro*: Why are wee ingrate? why doe we enuy our selues, if the true knowledge of the deitie haue beene brought to ripenesse and full perfection in our age? In Gods name let vs enioy our owne blessing. Among the *Iewes*, the onely visible Church, the sacred Oracles of God, containing the reuelation of supernaturall truths, were indeede preserved: But heerevnto, their *Talmudists* & *Cabalists*, their *Scribes* & *Pharisees*, their *Sadduces* and *Essens* added such traditions, such fictions, such corrupt glosses and malicious interpretations, as the fruite of their doctrine lay hidde vnder the leaues, and as the learned in their language well knowe, very little vse can be made of their best *Commentaries* vpon Scripture; howbeit they presumed, that their chieffes kill lay that way: So that wee neede not doubt, but the most excellent *Diuines*, haue all beene since the coming of *Christ*. It is to mee very strange, that not onely the *Pharisees* should be infected with this opinion of the *Pythagoreans*, touching the dwelling of the same soule in diuerse bodies successiuelly, & in diuerse ages; but that *Herod*, and the whole nation of the *Iewes*, should bee tainted with that grosse error, as appeares in that they held our Saviour to be *Iohn the Baptist*, or *Elias*, or one of the *Prophets*; all which they knew to be dead, and some of them long before: Their meaning being, that the soule of the *Baptist*, or of *Elias*, or of one of the *Prophets*, was by traduction passed into our Saviours bodie; as *Pythagoras* writes of himselfe, that he was first *Euphorbus*, and then *Callidas*, then *Hermotimus*, then *Pyrrhus*, and lastly *Pythagoras*: But yet farre more strange it is, that the *Apostles* of our Saviour themselves should be thus misled; and yet it should seeme by that their demaund touching him that was borne blinde, *Master, who did sinne this man, or his parents, that he was borne blind*; that they were indeede possessed with that opinion, for how could they conceiue that he should sinne before he was borne, but in some other bodie which his soule actuated before? and in truth Saint *Cyryll* vpon that occasion, is induced to thinke, that they were swayed with the common error of that nation and those times; and *Calvin* confidently cries our *Prodigij sane instar hoc fuit quod in electo Dei populo, in quo caelestis sapientia per Legem & Prophetas lux accensa fuerat, tum tam crasso figmento fuerit datus locus*. Truely, this is a prodigious kind of wonder, that among the elect people of God, who were inlightned by

A.C. 1. 6.

the heavenly wisdom of the Law and the Prophets, way should bee
 giuen to so palpable a fiction. Yet I know not whether their stupiditye,
 were greater in this, or in that other demaund of theirs, at our Saviours
 ascension, *Lord, wilt thou at this time restore the kingdome to Israell?* where
Calvin againe stands amazed, that they should all with one consent (for
 so much doth the text imply) ioyne together in such a foolish question as
 hee rearmes it, *miri profecto illorum fuit ruditas, quod tam absolute tantaq;
 cura per triennium edocti non minorem incertitiam produunt, quam si nullum un-
 quam verbum audissent: totidem in hac interrogatione sunt errores quot verba;*
 wonderfull in truth was their rawnesse & rudenesse, that hauing beene
 so exquisitely and diligently taught by thre yeares space, they not-
 withstanding bewrayed much ignorance, as if they had neuer heard so
 much as one word of instruction, as many errors are in their question
 as words. But this likewise of restoring them a *temporall kingdome*, then
 was, and at this day continues to be, the common error of that whole na-
 tion, neither by any meanes will they be beaten from it: That which to
 mee seemeth more admirable, is, that *S. Peter* himselfe, euen after the
 descending of the *holy Ghost*, was ignorant of the calling of the *Gentiles*,
 of whom together with the *Jews*, the *Catholique Church* was to bee
 made vp: whereby it should seeme, that then likewise he was ignorant,
 that himselfe was the head of the *Catholique Church*, as by those who
 hold themselves the only *Catholiques*, hee is now made: yet may it not
 be denyed, or somewhat as doubted, that the holy and blessed *Apostles*
 were all indowed with singular gifts and graces, as well for knowledge
 and wisdom, as all kind of morall vertues, fitting for so high a cal-
 ling, and that in their writings, they were the pen-men of *God*, inspired
 by the *holy Ghost*: but leauing them, let vs descend a little lower in
 the Church of *Christ*. As then the three first Centuries are commended
 for *Pietie*, *Deuotion*, & *Martyrdome*, so is the fourth for learned and fa-
 mous *Diuines*. *Habuit hac aetas si qua unquam alia plurimos prestantes &
 illustres Doctores*, say the *Magdeburgians*: This age if euer any abounded
 in excellent and famous *Doctours*, as namely *Arnobius*, *Lactantius*, *Euse-
 bius*, *Athanasius*, *Hilarius*, *Victorinus*, *Basilius*, *Nazianzenus*, *Ambrosi-
 us*, *Prudentius*, *Epiphanius*, *Theophilus*, *Hieronymus*, *Faustinus*, *Didymus*, *E-
 phraim*, *Optatus*, to which number, they might well haue added, (for
 that hee began to shew his worth in the same Centurie) that renowned
 pillar of trueth & hammer of heresies *S. Augustine*. These and the
 like great *Diuines* of those ages I much honour, & *eorum nominibus sem-
 per assurgo*, I confesse I reuerence their very names, yet most certaine,
 it is they had all their slips and blemishes in matter of doctrine: But
 before this age, *Tertullian*, and *Origen*, and *Cyprian*, are specially bran-
 ded for notorious errors, and *Vincentius Lirinensis* giues this rare com-
 mendation of the *Fathers*, assembled in the Council of *Nice*, that they
 were *sante eruditionis, tanteque doctrinae*, of so profound learning and
 singular knowledge, *ut prope omnes possent de dogmatibus disputare*, that al-
 most all of them could reason of matters of faith: Yet in those very
 times, was the Church so rent and torne in sunder with *Capitall* heresies,
 trenching vpon the very vitall parts and fundamentall principles of
 Christian

Contra hereses,
cap. 41.

Christian Religion, touching the sacred Trinitie, and incarnation of our blessed Saviour. *ut illis temporibus ingeniosa res fuit esse Christianum*, so as in those times it was a matter of wit to be a Christian: Such were the nicities, wherein their Teachers differed, and such their subtilties, they bound their schollers to maintaine.

But that which to mee seemeth most strange, is, that so many of them were infected with the errour of the Millenaries, that so many, specially of the Greeke Fathers, held that the Angells were created long before the creation of the visible world, that a number both of the Greeke and Latine maintained, that the soules of men departed this life, goe neither to heaven nor hell, till the resurrection of the bodie, but remained in certaine hidden receptacles they knew not whree, that Antichrist was to come of the tribe of Dan, that the sonnes of God, who in the sixth of Genesis, are said to haue fallen in loue with the daughters of men, were the blessed Angells: vpon which occasion, Pererius a learned Iesuite hath these memorable words, *Pudet dicere quæ de optimis Scriptoribus hoc loco dicturus sum*: I euen blush to vtter those things which heere I am to speake of most excellent writers, they being not only false, but absurd and shamefull, vnworthy the wit & learning of so famous men, as also of the puritie and holynesse of the blessed Angells; yet truth inforceth me to speake, partly, least that should seeme probable to any man, by reason of the countenance of so graue Authours, which is no way to be approved; and partly, that from hence it may appeare how much the Church of Christ, from that time to this hath profited in the knowledge of holy Scriptures & diuine mysteries: *Nam multa quondam vel doctissimis viris, aut obscura & dubia, aut etiam incognita, nunc vel mediocriter eruditis perspicua indubitata, exploratèque percepta sunt*: for many things anciently either obscure or doubtfull, or altogether vknowne to the most learned among them, are now become euen to meane Clarkes cleere & certaine. And with him fully accords Andradius in his defence of the Tridentine Councill, *God hath revealed many things to vs that they never saw*. And Dominicus Bannes a famous schoole-man: *It is not necessary, that by how much the more the Church is remote from the Apostles times, by somuch there should be the lesse perfect knowledge of the mysteries of faith therein, because after the Apostles times, there were not the most learned men in the Church, which had dexterity in vnderstanding and expounding matters of faith* Rossensis likewise, our Countrey-man strikes vpon the same string: *It cannot be vknowne to any, but that many things are more confut. assert. narrowly sifted & cleere vnderstood by the helpes of latter wits, as well in the Gospels, as other parts of the Scriptures, then formerly they haue beene; and lastly, to make vp the musicke full, Cardinall Caietan beares a part, Let no man thinke it strange, if sometimes wee bring a new sence of holy writ, different from the auncient Doctours, but let him diligently examine the Text & context, and if he find it to agree therewith, let him praise God, who hath not tyed the exposition of the sacred Scriptures, to the senses giuen by the auncient Doctours. These testimonies, I the rather vouch for that the Authours of them being professed Champions of the Romane Church, withall professe themselues to bee the greatest friends to the ancient Fathers.*

A. 1. 6.

the heavenly wisdom of the Law and the Prophets, way should be given to so palpable a fiction: Yet I know not whether their stupidity, were greater in this, or in that other demand of theirs, at our Saviours ascension, *Lord, wilt thou at this time restore the kingdom to Israel?* where Calvin againe stands amazed, that they should all with one consent (for so much doth the text imply) ioyne together in such a foolish question as hee tearmes it, *mira profecto illorum fuit ruditas, quod tam absolute tantæque cura per triennium edocti non minorem incertitiam produunt, quam si nullum unquam verbum audissent, totidem in hac interrogatione sunt errores quot verba;* wonderfull in truth was their rawnesse & rudenesse, that hauing beene so exquisitely and diligently taught by three yeares space, they notwithstanding bewray so much ignorance, as if they had neuer heard so much as one word of instruction, as many errors are in their question as words: But this likewise of restoring them a temporall kingdom, then was, and at this day continues to be, the common error of that whole nation, neither by any meanes will they be beaten from it: That which to mee seemeth more admirable, is, that S. Peter himselfe, euen after the descending of the holy Ghost, was ignorant of the calling of the Gentiles, of whom together with the Iewes, the Catholique Church was to be made vp: whereby it should seeme, that then likewise he was ignorant, that himselfe was the head of the Catholique Church, as by those who hold themselves the only Catholiques, hee is now made, yet may it not be denyed, or so much as doubted, that the holy and blessed Apostles were all indowed with singular gifts and graces, as well for knowledge and wisdom, as all kind of morall vertues, fitting for so high a calling, and that in their writings, they were the pen-men of God, inspired by the holy Ghost: but leauing them, let vs descend a little lower in the Church of Christ: As then the three first Centuries are commended for Pietie, Devotion, & Martyrdome, so is the fourth for learned and famous Diuines. *Habuit hac ætas si quæ unquam alia plurimò præstantes & illustres Doctores,* say the Magdeburgians: This age if euer any abounded in excellent and famous Doctours, as namely Arnobius, Lactantius, Eusebius, Athanasius, Hilarius, Victorinus, Basilus, Nazianzenus, Ambrosius, Prudentius, Epiphanius, Theophilus, Hieronymus, Faustinus, Didymus, Ephraim, Optatus, to which number, they might well haue added, (for that hee began to shew his worth in the same Centurie) that renowned pillar of trueth & hammer of heresies S. Augustine. These and the like great Diuines of those ages I much honour, & *eorum nominibus semper assurgo*, I confesse I reuerence their very names, yet most certaine, it is they had all their slips and blemishes in matter of doctrine: But before this age, Tertullian, and Origen, and Cyprian, are specially branded for notorious errors, and Vincentius Lirinensis giues this rare commendation of the Fathers, assembled in the Councill of Nice, that they were *tantæ eruditionis, tantæque doctrinæ*, of so profound learning and singular knowledge, *ut propè omnes possent de dogmatibus disputare*, that almost all of them could reason of matters of faith: Yet in those very times, was the Church so rent and torne in sunder with Capitall heresies, trenching vpon the very vitall parts and fundamentall principles of

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cap. 41.

Christian Religion, touching the sacred Trinitie, and incarnation of our blessed Saviour. *ut illis temporibus ingeniosa res fuit esse Christianum*, so as in those times it was a matter of wit to be a Christian: Such were the nicities, wherein their Teachers differed, and such their subtilties, they bound their schollers to maintaine.

But that which to mee seemeth most strange, is, that so many of them were infected with the errour of the *Millenaries*, that so many, specially of the *Greeke Fathers*, held that the *Angells* were created long before the creation of the visible world, that a number both of the *Greeke* and *Latine* maintained; that the soules of men departed this life, goe neither to heaven nor hell, till the resurrection of the bodie, but remained in certaine hidden receptacles they knew not whree, that *Antichrist* was to come of the tribe of *Dan*, that the *sonnes of God*, who in the sixth of *Genesis*, are said to haue fallen in loue with the daughters of men, were the blessed *Angells*: vpon which occasion, *Pererius* a learned Iesuite hath these memorable words; *Pudet dicere quæ de optimis Scriptoribus hoc loco dicturus sum*: I euen blush to vtter those things which heere I am to speake of most excellent writers, they being not only false, but absurd and shamefull, vnworthy the wit & learning of so famous men, as also of the puritie and holynesse of the blessed *Angells*; yet truth inforceth me to speake, partly, least that should seeme probable to any man, by reason of the countenance of so graue *Authours*, which is no way to be approved; and partly, that from hence it may appeare how much the *Church of Christ*, from that time to this hath profited in the knowledge of holy Scriptures & diuine mysteries: *Nam multa quondam vel doctissimis viris, aut obscura & dubia, aut etiam incognita, nunc vel mediocriter eruditis perspicua indubitata, exploratæque percepta sunt*: for many things anciently either obscure or doubtfull, or altogether vnkowne to the most learned among them, are now become euen to meane *Clarkes* cleere & certaine. And with him fully accords *Andradus* in his defence of the *Tridentine Councill*, *God hath revealed many things to vs that they never saw*. And *Dominicus Bannes* a famous schoole-man: It is not necessary, that by how much the more the Church is remote from the *Apostles times*, by somuch there should be the lesse perfect knowledge of the mysteries of faith therein, because after the *Apostles times*, there were not the most learned men in the Church, which had dexterity in vnderstanding and expounding matters of faith. *Roffensis* likewise, our Countrey-man strikes vpon the same string: It cannot be vnkowne to any, but that many things are more confus. assert. narrowly sifted & cleerely vnderstood by the helpes of latter wits, as well in the Gospels, as other parts of the Scriptures, then formerly they haue beene; and lastly, to make vp the musicke full, *Cardinall Caietan* beares a part, Let no man thinke it strange, if sometimes wee bring a new sence of holy writ, different from the auncient Doctours, but let him diligently examine the Text & context, and if he find it to agree therewith, let him praise God, who hath not tyed the exposition of the sacred Scriptures, to the senses giuen by the auncient Doctours. These testimonies, I the rather vouch for that the *Authours* of them being professed *Champions* of the *Romane Church*, withall professe themselves to bee the greatest friends to the ancient *Fathers*.

Erasmus.

Comment. in locum.

Lib. 1.

2. 2. 4. pag. 58.

Luc. 1. 1. 3.

1. 1. 1. 1. 1.

SECT. 2.

Of ensuing ages.

YET not to conceale a truth, these were lightsome times in regard of those succeeding ages that followed after, when Divinity was wouen into distinctions, which like Cobwebbs were fine and curious in working, but not much vsfull. And in the meane time for the most part in the Scriptures and holy Languages there was so great ignorance, *ut Græcè nosse suspectum fuerit, Hebraicè propè Hæreticum*, that, as witnesseth *Espencans* himselfe a Doctour of the Sorbon, to bee skilled in Greeke was suspitious, in the Hebrew almost hæreticall, which suspicion *Rhemigius* an Interpreter of *S. Pauls* Epistles, surely was not guilty of: for commenting vpon these words, *à vobis diffamatus est sermo*, hee tells vs, that *diffamatus*, was somewhat improperly put for *diuulgatus*, *S. Paul* being not very sollicitous of the propriety of words: wherevpon *Ludovicus Vives* demaunds, *Quid facias principibus istis Scholarum qui nondum sciunt Paulum non Latine sed Græcè scripsisse*: What shall we say to these Masters in Israel, who know not that *S. Paul* wrote not in Latine, but in Greeke. It appears by the rescript of Pope *Zacharie* to *Boniface* a German Bishop, that a Priest in those parts baptized in this forme, *Baptizo te in nomine Patriæ, & Filia, & Spiritus sancta*: And by *Erasmus*, that some Divines in his time would take vpon them to prooue, that Heretiques were to be put to death, because the Apostle saith, *Hæreticum hominem devita*, which it seemes they vnderstood as if he had said, *de vita tolle*. I haue somewhere read, that two Fryars disputing whether God made any more worlds then one, the one wisely alleadging that passage of the Gospell touching the ten Lepers which were cleansed, *Annon decem facti sunt mundi*, as if God had made tenne worlds, the other looking into the text, replies as wisely, with the words immediatly following, *Sed ubi sunt novem?* but what is become of the nine? so as from thence hee would prooue but one to be left. He that is disposed to make himselfe merry in this kinde, may finde in *Henry Stevens* his Apologie of *Herodotus*, a number of like stuffe, I will only touch one or two of the choicest. *Du Prat* a Bishop and Chauncellour of France, hauing receiued a letter from *Henry* the eight King of England, to *Francis* the first of France, wherein among other things he wrote, *mitto tibi duodecem Molossos*, I send you twelue mastife dogs, the Chauncellour taking *Molossos* to signifie *Mules*, made a journey of purpose to the Court to begge them of the King; who wondring at such a present to be sent him from England, demaunded the sight of the letter, and smiling thereat, the Chauncellour finding himselfe to be deceiued, told him that hee mistooke *Molossos* for *Muletos*, and so hoping to mend the matter, made it worfe. Another tale he tels of a Parish Priest in *Artois*, who had his Parishioners in sute for not paying the Church, and that the charge thereof lay vpon them and not vpon him he would proue out of the 17 of the Prophet *Ieremie*, *Paveant illi, non paveam ego*. I remember Arch-

Bishop

2 Tim. 3. digression. 17.

1 Thess. 1. 8

Comment. de Civ Dei l. 2. c. 21.

3. part. Decret. de consecr. d. 1. fin. 4. Can. 84

Bishop Parker somewhere in his *Antiquitates Britannicae*, makes relation of a French Bishop, who being to take his oath to the Archbishop of Canterbury, & finding the word *Metropolitica* therein, being not able to pronounce it, he passed it over with *Sed pour dict*, let it be as spoken; & when they had most grossely broken *Priscians* head, being taken in the fact, their common defence was, those words of S. Gregorio, *non debent verba caelestis Oraculi subesse regulis Donati*, the wordes of the heavenly Oracles ought not to be subject to the rules of *Donatus*.

But about 200 yeares since, together with the *Arts*, the languages likewise began to revive, in so much as *Hebrew* & *Greece* are now as common as true *Latine* then was, & for the true fence of holy *Scripture*, neuer had the Church more judicious & faithfull Interpreters, then by the *Divine providence* it hath enjoyed these last 100 yeares: besides, the *Sermons* of this latter age, specially in this land, have doubtles bin more exquisite & effectfull, then ordinarily they have bin in any precedent age; in so much, as it is obserued, that if there were a choice collection made of the most accurate, since the entrance of *Queen Elizabeth*, to these present times, (leaving out the largeness of applications therevpon) it would proue one of the rarest peeces that hath beene published since the *Apostles* times. Heerevnto might be added for practicall divinitie, the decisions of *cases of conscience*, which the *Ancients* did not handle professedly, but onely vpon the Bye, and the many singular treatises tending to devotion, which I will they were aswell practised as they are written. And no doubt but the great agitation of *controversies*, which these latter times have produced, hath not only sharpened the spirits of *Divines*, but made the grounds of *Christian religion* to be better vnderstood. For, as S. *Augustine* speaks of the *Fathers* writings before *Pelagius*, *ante exortum Pelagium securus inquebantur Patres*, before the rising of *Pelagius* the *Fathers* spoke more securely: so may wee truly say, before *Luther* arose and awakened the world, *Divines* spoke & wrote more loosely then since they haue done: The sparkes of truth being forced out of contention, as the sparkes of fire are out of the collision of the flint & Steele.

To conclude this Section, touching *Divinitie*, it is most true which a learned *Divine* of our owne times & Church hath rightly obserued, that whosoever shall peruse the Church storie digested into *Centuries* or *Annales*, or cast but a glance of his eye vpon the *Catalogues* of writers, made by S. *Hierome*, *Suidas*, *Photius*, *Gennadius*, *Abbas Tricemius*, *Illyricus*, *Ball*, & *Bellarmino*, shall finde the ages of the Church to resemble the starres of the skie: In some parts wee see many glorious and eminent starres, in others few of any remarkeable greatnes, and in some none but blinkards and obscure ones: In like manner, in some ages of the Church, we may behold many worthy & glorious lights like stars of the first or second magnitude, in others few of any note or bright lustre, and in some none but obscure and unknowne *Authors*, resembling the least and obscurest starres in the skie. After wee haue passed the eight age of the Church, we fall into *Cymorian* darkenesse. *Bellarmino* cannot speake of the ninth age with patience. *Seculo hoc nullum ex-*

D.F.

De Romano Pontifice, lib. 4. c. 12.

titit

Encead. 9:

Chron. lib. 4:

tittit indoctus aut infelicius, quo qui mathematica aut Philosophia operam dabat vulgo Magus parabatur: neuer was there any age more vnlearned or vnhappy then this, in which he that studied the Mathematickes or Philolophy was commonly held a Magician. *Sabellius* is at a stand in admiring the palpable Egyptian darkenesse thereof: *mirum est quanta omnium bonarum artium obliuio per id tempus mortalium animos obrepserit, ut ne in Pontificibus quidem ullis sine Principibus quicquam illuceret quod vitam inuare possit*: A wonder it is, how strange a forgetfullnes of all good arts about this time crept vpon the mindes of men: so as neither in Prelates nor Princes appeared any thing which might farther ciuilitie. *Genebrard* after a sort blesseth himselfe from it, *Infelix dicitur hoc seculum, exhaustum hominibus doctrina, & ingenio claris, sine etiam claris Principibus atque Pontificibus*: This is called the vnhappy age, void of men renowned either for wit or learning, as also without any famous, either Princes or Prelates: So great an alteration there is in the studies and endeavours of men in diuers ages, sometimes for the better, sometimes for the worse, and then by Gods blessing for the better againe.

SECT. 3.

The Lawyers of this last age, preferred before those of former times.

NExt Gods Lawes, those of the Empire seeme to challenge their place, howbeit with vs, hauing neither that reward nor employment as they deserue, they haue lost both their ranke and dignitie, but in forraine parts where they are cherished and honoured, they maruellously flourish, in somuch as in some transmarine kingdomes their Lawyers are held, and for the most part vndoubtedly are, more sufficient Schollers then their *Diuines*, and within this last Centenarie, much more sufficient then the writers and professours of the same facultie in many precedent ages, aswell in that part which is professed in Schooles, as the practique expressed in iudgements and pleadings. He that shall judiciously compare *Baldus* and *Bartolus*, *Iason* and *Accursius*, with *Cuijaci*, *Alciatus*, *Ottomannus*, *Duarenus* all french men, shall easily finde these latter, not only for their phrase more polite, & for their methode more exact, but for the marrow & true sence of the law more profound: I will instance onely in the two first. For *Cuijaci*, it is a memorable testimonie which is yeelded him by *Massonius*; *Jacobus Cuijaci* juris Romani radices tanta cura effossas in lucem protulit, ut ceteri ante eum ignorasse illas ipse solus post multos & quasi nisse diligentius, & penitus inuenisse videatur: *Iames Cujace* with so great industry digged vp and brought to light, the very rootes of the Imperiall Law, that both others before him seemed to be ignorant of them, and he alone after others to haue sought them more diligently, and discovered them more fully: But that of *Pithaus* outuiues this of *Massonius*, where in an Epiraph erected to him, he doubts not to stile him, *Romani iuris a primis Conditoribus interpretem primum & vltimum*, the first and the last interpreter of the *Romane* Law since the first founders thereof: adding withall, that what

what cleere and natue light soeuer is at all brought to that science, this present age hath deriued it from him, and to him posterity must owe it, which he hath well expressed in this Distich.

*Cuiusq; Themidisque vides commune sepulchrum,
Conduuntur simul hic quæ periere simul.*

Cuius and Themis here lie in one common graue,

They did together and one sepulchre they haue. **T** Wherevnto may be added the graue testimony which Arius Montanus giues Alciat.

Eloquio ius Romanum lucebat & arte

Turba obscurarunt barbara leguleis

Andreas prisco reddit sua iura nitore

Consultosque facit doctius inde loqui.

The Ciuill Law with art and eloquence did shine

But barbarous pettifoggers did the same obscure

In season Alciat came and did the Lawes refine;

And taught the Lawyer thence to speake more pure

Yet Cuijcius himsele, whether out of judgement or modesty I cannot

affirme, was content to yeeld the bucklers to Gouianus, touching whom

Thuanus witnesseth that himsele heard him thus protesting, *Gouianum*

ex omnibus iuris Iustiniani interpretibus, quotquid sunt vel fuere, vnum esse

cui, si quaratur quis excellat, palma deferenda sit: that of all the Interpreters

of the Lawes of Iustinian, which either are, or haue bin, if the question

should bee, who amongst them most excelled, Gouianus was the onely

man, to whom the price was of right to be adiudged. Now for the

latter part, which is the *practique*, it may easily be euenced to any

who will be pleased to looke into it, that by the obseruations, experi-

ence, paines, and learning of the Lawyers of these latter ages, it is grown

to much more exactnesse and perfection, then former ages had. Which

appeares by the *iudgements*, *decisions*, *arrests*, and *pleadings* of the highest

Courts of the greatest part of the Christian Nations, which are extant

in great numbers, as the *decisions* of the seuerall *Rotes* of Italy at Rome, at

Naples, at Florence, at Genoa, at Bononia, at Mantua, at Perusium, and the

rest. The *iudgements* of the Imperiall chamber at Spire, which is the last

ressort of the Germane Nation, and the arrests of the seuerall Courtes

of Parliament in France, as Paris, Aix, Bardeaux, Grenoble, and the rest:

to which may be added the pleadings of Monsieur Seruin, the french

Kings aduocate, and others of that nature, which are all published and

extant, partly in *Latine*, and partly in their owne languages, with that

variety and learning as much exceeds the former ages.

S E C T. 4.

*Ancient and moderne Physitians compared especially
in the knowledge of Anatomy and Herbarie,
the two legges of that Science.*

Laurentius.

TH E third great Profession is *Physicke*, in which besides the vncertaine and fabulous reports of *Apollo* and *Esculapius*, we read not of any excellent till *Hippocrates*, & after him being much decayed, it was revived by *Galen*, *ut sub eo rursus nata medicina videatur*, so as it seemed vnder him to bee borne againe. Two speciall parts thereof are the *knowledge of the body of man*, and the *knowledge of simples*: touching the former, the opening and anatomizing of mens bodies. It was doubtlesse among the *Ancients* in very little vse, I meane the *Egyptians*, the *Hebrewes*, the *Gracians*, the *Romans*, & the *Primitive Christians*. First then I know the *Egyptians* are by some said to haue beene this way most skilfull, but considering how excesssiuely curious & ceremonious, or rather superstitious they were in preserving their bodies intire & vnputrified, I conceiue their opening them to haue beene rather for the imbowelling & imbaulming, then the anatomizing of them: and for the *Gracians* they could not well practise it, in as much as they vsually burnt their dead bodies, by the testimony not onely of *Homer* & *Herodotus*, (whose authorities yet in this case might passe as sufficient) but likewise of *Thucydides* & *Plutarch*, witnesses beyond all exception, whereof the latter in the 3 booke and 4 question of his *Sympasiques* giues vs to vnderstand, that their custome was with the bodies of ten men to burne one of an woman, because they supposed their flesh to be more vnctuous, and thereby to helpe forward the burning of the rest more easily & speedily; & surely had Anatomy beene in vse among the *Gracians*, me thinkes Physitians & Anatomists should somewhere discouer it in the works of *Hippocrates* yet extant, which I presume cannot be showne, once I am sure, that when at the instance of the *Abderites* he came to visite *Democritus*, hee found him (as may bee seene in his Epistle to *Damocritus*) cutting vp seuerall beasts, who being by him demaunded the reason thereof, *Democritus* returnes him this answer, *Hac animalia qua vides propterea seco, non dei opera perosus, sed fellis, bilisque naturam disquirens*, these beasts which thou seest I cut vp, not because I hate the workes of God, but to search into the nature of gall & choller: now if hee feared lest the cutting vp of beasts might be censured as an hating of Gods workes, he must needs much more haue feared that censure, had he cut vp the bodies of men.

But among the *Iewes* it is eident, that this Art could not be in vse, for that their executed malefactours were put to death either by burning or stoning, (whom they buried vnder an heape of stones) or by crucifying them vpon a crosse, & for these they had expresse charge, *Deut. 21.* at the last verse, that they should not suffer them to hang all night vpon the tree, but in any wise must they bury them the very day they were crucified: and besides it was most precisely injoynd them *Numbers 19.*

11 that they might not so much as touch the dead body of any that was either executed, or died otherwise, & he that touched it was by the law of Moses so farre held vncleane, that if he presumed to enter into the tabernacle before he was purified, he was to be cut off from Israel for defiling it; nay, if in this case he but touched bread or pottage, or wine, or oyle, or any meate, he thereby made it vncleane, as appeares Aggai 2.13.

Some more doubt seemes to be touching the ancient Romanes, but I thinke it may easily bee shewed, that from the Gracians they likewise rooke vp & practised the burning of dead bodies, the places which they commonly vsed to this purpose were by them called *puticuli* or *culinae*, & the pots or vessels in which they preserved the bones & ashes of the burnt bodies, *Urna*, whereof I haue seen one in M. Chambers his keeping at Bath: but all the difficultie seems to consist in this, when this custome began among them, and when it ceased, for the former it is commonly held, that it was not in vse among the Romans before Sylla the Dictator, who hauing himselfe cruelly tyrannized vpon the dead bodie of *Marinus*, & fearing lest the same measure might be shewed to himselfe, commanded that his body instantly vpon his death should be burned, whereas *Pli. 7.54.* only sayes, that he was the first of the *Cornelian* family that had his body burnt: & *Tully 2 de legibus* restrains it more narrowly, *Primus e patris Cornelijs igni voluit cremari*, he was the first of the *Cornelian* nobility that commanded it, and he that attentiuely reads the Roman story will easily finde, that this custome was practised among them long before Sylla, even from the first foundation of Rome, so witnesseth *Ouid* in his 4. *de Fastis*, speaking of *Remus* the brother of *Romulus*.

Arsurorsque artus vixit.

The limbes that now were, to be burnt.

His brother did annoint.

And againe.

Vltima plorato subdita flamma rogo est,

The last fire now was set vnto his hearfe.

After this *Numa* being by sect a *Pythagorean*, forbade his owne body to be burnt, as witnesseth *Plutarch* in his life, which he needed not haue done had not the custome then bene vsuall, & *Tullius Hostilius* his successour had not his body therefore burnt because he was stricken dead with lightning, for so was the Law. After this againe *Tully* in his second *de legibus* tels vs, that the Law of the 12 Tables commaunded, *Hominem mortuum in vrbe ne sepelito, neve vrito*, let no dead body be buried or burned in the Citie, which (as he there addes) was for feare their buildings might from thence take fire: now the Lawes of the 12 Tables were composed, as witnesseth *Gellius 20. 1.* in the 300 yeare after the foundation of the City, which was almost 400 yeares before Sylla; & if any desire further satisfaction in this point, I referre him to the learned and copious *Annotations* of *Blasius Vigerius* in French vpon the first Decade of *Lioie*, which Author himselfe hath excellently translated into that language; among other examples produced by him to this purpose, he makes it plaine out of *Lioie lib. 3.* that the body of the sonne of

Marcius the Confull, (who contrary to his fathers commaund fought out of his ranke, & was therefore by a commaund from the same mouth put to death) was presently carried out of the campe and burned with all military pompe, and this he assignes to the yeare 412 by his computation about 270 yeares before the death of *Sylla*.

Now this practise of the *Romans* I haue the longer insisted vpon, partly for the checking of a common error, holding that before *Sylla* the *Romans* burnt not their dead bodies, and partly to shew that many of those monstrous giantlike bodies, which aswell among the *Romans* as *Gracians* are said to haue beene digged vp, were vndoubtedly burnt, but chiefly that hereby it may appeare, that the noble and vsefull practise of anatomising mens bodies, was not in vse among them, neither indeed could it be, considering they held it vnlawfull, *aspicere humana exta*, as *Pliny* speakes in his proeme to his 28 booke, to looke vpon the entrals of mens bodies, and *Dion* in his 55 tels vs, that it was graunted to *Tiberius* to touch the body of *Augustus*, *quod nefas alias erat*, which was otherwise vnlawfull, and from hence it was that their *Vespillones*, *Coriarij*, *Pollinctores*, *Libitinarij*, and other officers of that kinde employed about the washing, the annointing, the carrying foorth, the burning and providing things necessary about the dead, were not suffered to lue in the Citty, and the bodies themselues were burnt without the Citty, & few there were that went foorth of the citty gates to wait on the funerals of their nearest and dearest friends:

Sen. nat. quest. 3
18

Now the Antiquity of this cvstome being cleared, a second doubt there is, when it ceased, manifest then it is that it continued in vse till the *Antonins*, and then began it by degrees to be disvysed, *Macrobius* witnessing in the seuenth booke and seuenth chapter of his *Saturnals*, that in his time it was in a manner growne out of vse, yet certaine it is that the bodies of *Pertinax* and *Severus* fifty yeares after were both burned, as reporteth *Dion* of the one, and *Herodian* in his fourth booke of the other, and neere about this time it was that *Galen* liued, so as I verily beleue he neuer or very seldome opened the bodies of men, I know that *Riolan* and *Laurentius* haue both of them zealously defended him against the *Neotericks*, who charge him with much weaknesse and ignorance in this Art, but I cannot obserue that either of them hath produced so much as one cleere passage out of any part of his workes, to proue that he euer so much as once opened the body of a man, dogges indeed, & swine, & apes it appeares he opened, & once an Elephant, but for his vsuall opening of mens bodies, in my minde they bring no sufficient proofes, which *Laurentius* himselfe well perceiuing, modestly concludes his answer to the first instance brought against *Galen* with a verisimile oft, it is likely that he cut vp the bodies of men.

But let vs passe on from the *Iemes* and *Gentiles*, to the *Primitive Christians* who were (as their workes shew) professed aduersaries to this practise. *Tertullian* in the fourth chapt. of his booke *de anima*, speaking of *Herophilus* doubts whether he may call him *medicum* or *luxum*, a Physitian or a butcher, *qui hominem eduxit ut nosset* saith he, who hared mankinde that he might know it, & *St. Augustine de Crist. dei* 22. 24. harpes

much

much vpon the same string, *Etsi medicorum diligentia nonnulla Crudeles quos anatomicos appellant laniant corpora mortuorum*: howbeit the ouer-diligent crueltie of some Physitians whom they call *Anatomists* hath butchered the bodies of the dead: And to like purpose is that of *Boniface*, the eighth *extrauag. commun. lib. 3. tit. 6. cap. 1.* where he seuerely threatens such with the thunderbold of *excommunication* irrequocable, but onely by the sea *Apostolique*, who exenterate dead bodies, and cut the flesh from the bones, mangling it into gobbets, *quod non solum* (saith hee) *diuina maiestatis conspectui abominabile plurimum redditur, sed etiam humana considerationis obtutibus occurrit vehementius abhorrendum* which is a practise abominable in the eyes both of God & men: Our of all which it appeares that this practise of anatomizing the dead bodies of men, so profitable to bring vs to the knowledge of our selues, and consequently of our maker, so necessarie to Physitians & Surgeons was neuer brought into the bodie of a perfect art, till this latter age. *Nos multa quotidie prioribus seculis incognita obseruamus*: wee obserue ma-
Laurentius.
ny things vterly vnknowne to former ages: And this last age in truth hath yeelded men singular in this art: *Nesalins, Vassaus, Varolius, Syluius, Fallopius, Piccolhomineus, Columbus, Riolanus, Laurentius*, who followed *Henry* the fourth of *France* in his ciuill wars, and gained much experience by cutting vp the bodies of such as were slaine in the field, *ut videatur hac Ars nunc summum perfectionis fastigium attigisse*, they be his owne words, so as this Art now, & neuer before seemes to haue reached the very toppe of perfection. Neuer was it in any age so illustrated with liuely & exquisite pictures, so encouraged with stipends, so furnished with schooles, sitting instruments & all manner of helpees, and generally so honoured as it is at this day. And truely I haue often not a little wondred with my selfe, that an Vniuersitie so famous in foraine parts as this of *Oxford*, was neuer to my knowledge provided of a publique Lecture in this kind, till now, as neither was it for a garden of simples, now in good forwardnes by the noble munificence of the Heroicall Earle of Danbie, nor of a History Lecture, nor of an Arabique, though it were long since solemnly decreed in the Councill of *Vienna*, that this Vniuersity, as likewise *Paris, Bononia, Salamanca, & Rome* (which were vndoubtedly then accounted the principall Vniuersities in *Christendome*) should each of them haue maintained two professors in that language, as also in *Chalde & Hebrew, Clementinarum, lib. 5. Tit. 1. cap. 1.*
Now for the knowledge of *Simples*, the other legge, as it were, vpon which *Physicke* stands, as *Theophrastus* was in many things amended by *Plinie*, & *Plinie* by *Dioscorides*, so hath *Dioscorides* himselfe by the happy travells of *Ruellius, & Ronillius, & Leonardus Fuchsius*, who in his *Epistole* to *Ioachim* Marquis of *Brandenburg*, tels vs, that this part of *Physicke* was a while since so vterly neglected & defaced, that, had not God ray sed vp industrious and learned men to restore it, *actum plane de Medicina Herbaria fuisset*, it had beene vterly lost: But *Hermolaus Barbarus* was hee, who by translating *Dioscorides* out of *Greece* into *Latine*, & by adding his *Corrolarium* therevnto touching the same subject, first recovered the ancient lustre thereof. And since, by reason of the discou-

ric of many parts of the world unknowne to the Ancients, many plants, gummes, druges, & mineralls, are by *Momodus* & others knowne to vs, which they neuer heard of.

SECT. 5.

Of the profitable use of extractions, and the Paracelsian Physicke, either wholly unknowne to the Ancients, or little practised by them

TO the perfiting of the *Anatomicall* and reuiuing of the *Botanicall* art in this latter age, may be added a new kinde of physicke professed by a new sect of *Physicians*, neuer heard of in the world before; and altogether differing from the *Ancients*, as in name, in tearmes of art, so likewise in rules, in matter, in methode & manner of proceeding, as well for doctrine as practise. a founder it had (if wee may credit himselfe) descended of a noble and ancient familie among the *Helnetians*, the name which he giues himselfe *Philippus*, *Theophrastus*, *Bombastus*, *ab Hoenhaim*, or *Paracelsus*, by which name he is now commonly known; borne hee was in or about the yeare 1494, & died at *Salisburge* in *Germanie* in the yeare 1541, being then but forty seauen; a man strangely composed, as *Bullinger*, & *Gesner*, and *Operinus*, a citizen of *Basile* (his bosome-friend & indiuiduall companion from some yeares) haue characterized him: without learning, without civilitie, without religion, being neuer heard to pray, a great hater of women, and yet an excessiue loue of wine, exceedingly vaine glorious in his wordes & writings, & yet fordid in his apparell, & base in the company hee willingly made choise of, which for the most part were coach-men and carters, or bores of the countrey, & with these would hee sit vp drinking all night, and (then seldome shifting himselfe) cast himselfe downe on a bed to sleepe, prodigall he was in his expenses, yet seldome wanted money, & sometimes hauing not a pennie in his purse ouer night, hee would draw forth handfulls of gold in the morning, which made men beleue hee had indeed the art of transmutation of mettals, & that hee carried with him the philosophers stone in the pommell of his sword, which hee alwayes wore: he spent sometime in most of the *Vniuersities* in *Christendome*, consulting in matters of physicke with *Doctours*, *Surgeons*, keepers of bathes, wise women, *Magicians*, *Alchimists*, *Monkes*, and of all kind of people: And lastly, passing into *Arabia*, he there likewise spent tenne yeares more in the same studies, (if wee may credit *Bickerus* in *Hermete redimino*) and so returning (as hee there speakes) loaden with the spoiles of the *East*; he brought to light in these parts of the world the vse of *Hermeticall*, *Spagyricall*, or *Chymicall* physicke, (as they tearme it.) So as where *Galen* mentions in his time but three sects of physicians, *Emperikes*, *Methadists*, and *Dogmatiques*; we haue now a fourth that goe vnder the name of *Chymiques*, *Hermetiques*, or *Paracelsians*, & a branch of them (as I conceiue, is the order *Rosae Crucis*) who treading in the steppes of their master, haue changed *Aristoteles* 3 principles of naturall bodies, matter, forme, and priuation into *Sale*, *Sulphur*, and *Mercury*; and from the

the severall temper of these three, they affirme all sicknesses and health to arise. I will not in all things vndertake the defence of them, neither can I if I would; the trueth is, they magnifie themselves too much, and ouervaluing themselves & their owne wits, & worth; they too much disesteeme the precepts & practise of the Ancients; yet it cannot be denied, but by reason of their artificiall *extractions*, *seperations*, and *preparations* of their medicines; they haue had happy successe in the curing of some desperate diseases, which in former ages haue bin thought incurable; and Paracelsus himselfe, euen by the acknowledgment of his aduersaries, wrought wonders in the speedie healing of inveterate & festered vlcers, for that hee was able by meeke art to make *Homunculos* little men, or to raise the dead to life, or to prolong the life of a man to some thousands of yeares, (as he vainely boasteth of himselfe) is I confesse no part of my Creede. Well then, leauing their vanities to themselves, I doubt not but the most learned Physitians of this age who sticke most to *Galen*, (if they be not led with *faction* or *fancie*, but with *iudgement*, *reason*, & *experience*) will easily confesse at times a profitable vse of the *Paracelsian extractions* in their practise, as being lesse loathsome, & cumbersome, & withall more actiue & vigorous, more spiritfull & operative; as on the other side it must be graunted, that being applied without good aduise and moderation, they cannot but proue dangerous, by reason of their peircing & searching nature, so as the joyning of the *Galenicall* & *Paracelsian* Physicke together, making vse of the both as occasion serues, is by 1 *Audernacus*, 2 *Sennertus*, 3 *Quercitan*, & some others of best note, held the best and safest course. I cannot heere omit *Quercitanes* words to this purpose: *Si Hippocrates, vel Aristoteles, vel ipse etiam Galenus nunc reuisceret, obstupefceret certe tot ornamentis artem hanc adauctam atque illustratam, tot novis inventis ditatam, tot mirificis operationibus confirmatam*: If Hippocrates, or Aristotle or Galen himselfe were now aliue, they would wonder to see this art enlarged & beautified with so many ornaments, enriched with so many new inventions, confirmed by so many strange practises & experiments. Wherevpon he infers, *verissimum itaque est quod sapientum quidam medicorum nostri seculi ait, creuerunt cum ingenijs & ipsa scientia artesque magna & incredibilia incrementa sumpserunt*: It is most true, which one of the wisest Physitians of our age affirms, together with good wits the sciences sprang vp, and the Arts are incredibly improued.

1 De velle & nova medicina.
2 de Chymicorum cum Galenicis consensu.
3 Pharmacopoea dogmaticorum reserua.

CAP. 8.

Touching History, Poetry, and the
Art Military.

S E C T. I.

That the modernes farre exceeded the Ancients
in Chronologie and Cosmographie the
two eyes of History.

AS the two legges of Physicke are Anatomie and Herbarie, so the two eyes of History are Chronologie and Topographie, computation of times, and description of places: in both which it is certaine, that the Modernes haue so farre exceeded the Ancients, as these seeme to haue seene nothing in a manner in regard of them. First then for Chronologie, how dimlighted are the Ancients in the computation of times, how miserably doe they wander vp and downe in the darke, and knock their heads each against other, and how excellently haue latter Writers, and specially Ioseph Scaliger in that most elaborate worke of his *de emendatione Temporum*, cleered those mists, and chased away that darknesse. It is

Ex. 1. in Baron,
p. 150.

to this purpose a notable speech of Causabons, *Scientia temporum quanto perè fueris post renatas literas exulta, quam admiranda acceperis incrementa, asinus est qui ignorat inter literatos, malignus & beneficioru dei ingratus estimator qui dissimulat, stupenda enim sunt que summi viri in nostra præsertim Gallia & Germania præstiterunt.* He that knows not how much the knowledge of times hath beene laboured since the new birth of good letters, among the learned, can be held but an asse, and he who dissembles it, envious and an ingratefull vnder-valuer of Gods blessings towards this age: admirable things they are which in this kinde men of note haue atchieued, specially in our France and Germany. The learned workes in Chronologie of Funccius, Buntingius, Bucholcerus, Helvicus, Calvisius, Genebrardus, Gordonus, Saliannus, Torniellus, and our English Lively (of whose skill in Chronologie the same Causabon makes honorable mention *cont. Bar. Exer. 16. n. 13.* their workes, I say, published to the world, make his words good, and fully testifie what he there affirms.

Now for Topographie, the other eye of History, Strabo often, and that deservedly censures Eratostenes, Hipparchus, Polybius, Posidonius, the greatest Authors among the Ancients, and Ptolomie sharply takes vp Marinus Tyrius, though otherwise a diligent Writer: yet both Strabo & Ptolomy themselves, if they be compared with our latter Geographers, Hondius, Mercator, Thevet, Merula, Ortelius, Maginus, how defectiue, how imperfect will they be found. The ignorance of former ages in this point was so grosse, that what time Pope Clement the sixth, as we read in Robert of Auesbury, had elected Lewis of Spaine to be Prince of the Fortunate Islands, & for to aide & assist him, mustered Souldiers in France & Italy, our Countrey-men were verily perswaded that he was chosen Prince of Brittain, as one (sayth he) of the Fortunate Islands: yea and our very Ligier Embassadors there with the Pope, were so deeply settled in this

Anno 1344.

this opinion, that forthwith they with-drew themselves from Rome, & hastened with all speed into England, there to certifye their Countrey-men and friends of the matter: Yet that which to me seemeth more strange, is that those two learned Clearkes *Lactantius* and *Augustine*, should with that earnestnesse deny the being of any *Antipodes*. Their words are worth the noting, thereby to see their confidence and eagernes in the maintenance of so evident a mistake. *Quid illi, saith Lactantius, qui esse contrarios vestigijs nostris Antipodes putant, num aliquid loquuntur? aut est quisquam tam ineptus qui credat esse homines quorum vestigia sunt superiora quam capita? aut ibi quae apud nos jacent in versa pendere? fruges & arbores deorsum versus crescere, pluvias, & nives, & grandinem sursum versus cadere in terram? & miratur aliquis hortos pensiles inter septem mira narrari, quam Philosophi & agros, & maria, & urbes, & montes pensiles faciunt?* ^{Divinarum In-} What shall we thinke of them who giue out there are *Antipodes*, that walke opposite to vs, doe they speake any thing to the purpose, or is there any so blockish as to beleue there are men whose feet are higher then their heads, or that those things there hang, which with vs lye on the ground? that the plants and trees spring downward, that the snow and raine, and haile fall vpon the earth? & need any man marvel that hanging gardens are counted in the number of the seven wonders of the world, since the Philosophers haue made both fields and seas, cities and mountaines all hanging. *Lactantius* is herein seconded by *Augustine*: *Quod verò & Antipodes esse fabulantur, id est homines à con-* ^{De Civit. Dei} *traria parte terrae ubi sol oritur quando occidit nobis, adversa pedibus nostris* ^{lib. 6. c. 9.} *calcare vestigia, nullà ratione credendum est.* Their fable of the *Antipodes*, that is, men dwelling in the opposite part of the earth where the Sunne rises when it sets to vs, having their feete opposite to ours, is a matter altogether incredible, & by no means to be beleueed. But *Zachary* Bishop of Rome, and *Boniface* Bishop of Mentz, led (as it seemes) by the authority of these Fathers, went farther herein, condemning one *Virgilius* ^{Aventinus in} a Bishop of *Salzburg* as an *Heretique* onely for holding that there were *Antipodes*. But time and travell haue now discovered the contrary so evidently, that we may aswell doubt the being of a Sun in the firmament as the experimentall cleerenes of this truth.

And as evident it is now likewise found to bee by certaine experience, that vnder the middle or *burning Zone*) which the *Ancients* by means of excessiue heate, held altogether *inhabitable*) there is as healthfull, temperate, and pleasant dwelling as any-where in the world, as appeares by the relations of *Benzo*, *Acosta*, and others. Besides the *Ancients* (as it seemes) were altogether ignorant of the new World discovered in the yeare 1492 by *Columbus*, now knowne by the name of *America* or the *West-Indies*, whatsoeuer from *Platoes Atlantis*, or *Salomons Ophir* be slightly pretended to the contrary: yet I confesse I haue often wondred not a little at *Senecaes* bold prepheticall spirit touching that Discovery.

Venient annis Secula seris,
Quibus Oceani Vincula rerum
Laxet, & ingens Pateat tellus,

Seneca in *Sto-*
ica.

Typhisque novos Detegat orbes,
Nec sit terris Ultima Thule,
 In latter times an age shall rise
 Wherein the Ocean shall the bands
 Of things enlarge: there shall likewise
 New Worlds appeare, and mighty Lands
Typhis discover, when *Thule*.
 The Worlds end shall no longer be.

This prophesie wee haue found fulfilled not onely in the discovery of those vast Regions before vnkowne, but in opening by meanes of *Navigations*, and the helpe of the *Compass* euery creeke and corner of the habitable World, worth the knowing: so that now it hath, & neuer before had it *thorow lights* made in it. Nay particular countreyes haue bin of late yeares most exactly described by several *Writers*. The *Netherlands* by *Lewis Guicciardine*, *Great Brittain* by the renowned *Camden*, & the like by others. Neither haue there wanted some who haue descended to Provinces and Shires, Master *Caren* to the survey of *Cornwall*, & Master *Lambert* to the perambulation of *Kent*, and Master *Burton* to the description of *Lecestershire*: yea particular Cities, *Rome*, *Venice*, *Paris*, *London*, & the Houses of great Princes haue found their particular *Maps* & delineations so fully & perfectly expressed, that a man who neuer saw them but in representation, may now speake as particularly of them, as if he had beene borne and bred in them.

SECT. 2.

That the defect of the Ancients in Naturall & Ecclesiasticall history is iustly corrected by the moderns, & in Ciuill history the moderns are matched with the Ancients: And of the knowledge of weights and measures, and the true valuation of coines recovered and restored by latter Writers, which thorow the neglect of former ages had well nigh perished.

THe bodie of History branches it selfe into History Naturall, Ecclesiasticall, & Ciuill. For the first it is most certaine, that euen *Aristotle* himselfe and *Pliny* were ignorant of many things, and wrote many not onely vncertaine, but now convinced of manifest error and absurdity, *Conradus Gesnerus* hath laboured this part of History most industriously: but others who haue vndertaken severall peeces of this burden more exactly, Some of birds, *de animalibus insectis, crustaceis, testaceis, Zoophytis*, as *Aldrouandinus*. Some of fishes, as *Rondeletius*, some of Bathes as *Baccius*, and *Blanthellus*, some of Mettals, as *Georgius Agricola*, and some of plants and vegetables, as *Mathiolus*, *Ruellius*, *Fuchius*, to whom may be added the commendable paines of *Gerrard* in our owne language. And some others againe purposely of some one particular kinde of beasts, or birdes, or fishes, or plants, or bathes, or mettals.

History Ecclesiasticall hath likewise beene shamefully abused by thrusting

fitting into it many *fabulous narrations* of the liues of *Saints* and deaths of *Martyrs*. *Baronius*, and before him the *Magdeburgians*, haue both very diligently, though with different purposes travelled heerein; in somuch that now betweene them both, we haue made vp a compleate history of the *Church*, which former ages neuer saw.

Civill history indeed the *Gracians* & *Romans* excelled in, but with much partiality on both sides, & many speeches they haue put into the mouths of *Commanders* & others meerely fained, & besides they lay in darkenes & obscurity, for the space of many hūdred yeares together, till this latter age, in which they were not only drawn into the light, but emulated & equalled. *Cornelius Tacitus* somuch magnified, *S^r Henry Savill* sharply censures for his stile, taking occasion frō those words in the life of *Agri cola*, *bonum virum facile crederes, magnum libenter*: at te (saith hee) *Corneli*, *Tacite bonum historicum facile credimus, bonum oratorem crederemus libeter*, In his annot. were it not for this & some other sayings of the like making: *Fuit illi* 13 Annal. *wiro*, sayth *Tacitus* (iudging of *Seneca* as we may of him) *ingenium amabile*, & *temporis illius auribus accommodatum*: How that age was eared long or round I cannot define, but sure I am it yeelded a kinde of sophisticated eloquence & riming harmonie of words, where vnder was *small matter* in sense, when there seemed to be most in appearance, and diuerse instances he brings out of *Tacitus*; and as *S^r Henry Savill* taxes him for his phrase, so doth *Strada* for his history, in that not content Lib. 1. prol. 2. with bare relations he adds of his owne *coniectures*, *animadversions*, *interpretations* of actions, sometimes favouring of *detraction*, sometimes of *flatterie*, and for the most part, as it best serued his turne, to make way for the displaying of his wit in his politicall obseruations and precepts, as he shewes by diuerse passages taken out of him, accusing him likewise of *irreligion*: and with *Strada* heerein accords *Lipsius*, who calls *Tacitus* in notis. *immemorem, secumque pugnantem*, vnmindfull of what he had said, and crossing himselfe: *Bomamicus, sectantem veri speciem relicta veritate*, a follower of the shadow of trueth, leauing the truth it selfe: *Caesar Baronius* In sermo: Poet: ser: 5 de verisim who convinces him of envie, & lying: *Tom. 1. Annal. lib. 21. cap. 24* as likewise doth *Marsilius Ficinus de Christiana religione, cap. 35.* and *Dion* in Apolog. c. 16. *nepos in vita probi Imperatoris*. And to passe by others, *Tertullian*, who liued in the next age after him, stiles him *mendaciorum loquacissimum*, a lowd liar, and in trueth his vaine and fabulous narration touching the *Jewes*, in the last booke of his history, together with his virulency against the *Christians*, *annal. 15. 10.* shew him to haue bin none other, whatsoeuer he pretend to the contrary: But I leaue him and descend to moderne Historiographers.

S^r Walter Rawleigh, for so farre as he hath gone in the history of the world, is matchable with the best of the *Ancients*. *Francis Guicciardine*, *Comines*, *Thuanus* not inferiour to any: and the particular histories of most countreys, haue receiued, as it were, new light & fresh colours in this latter age. The *Spanish* from *Mariana*, & *Turquet*; the *French* from *Peter Mathew*, & *Du Serres*, the high *Dutch* from *Paulus Iouius* & *Sleidan*; the low *Dutch* from *Meteranus*, the *Scottish* from *Buchanan*, the *Irish* from *Stannihurst*, the *Sicilian* from *Fazellus*, the *Turkish* from *Knoles*, and for

our owne storie, it lay dispersed in the narrations of severall writers, & those for the most part Monkes, till *Polidor Virgill* collected it into one bodie: but in my iudgement *S^t Henry Savill* and *M^r Camden* haue better deserued, by presenting vs the Authours themselues in two severall volumes: Some peeces heereof wee haue very well done in our owne language, as the three *Norman Kings*, & *Henry the fourth* by *D^r Hayward*: *Edward the fifth*, or rather *Richard the 3* by *S^t Thomas More*, *Henry the seventh* by my Lord of *S. Albanes*, the life of *Q. Elizabeth* by *M. Camden* since translated. Neither haue there beene wanting such as haue written, and that very commendably the liues of particular men, eminent for vertue, or learning, or place. *Onuphrius* & *Cicarella* come nothing short of *Anastasius* and *Platina* in the liues of the Popes. The liues of the Emperours, *Petrus Mexias* hath well performed. *Serrarius* of the Archbishops of *Mentz*, and *Mathew Parker* Archbishop of *Canterbury* of his predeceffours. *Barlet* hath with good approbation published the life of *Scanderbegge*, and *Catena* of *Pius Quintus*, Doctour *Humphreys* of Bishop *Iewell*, and Sir *George Paule* of Archbishop *Whitegift*: and it were to be wished that this kinde of history were more in vse, as well for the honour of the deceased, as the incitement of the liuing, in which kinde *Theuet*, and *Paulus Iouius*, and the right Reverend father in God Doctour *Godwin*, now Bishop of *Hereford*, deserue both praise and imitation.

An appendix of historie is the right valuation of weights, and measures, and coynes, which though they were doubtles knowen to the Ancients who vsed them; yet since for many ages past, the knowledge of them hath much growne out of vse, and was in a manner lost, which bred a marvellous great mistake and confusion in historie, vntill by the worthy paines of *Budaus*, *Gesnerus*, *Alciatus*, *Glarianus*, *Agricola*, *Villalpandus*, *Mariana*, and our learned Countrey-man *Edward Brierwood*, late professor of *Astronomie* in *Gresham Colledge*, it was againe regained and restored: And if any desire to see all that haue written of this subiect, I referre him to *Gaspar Wolphius* his treatise, intituled *Virorum illustrium alphabetica enumeratio qui de ponderibus ac mensurarum doctrina scripserunt*.

SECT. 3.

A Comparison betweene the Greeke & Latine, as also betweene the ancients & latter Latine Poets, and those that haue written in other languages, and that poetry as other arts hath fallen and risen againe in this latter age.

Touching Poetrie for the inventiue part thereof, Sir *Phillip Sydneyes Arcadia* is in my iudgement nothing inferiour to the choicest peece among the Ancients, & for the Poets themselues it is true of the most ancient, both among the *Greekes* & *Latines* which *Barlas* hath of *Marrot*.

Ther *Marrot* I esteeme euen as an old *Colosse*
All soyled, broken, ouergrownen with mosse;

Worne

Worne picture, Tombe defac'd, not for fine worke I see,
But in deuoute regard of their antiquity.

Volcanus Sedigitus hauing named nine of the *Romane Comedians*, adds in *Gellius*, 15. 24.
the close of all.

--- *Decimum addo antiquitatis causa. Ennium.*

Ennius as tenth I add

Because he ancient 'st is.

This controuersie being, it seemes on foote in *Horace* his time, (as in all
ages it hath bin) he wittily demaunds this question.

Si meliora dies ut vina poemata reddat,

Scire velim pretium chartis quotus arroget annus.

If as time betters wine it betters Poems too,

Tell me how many yeares doth giue them price enough.

And in the end concludes,

Qui veteres ita miratur landatque Poetas

Vt nihil anteferat, nihil illis comparet, errat.

Who prayses & admires old Poets much doth erre,

If nought he dare compare, or nought to them preferre.

Hercules Ciophanus witnesseth, that *Planudes* well knowing that *Greece*
had not a Poeme so abounding with delight & beauty, as *Ovids Metamorphosis*
translated it into that language. And generally the *Lattine* Poets, who came after the
Greece in time, are notwithstanding by *Scaliger* preferred before them; And by name
Virgill before *Homer*, *Virgilius*
artem ab eo rudem acceptam, lectioris natura studijs atq; iudicio adsum-
um extulit fastigium perfectionis: *Virgill* receiuing from him an vnpo-

lish art by the studie & judgement of a choiser temper, raysed it to the
vtmost point of perfection. And againe, *Equidem vnum illum censo sci-*
nisse quid esset, non ineptire, vnum esse inter omnes vnicum, singulis autem in-
fer omnium. Truly I thinke hee onely knew what it was not to trifle,
that he was the only one amongst them all, and instead of all beeing
compared with any one. To which I know not what can bee added,
except that of *Macrobius* exceed it: *Hac est Maronis gloria ut nullius laudi-*
bus crescat, nullius vituperatione minuat: This is *Virgills* commendati-

on, that a man can neither adde to him by praying him, nor take from
him by dispraying him: Yet if I should match him with *Ariosto* or *Tor-*
quato Tasso in *Italian*, *Bartas* in *French*, or *Spencer* in *English*, I thinke I
should not much wrong him. Of the latter of which, our great *Anti-*
quary in the life of *Q. Elizabeth* anno 1598, giues this testimony, *Musis*
adeo aridentibus natus, ut omnes Anglicos superioris aui poetas (ne Chau-
cero quidem concine excepto) superaret, he was borne so farre in favour of
the *Muses*, that he excelled all the *English* Poets of former ages, not ex-
cepting *Chaucer* himselfe his fellow citizen. And among the *Latine* Po-
ets, as they began their infancie or child-hood in *Linus Andronicus*, *En-*
nius, *Accius*, *Pacuvius*, *Nenius*, *Plautus*, so they came to their full
strength in *Terence*, *Catullus*, *Tibullus*, *Onid*, *Horace*, *Virgill*, plus est exacti
iudicii in vna Comedia Terentiana quam in *Plautinis omnibus*, there is more
exact judgement in one of *Terence* his *Comedies*, then in all those of
Plautus. They declined in *Martiall*, *Iuuenall*, *Silius*, *Statius*: grew old

Idem Scalig. lb.

Erasmus.

In 9. libris de
Poetis Latinis.

in *Serenus, Sidonius, Severinus, Ausonius*, but sprang vp and reſlourished againe in *Palingenius, Aonius, Politianus, Cerratus, Vida, Pontanus, Sana-zarus, Fracaſtorius*; *Quos cum quovis veterum compares, multis & non igno-bilibus anteponas*, ſaith the ſame *Scaliger*, whom a man may ſafely com-pare with any of the *Ancients*, and preferre before many of them, and thoſe not of the loweſt ranke. *Crinitus* his cenſure of the *Latin Poets* differs not much from this of *Scaligers*: and *Famianus Strada* hath ſo well both cenſured & imitated the chiefe of them, that hee comes no-thing ſhort of the Authors themſelues, which is the more to bee won-dred at, in that therein he is to act ſo different parts, & to apply himſelf to ſo different vaines; nay his imitation of *Claudian* in expreſſing a con-troverſie between a *Lutiſt* and a *Nightingale* for quicknes and life, may without prejudice be equalled with any thing that *Antiquity* can boaſt of in that kinde.

It is true that (*Mantuan* excepted) few of the *Monkes* or *Fryars*, (who were counted the onely *Schollers* for a while) excelled in *Poetry*, for the moſt part they only delighted in rhyming, without either ſharpe-neſſe of wit, or neatneſſe of ſtile, and ſometimes they wanted all three: witneſſe thoſe poore verſes vpon *Venerable Bede*.

Presbyter hic Beda requieſcit carne ſepultus;
Dona Chriſte animam in caelis gaudere per ævum;
Daque illi Sophia d'ebriari fonte cui jam
Suſpiravit ovans intentus ſemper amore.

Presbyter Bedes corſe reſts buried in this graue;
Grant *Chriſt* his ſoule in Heaiven eternall joyes may haue:
Giue him of to be drunke the well of wiſedome, to
Which with ſuch joy and loue he ſtriu'd and breathed ſo.

De rebus geſtis
Anglorum l.i.

Which verſes *William* of *Malmesburie*, though himſelfe a *Monke*, bit-terly cenſures, as being ſhamefull ones, vnworthy the monument of ſo worthy a man: Neither can the ſhame, ſaith he, be leſſened by any kinde of excuſe, that in the *Monasterie*, which whiles he liued, flouriſhed as a *Schoole* of good letters, not a man could be found to commend his me-mory to poſterity, but in ſo barren & ſlender a ſtile: Yet were theſe tol-lerable verſes in regard of thoſe which paſſed with applauſe in ſuccee-ding ages, the famous King *Ethelbert* had this *Epitaph* ſet vpon him.

Rex Ethelbertus hic clauditur in poliandro;
Fana pians certus Chriſto meat absque Meandro.

King *Ethelbert* lyeth here
Cloſ'd in this *Polyander*,

For building Churches ſure he goes

To *CHRIST* without *Meander*.

Gervafius de *Blois*, ſon to King *Stephen*, and *Abbot* of *Weſtminſter*, was there buried with this,

De Regum genere pater hic Gervafius ecce
Eſt & defunctus, mors rapit omne genus.

Even father *Gervafe* borne of Kings race,
Loe is dead, thus death all ſorts doth deface.

Vpon the Great Seale of *Edward* the *Confefſor* was this verſe ingraven,
Si-

Sigillum Eadwardi, Anglorum Regis.

But I most pity the mishap of *Francis Petrarch* a man of singular learning & himselfe an excellent Poet as those times afforded, that his bones could finde no better an *Epitaph* then this at *Arqua* in *Italy*.

Frigida Francisci lapis hic tegit ossa Petrarchæ

Suscipe virgo parens animam, late virgine parce

Fessaq; iam terris cali requiescat in arsa

This stone doth cover the cold bones of *Franc. Petrarch*,

Thou Virgin Mother take his soule, thou Christ pardon grant,

Now weary of the earth he rests in *Heavens Arke*.

But when together with the regeneration of other kinds of learning *Poetrie* likewise grew in request, among an infinite number which excelled in this kinde, I will onely instance in two, *Ronsard* & *Buchanan*: of the former of which *Rasquet* hath written this singular Epigram.

Sen tibi numeri Maroniani,

Sen placent Keneres Catullianæ,

Sive tu lepidum velis Petrarcham,

Sive Pindaricos modos referre,

Ronsardus numeros Maronianos,

Ronsardus Keneres Catullianas,

Necnon Italicum refert Petrarcham,

Necnon Pindaricum refert leporem,

Quin & tam bene Pindarum amulatur,

Quin & tam varie exprimit Petrarcham,

Asque Virgilium, & meum Catullum,

Hunc ipsum ut magis amulentur illi:

Rursus tam graviter refert Maronem,

Ut nullus pater hunc Catullianum.

Rursus tam lepide refert Catullum,

Ut nullus pater hunc Maroniam,

Et cum sit Maro totus & Catullus,

Totus Pindarus, & Petrarcha totus,

Ronsardus tamen est sibi perennis,

Quod si nunc redivivus extet vnus

Catullus, Maro, Pindarus, Petrarcha,

Et quotquot veteres fuere vates,

Ronsardum nequeant simul referre

Vnus qui reliquos refert Poetas.

Whether thee *Maro's* number please,

Or elegant *Catullus* vaine,

Or *Petrarch's* Thuscan gracefulness,

Or *Theban* *Pindars* lofty straine:

Ronsard doth *Maro's* rimes expresse;

And elegant *Catullus* vaine,

And *Petrarch's* Thuscan gracefulness,

And *Theban* *Pindars* lofty straine.

He so expresseth *Pindars* stile,

So

So doth Catullus emulate,
 Virgil and Petrarch, that the while
 They all seeme him to imitate.
 Graue Maro he resembles so,
 None would him thinke Catullian:
 So elegant Catullus too;
 None would him thinke Maronian,
 Though all Catullus, all Virgill,
 All Pindar he and Petrarch be,
 Yet the same Ronfard is he still.
 Maro, Catullus might we see,
 Pindar or Petrarch liue againe,
 And all th'old Poets more or lesse
 All joyntly hit not Ronfards vaine,
 Who onely doth them all expresse.

To which we may adde *Pithaw* his Epitaph vpon the same Ronfard.

Summe poetarum quos prisca & nostra tulerunt

Quosq; ferent Gallis posthuma secla tuis:

Parce nec ista tibi veluti data iusta putato

Sed tanquam summis manibus inferias.

Greatest of Poets whom old or present times,
 Or future to thy French shall ere bring forth,
 Pardon, these are not rights fitting thy worth.
 But to thy great ghost like some sprinkling rimes.

Of the latter *Ioseph Scaliger* giues this testimonie,

Namque ad supremum perducta poetica culmen

In se stat, nec quo progrediatur habet:

Romani imperij fuit olim Scotia limes,

Romani eloquij Scotia limes erit.

Vnto the highest pitch hast thou advanced Poetrie,
 Raif'd to the height in thee it stands, and higher cannot flie.
 Scotland sometime the limit was of Roman Empirie,
 By thee of Roman eloquence Scotland the bound shall be.

SECT. 4.

*In military matters the Romans exceeded the Gracians, and haue
 themselves beene matched, if not surpassed in latter ages,
 in weapons, in fortifications, in stratagems,
 but specially in sea-fights.*

THough *Mars* and the *Muses* haue little affinity, and seldome lodge together, yet will I not feare to joyne the *Art Military* next to *Poetrie*. And though the knowledge hereof belong not to my Profession, yet I dare say, it will not be gainsaid, but as *Alexander* herein exceeded his Predecessours, so did *Iulius Caesar* him: & generally the *Romans* the *Gracians*; yet a worthy Knight and expert Captaine himselfe demanding the question, whether was the better Souldier, the *Gracian* or *Roman*, makes answer the *Englishman*. And truly

truly I thinke, he who well considers what noble acts *Edward* the third, the *blacke Prince* his son, and *Henry* the fifth performed in *France*, and vpon what tearmes & conditions, with what numbers, and against what enimies, will easily beleue, that he spake not somuch out of affection as judgement: The *Grecian* built his glory and erected his triumphs of victorie & trophies of honour, vpon the delicacie of the *Persian* and nakednes of the *Indian*, and the *Romane* for the most part, vpon the diuision & rudenesse of poore barbarous nations, but the *English* his, vpon the ruines of a stout warlike, & every way accomplished *Nation*: And for *Cesar* himselfe, if I should parallell him with *Charlemaigne*, *Hannibales*, *Tamerlane*, *Castriot*, *Ziska*, or the great *Henry* of *France*, I thinke I should not disparage him. Of which latter *Pythæus*, comparing him with the great *Alexander*, hath composed his Epigram.

Cui palma vestrum deferatur bellica

Certavit orbis, resque stetit anceps diu,

Sed mors secundum, Henrice, te litem dedit

Feuque primum & vltimum simul ducem.

Which of you twaine the warlike palme should weare

Hath the world stroue; and long bin at a pause,

But death O *Harry* gaue to thee the cause

Both first & last of captaines name to beare.

The armour & weapons now vied in the warres, aswell for offence as defence, are nothing inferiour to the *Ancient*, nay many of them are doubtles more commodious, & some much more terrible: what childish weapons were the long-bow & crosse-bow, if we regard annoyance of the enimie, in comparison of the *Gunne* & great *Ordinance*: and yet nothing so many are now slaine in the warres as then: so as the present are both of more readie dispatch, and for the most part in conclusion of the warre lesse bloodie. I am not ignorant that discourses haue beene written by souldiers on both sides, some preferring the *bow* before the *gunne*, others the *gunne* before the *bow*, but the latter haue beene by the most iudicious preferred before the former, and time & experience haue found their judgement true.

But for the matter of *Fortification*, there is no question, but this age exceeds any that hath gone before it, as far as we can trace the prints and footsteps of *Antiquity*. It being now brought into *Art*, the professors whereof we name *Ingeners*, a word vnknowne to our *Ancestours*, at least in that sence: But the *Italians* are they who in this *Art* haue shewed themselues most skilfull, aswell in the precepts as practise thereof, and haue carried away the *Bell* from all other *Nations*, as may appeare both by their bookes and workes.

And for *Stratagems* of warre, whether we take them in their projects or effects, I conceiue those of latter ages to be nothing inferiour to those of auncient times; howsoeuer *Policarnus* & *Iulius Frontinus* in their seuerall bookes of that subiect be pleased to admire them: What a blunt invention was that of the *Trojane* horse, in comparison of the surprize of *Amiens* by the *Spaniard*; or of *Breda* by the *states* of the *United Provinces*, in the *Netherlands*; or the disordering of the *Spanish* fleet, by

Sir Francis Drake in 88: But that recorded by *Sir Walter Rawleigh* in the fourth booke of his first part of the *History* of the world, and acted in *Queen Maries* time, is in my judgement matchable to any that euer yet I heard or read of. He thus relates it: The *Island of Sarke* joyning to *Garneſay*, and of that gouernment, was surpris'd by the *French*, & could neuer haue beene recovered againe by strong hand, hauing corne and cattell enough vpon the place, to feede so many men as would serue to defend it; and being every way so vnaccessable, as it might bee held against the great *Turke*; yet by the industry of a Gentleman of the *Netherlands*, it was in this sort regained: He anchored in the roade with one ship of small burden, & pretending the death of his Merchant, besought the *French*, being some thirty in number, that they might burie their Merchant in hallowed ground, & in the Chappell of that Isle, offering a present to the *French* of such commodities as they had aboard: Whereto (with condition that they should not come a shore with any weapon, no not somuch as with a knife) the *Frenchmen* yeelded: Then did the *Flemings* put a coffin into their boate, not filled with a dead carkasse, but with swords, Targets, and Harquebushes. The *French* receiued them at their landing, & searching every of them so narrowly, as they could not hide a penknife, gaue them leaue to draw their coffin vp the rocks with great difficultie; some part of the *French* tooke the *Flemish* boate and rowed aboard the shippe to fetch the commodities promised, & what else they pleased; but being entred, they were taken and bound. The *Flemings* on the land, when they had carried their coffin into the Chappell, shut the doore to them, and taking their weapons out of the coffin, set vpon the *French*: they runne to the cliffe and crie to their company aboard the *Fleming* to come to succour, but finding the boate charged with *Flemings*, yeelded themselues and the place.

Lastly, for *Sea-fight*, this age vndoubtedly surpasseth the *Ancient*; theirs being but *boyes play* in comparison of ours. What poore things were their *Gallies* to our ships, their pikes and stone-bowes & slings, to our Canon & musket-shot; how vntowardly the managing of their vessels, in regard of that skill, which latter ages haue found out & practised: And heerein I dare match our owne *Nation* (if perchaunce the *Hollander* haue not gotten the start of vs) with any in the world: only it were to be wished, that some worthy pen would vndertake the reducing of these kindes of fights into an *Art*, as many haue done the land service, by setting downe rules and precepts for it, gathered out of observation: *Sir Richard Hawkins* hath done somewhat in this kinde, but brokenly and glancingly, intending chiefly a discourse of his owne voyages: *Sir Walter Rawleigh* tels vs in his history of the world, that himselfe had entred vpon such a worke, at the commaund of Prince *Henry*, but vpon his death put it by: The intendment was noble, and the writer doubtles very able; so as it were to be wished, that those peeces & fragments which he left behind him, touching that subiect, were sought vp & brought to light, that they might serue, if not for sufficient directions in matter of practise; yet for patterns & delineations

ons to such as would farther advance & perfect so worthy a businesse; there being no one thing (as I conceiue) which can be more important for the state, or more concerne the safety and wellfare of this I-land.

C A P. 9.

Touching Grammar, Rhetorique, Logicke, the Mathematicques, Philosophie, by Architecture, the Arts of Painting and Navigation.

S E C. 1.

Touching Grammar, Rhetorique, and Logicke.

BVt leaving these considerations to *Souldiers*, let vs returne to our owne Element, taking a view of the liberall sciences, among which *Grammar* deseruedly challenges the first ranke; as being indeede the key that opens the doore to the rest. This latter age hath heerein excelled so farre, that all the great learned Schollers, who haue of late risen, specially if they adhered to the reformed Churches, haue beene by the *Fryers*, & such like people, in a kind of scorne tearmed *Grammarians*: But these *Grammarians* are they, who by the helpe of *Phylologie*, & the languages haue discovered so many forgeries & supposititious writings, now by all acknowledged so to be, which before passed as currant, aswell in the workes of the *Fathers* of the Church, as prophane *Authours*. These are they, who haue presented vs with so many exact *Translations* out of *Greece* & *Hebrew* into *Latine*, and againe out of *Latine* into other languages. And howsoeuer *Albericus Gentilis*, & some others haue written in defence of the *Latinity* of that translation of the *Bible*, which goes vnder the name of the *Vulgar*; yet can it not be denyed, but it is justly accused of much incongruity & barbarisme, which by latter *Translations* haue beene reformed. These are they, who haue vindicated infinite *Authours* from a number of foule corruptions, which by tract of time had crept vpon them, thorow the ignorance or negligence of *Transcribers* or *Printers* or both: So that they haue herein in a manner restored the *Authours* to themselves, making them speake in their owne words & sence, and besides by annotations, animadversions, commentaries & expositions, by the search & helpe of coynes, old Epitaphs, inscriptions, & such like remainders of Antiquity, haue further added a marvellous great light vnto them.

In the next place, *Rhetorique* presents it selfe, which in trueth was brought to the height amongst the *Grecians* & *Romans*, specially whiles their states remained popular: But in the generall declination & decay of *Arts* which followed after, this likewise was well neere extinguished, that little life of it which remained, being reserued onely in the predicancie of *Poettillers*, or the patheticall sermons of *Fryers*, till *Sadolemus*, *Bembus*, *Muretus*, & others reuiled & reduced it to its auncient lustre.

Logicke indeed is it, wherein we are thought to be most defectiue in

regard of former ages; and it is true, that the *School-men* had set their stocke, the vtmost of their endeavours vpon this part of learning, their whole life being in a manner little else but a perpetuall wrangling and altercation, & that many times rather for victory & ostentation of wit, then a sober & serious search of *truth*: so as their entrance being vaine, their end was likewise fruitlesse. What huge volumes haue they compiled of the *Predicables* & *Predicamentse* as if in them consisted the very spirit & soule of *Logicke*; whereas in truth they are rather an *Appendix* or *preparatine* vnto it, then part of it. By which meanes they kept men so long in the *porch*, that they entred not into the *house* till it was more then time to goe out of it. *Latter ages* finding this intollerable inconvenience haue well compacted the body of this Art into a lesser compasse, (yet so as *Aristotles* Text is not to be neglected) and to this body haue they not improperly added the doctrine of *Methods* as a necessary limbe thereof: whereas we doe not find that anciently, it was so held either by the *Founders* or principall *Masters* of this science, or at leastwise they haue left vs no sufficient *Rules* and precepts touching this most vsfull part. Euen *Hooker* himselfe (though otherwise no friend to *Ramistry*) acknowledgeth that it is of marvellous quicke dispatch, shewing them that haue it as much almost in three dayes, as if it dwelt three score yeares with them: and againe, that the mind of man is thereby restrained, which through curiositie, doth many times with perill wade farther in the search of truth then were convenient. And for *Raymundus Lullius* (a man it seemes of a strong braine) some great wits are of opinion, that by his *ars brevis* greater matters may in the sciences be more speedily effected, then by any helpes of the *ancients* that went before him.

1.6.

S E C T. 2.

*Touching Astronomie and Geometrie, as also the
Physicks and Metaphysicks.*

Schol. Math. 1.2

FOr the *Mathematicques*, *Regio-Montanus* might in *Ramus* his iudgement safely enough compare with the best of the *Ancients*: *Noribergera tum Regiomontano fruebatur, Mathematici inde & studij & operis gloriam tantam adepti, ut Tarentum Archyta, Syracuse Archimedi Bizantium Proclo, Alexandria Ctesybio non iustus quam Noribergera Regio-Montano gloriari possit*: Then did *Norinberg* injoy *Regio-Montanus*, and from thence purchased so great honour both of the study & practice of the *Mathematicques*, that *Tarentum* could not more justly glory in *Archytas*, nor *Syracuse* in *Archimedes*, nor *Bizantium* in *Proclus*, nor *Alexandria* in *Ctesybius*, then might *Norinberg* in *Regio-Montanus*. I will onely touch the two most noble parts thereof, *Astronomy* & *Geometry*. It was the opinion of the greatest part of the *Ancients*, not only *Greeks*, *Egyptians*, *Arabians*, & *Hebreues*, but many *Doctours* of the Christian Church, as appeares by *Essensius* in his *Treatise de Calorum animatione*, that the Heavens, or at least the stars were *living bodies*, informed with quicke-ning soules. It was likewise the opinion of *Origen*, & *Chrysostome*, & his

Master

Master *Eusebius Emiffenus*, that the stars were not fixed in the *Heauens*, as nailes in a Cart wheele, or knots in a peece of timber, but moued in it as fishes in the Sea, or birdes in the Aire. Nay *Philastrinus* goes so farre, as to condemne the opinion of their fixednesse for an heresie: *Heref 82.*

Multi scriptores Ecclesiastici celi rotunditatem non modo negarunt, sed etiam sacris literis adversari existimauerunt, saith *Pererius* in his second booke and third question vpon *Genesis*; many of the Ecclesiasticall Writers not onely denied the sphericall or circular figure of the Heauens, but were of opinion that it crossed the holy Scriptures. *S. Augustine* himselfe in diuerse places seemes to make a doubt of it; but *Chrysostome* in his *Homilies* vpon the epistle to the *Hebræes* dare challenge any that should defend it, & herein is hee followed by *Theodoret* and *Theophilact*. But these fancies are now so generally cryed downe, that to reuiue them would be counted no lesse then folly, and to defend them absurdity. In how many things are *Aratus* & *Endoxus* corrected by *Ptolomy*, & *Ptolomy* himself by *Regiomontanus*, *Alphonfus*, *Purbachius*, *Copernicus*: & they again by *Clavius*, *Tycho-Braye*, *Galilaus*, *Kepler*, and others. It was the error of *Aristotle*, that *via lactea* was a meteor, & not only of *Aristotle*, but almost all before him that there were but eight Celestiall Spheares; after this *Timocaris* about 330 yeares before *Christ* found out nine, but about the yeare of *Christ* 1250, *Alphonfus* discovered ten, and the receiued opinion now is, that there are eleuen, the highest of all being held immoveable, the seat of Angels & blessed spirits. And thus we see how Truth is the daughter of Time, how one day teacheth another, and one night certieth another, which is likewise verified in the admirable invention of composing the *Ephemerides*, vnknowne to *Ptolomy* & the Ancients, who for want of the vse of it were forced by Tables to make their supputations in a most toyle some manner, who was the first inventor thereof I am not certaine, saith *Cardan de rerum varietate lib. 11. cap. 59*: but *Purbachius* was the first who seemes to haue brought it to light, after whom *Regiomontanus* enlarged it, but *Zelandinus* and others to haue perfected it, *ita ut iam nihil desiderari posse videatur*, nothing seemes to bee wanting to it.

The like may be said of Geometry, I will instance onely in one demonstration, which is the *Quadrature* of a Circle. This *Aristotle* in diuerse places calls *scibile* but not *scitum*, a thing that might be knowne; but as then not knowne, in as much as the meanes of finding it out, though much laboured, yet was it in his time vnknowne among the Ancients: *Aniaphan*, *Bryse*, *Hippocrates*, *Euclide*, *Archimede*, *Apollonius*, *Porus* travelled long & earnestly in the discovery hereof, but *Buteo* in a book written of purpose, hath accurately discovered their errors herein. And *Pancirollus* in his *nova reperta* tels vs, that *annis abhinc plus minus triginta* *Ars ista fuit inventa, quam mirabile quoddam secretum in se continet*: about thirty yeares since was that Art found out, which containes in it wonderfull secrets; & to shew that it is indeed found out, he there makes demonstration of it, approoued & farther explicated by *Salmuth*, who hath both translated him, & written learned commentaries vpon him. Notwithstanding *Ioseph Scaliger* in an Epistle of his to the States of the *United* *Pro-*

Titulo 17.

Cyclomet. Eli-

Provinces, challenge this Invention to himselfe: *Nos tandem in conspectum post tot secula sistimus*, wee at last after so many ages haue brought it to light, & exposed it to publique view.

I will close vp this consideration of the *Arts* and *Sciences* with a view of *Philosophie*, which braunches it selfe into the *Metaphysickes*, *Physicks*, *Ethickes*, & *Politickes*: the two latter of which I will referue to the next Booke, contenting my self at this time with the 2 former: First then for the *Metaphysicks* that part of it which consists in the knowledge of *immateriall substances* was vndoubtedly neither so well studied nor vnderstood of the ancient *Philosophers*, as now it is of *Christian Divines*. They knew little what belonged to the *attributes of God*, which of them were *communicable to the Creature*, which *incommunicable*, so as they might truly graue that *inscription vpon their Altars, Ignoto Deo*, to the vnkknown God, Their ignorance was likewise no lesse touching the nature & office of *Angels*, the mansion or function of separated soules, nay not a few of the most ancient *Christian Divines* held the *Angels* corporeal, though invisible substances, and that the reasonable soule of man was deriued from his *Parents*, whereas the contrary opinions are now commonly held both more *divine* and more reasonable.

The *Physicks* or *Naturall Philosophie* is it which the *ancients*, & specially the *Gracians*, and among them *Aristotle* hath with singular commendation much enriched, yet can it not be denied, but he is by the experience of latter ages found very defectiue in the *historicall* part thereof: And for the *speculative*, both himselfe & his followers seeme to referre it rather to *profession* & disputation, matter of wit and credit, then vse & practice: It is therefore a noble and worthy endeavour of my Lord of *S. Albanes* so to mixe and temper practice & speculation together, that they may march hand in hand, and mutually embrace and assist each other. *Speculation* by precepts and infallible conclusions preparing a way to *Practice*, and *Practice* againe perfecting *Speculation*. Now among those practicall or actiue parts of *Naturall Philosophie* which latter ages haue produced. *Pancirollus* names *Alchymie* for a chiefe one: And it is true that we finde little mention thereof in *Antiquity*, not suspected of forgery: But for mine own part I much doubt whether any such experiment be yet really found or no: And if it be whether the operation of it be not more dangerous & difficult then the effect arising from it, is or can be advantageous. But of this am I well assured, that as he who digged in his Vineyard for gold missed it, but by opening the rootes of the Vines thereby, found their fruite the next yeare more worth vnto him then gold: so whiles men haue laboured by transmutation of metals from one *species* to another to make gold, they haue fallen vpon the distillations of waters, extractions of oyles, and such like rare experiments vnkowne to the *Ancients*, which are vndoubtedly more pretiuous for the vse of man then all the gold of both the *Indies*.

*Nonnulla reperiuntur
lib. 7.*

SECT. 3.

Of the Arts of Painting and Architecture
revived in this latter age.

Hereunto may be added the Arts of Horsemanship, and Herauldry, Agriculture, & Architecture, Painting and Navigation, all which haue beene not a little both enlarged and perfected in these latter ages: yet with this difference, that some of them together with the other Arts decayed, and againe revived with greater perfection: Others were neuer in their perfection till now : I will instance onely in the three latter. To begin then with the Art of painting. When the Romans arrived to the height of their Empire, they equalled, nay excelled the Gracians heerein, who before were esteemed the best in the world.

Venimus ad summum fortune, pingimus atque

Psalimus, & luctamur Achivis doctum vinctis.

Horat. Ep. I. l. 1.

To Fortunes height we are aspir'd, we paint, we sing,
The skilfull Greekes we passe in wrestling.

Quintilian in the last chapter saue one of his last booke, shewes how much this Art was accounted of among the Ancients, and how by degrees it grew to perfection, and so doth Pliny in his 35 booke, & 9 & 10 chapters. Some inventing colours, others shadowes & landskips, and others rules of proportion, but in tract of time, it so farre againe decayed, that Aeneas Sylvius who liued about 200 yeares since, tels vs in one Epistle, *videmus picturas ducentorum annorum nulla prorsus arte politas*, We see the pictures made 200 yeares since polished with no kind of art: And in another immediatly following, *Si ducentorum, trecentorumve annorum, aut sculpturas intueberis, aut picturas, invienes non hominum, sed monstrorum portentorumque facies*, If we looke vpon the sculptures or pictures made about 200 or 300 yeares since, we shall finde faces rather of monsters then men. And to like purpose is that of Durerus himselfe an excellent Painter, *Penitus deperdita ultra mille annos latuit, ac tandem ante ducentos hos annos per Italos rursus in lucem prodijt*: This Art lay hid in obscurity as it had bin vtterly lost about a thousand yeares, til at length about 200 yeares agoe it againe brake forth into light by helpe of the Italian wits. The most famous Italians in this Art were Michael Angelo, & Raphael Urbin. Some of our owne Nation, as namely Master Heliard an Exeter man borne, & many Netherlanders, whose names & Icones are published by Hondius, haue herein deserued good commendation: But Durerus of Norinberge is indeed the Man, who aswell for practice as precepts in this Art, is by the most judicious most commended. He was commonly stiled whiles he liued, the Apelles of Germany, nay Erasmus in his Dialogue of the right pronounciation of the Greeke & Latin Tongues, seemes to preferre him before Apelles: *Equidem arbitror* (saith he) *si nunc viveret Apelles, ut erat ingenuus & candidus*. Alberto nostro cessurum huius palmae gloriam. Truly I am of opinion, that did Apelles now liue, being as hee was of an ingenuous disposition, hee would in this Art yeeld the Bucklers to our Albertus. But for singular rules in this kinde, Lomatius may

Ep. 119.

Epistola de re
Geometrica.

not

not be forgotten, whom Mr *Richard Haydocke* hath translated out of Italian into English, & dedicated to the euer honoured Sir *Thomas Bodley*.

Such is the *affinitie* betwixt the arts of painting & building, by reason they both stand chiefly vpon proportions & iust dimentions, that *Vassari*, who was both himselfe, hath likewise written the liues of the most famous & best skilled in both. *Vitruvius* who liued but in the reigne of *Augustus*, is the only man in a manner among the *Ancients*, either in Greeke or Latine, who is renowned for the rules of *Architecture*: Among those of latter times, Sir *Henry Wotton* in his preface to his *Elements of Architecture*, reputes *Leon Baptista Alberti* the *Florentine*, the first learned *Architect* beyond the *Alpes*: To whom *Angelus Politianus* in an Epistle of his to *Laurentius Medices*, Duke of *Florence*, yeelds this testimony. *Ita perscrutatus antiquitatis vestigia est, vt veterem Architectandi rationem & deprehenderit & in exemplum reuocauerit*: He so narrowly traced the prints & foote-steps of *Antiquity*, that he both fully comprehended the manner of the ancient building & reduced it into patterne; and in the end concludes touching his worth as *Salust* of *Carthage*, *Tacere satius puto quam pauca dicere*, I hold it safer to be silent then to speake in few wordes. now as the most sufficient *moderne Architects* in most things follow the ancients, so in many things they varie from the, & that vpon iust reason. The ancient *Grecians* & the *Romans* by their example in their buildings abroad where the seate was free, did almost religiously scituate the front of their houses towards the South: But from this the *moderne Italians* doe iustly varie. Againe, the *Ancients* did determine the longitude of all roomes which were longer then broad by the double of the latitude, and the height by the halfe of the breadth & length summed together: But when the roome was precisely square, they made the heighth halfe as much more as the latitude: from which dimensions, the *moderne Architects* haue likewise taken leaue to vary and that vpon good discretion.

Vitruvius l. 6. c. 3.

The publique buildings of the *Grecians* and *Romans* were doubtles very artificiall & magnificent, and so were likewise many of those of the ancient *Christians*, I meane their Churches, Monasteries, Castles, bridges, and the like: But the houses of priuate men were in the memorie of our *Fathers*, for the most part very homely, till the Princes of *Italy* began to bestow more art & cost vpon them. *Cosmo Medices* Duke of *Florence* being one of the first who set vpon this worke, the *Italians* were soone followed by the *French* after the victorious returne of *Charles* the eight from *Naples*, and they againe by vs euer since the vni-ting of the two roses in King *Henry* the seaventh, who at his comming to the Crowne, had spent the greatest part of his time in *France*: Before his entrance we had indeede some huge vast buildings, but his house at *Richmond* & his Chappell at *Westminster* (except perchaunce some would preferre *Kings College Chappell* in *Cambridge* began by *Henry* the sixth) were the two first neate curious peeces that this kingdome had seene: The latter of which may well enough compare, not onely with any peece this day in *Christendome*, but for the bignes of it, with any thing in antiquity of that kinde. But for a stately dainty house, that of

Nene-

None-such excells, which King Henry the eight, saith our great Antiquarie, built with so great sumptuousnes, and rare workmanshippe, that it aspireth to the very toppe of ostentation for shew: So as a man may thinke, that all the skill of *Architecture* is in this one peece bestowed and heaped vp together. So many statues & liuely images there are in euery place: so many wonders of absolute workmanshippe & workes seeming to contend with *Romane Antiquities*, that most worthily it may haue and maintaine still this name that it hath of *None-Such*, according as *Leland* hath written of it.

Huic quia non habeant similem laudare Britanni

Sæpe solent, nullique parem cognomine dicunt.

The Brittaines oft were wont to praise this place for that through all The Realme they cannot shew the like, & *None-Such* they it call.

So as what *Sebastianus Serlius* a skilfull Architect spake of the *Pantheon* at *Rome*, may not vnfitly be applied to this pile of building, that it is *unicum exemplar consummata Architectura*, the only patterne we haue of perfect Architecture; whether we cast our eyes abroad into the countrey vpon the houses of Noblemen & Gentlemen, or vpon the Colleges & Schooles in the Vniuersities, or vpon the dwellings of the Merchant & Artificer in the towne & city, specially in the *Metropolis*; wee shall generally find a wonderfull great change in building within these last hundred yeares, this latter as much exceeding the former, as *Augustus* his marble *Rome* did that of bricke. And if we looke into forraine parts, the *Escoriall* in *Spainne* & the *Gallery* in *France*, will yeeld to nothing *Antiquity* can boast of in that kinde: Yet if we may beleuee reports, the King of *Chinaes* pallaces, at least wise for riches & state, put downe any thing which is to be seene in *Europe* at this day.

Now I know the *Pyramides* rayled by the Egyptian Kings, & the *Obeliskes* by the Grecian & *Romane Emperours* are much spoken of, as being vnpareld by any thing in these latter ages, and they were indeede *insane substructiones*, as *Pliny* speakes, mad kinde of buildings, only for shew & ostentation, nothing at all for vse: yet that *Obeliska*, which in the yeare 1586 was raised by the direction of *Dominicus Fontana*, & at the charge of *Sixtus Quintus* (which *Thuanus* tearmes, *inter opera eius primum & præcipuum*, the first & the principall among all the great workes which he did) may well be counted little inferiour to the chiefest of them. It was one solide stone 107 foote in heigh, weighing 956148 pounds: It was traslated from the *Vatican*, where it lay in an obscure & durtie place, almost couered ouer with filth, and erected in a more eminent place neere *S. Peters Church*. There were disburled about this worke (as *Fontana* himselfe hath written) 37975 Crownes; there being employed therein from the beginning of *May* to the middle of *September* 900 men and 70 horses.

SECT. 4.

Of the art of Navigation, brought to perfection in this latter age, and upon that occasion of the situation of Ophir.

THe last, but the chiefe & most vsfull of the three *Arts* which I last named is *Navigation*, in which those of former ages were so ignorant, that they ingraued *Non ultra* vpon *Hercules* pillars, that the *Nations* about *Pontus* thought no sea in the world like their owne, and doubted whether there were any other sea but that only, whereof it came that *Pontus* was a word vsed for the sea in generall. That the *Egyptians*, held otherwise a wittie people, vsed to coast the shores of the red Sea vpon *Raffs*, diuised by King *Erythrus*: And in the time of the *Romanes*, the *Brittaines* our Ancestours had a kind of boate (with which they crost the Seas) made of small twigs and couered with leather, of which *Lucan* the Poet.

*Primum cana salix madefacto vimine paruum
Texitur in puppim, casoque induta iuuenco
Vectoris patiens, tumidum supercarnat amnem.
Sic Venetus stagnante pado fusoque Britannus
Nauigat Oceano:*

The moistned ofyre of the hoarie willow
Is woouen first into a little boate
Then cloath'd in bullocks hide vpon the billow
Of a proud riuer lightly doth it floate
Vnder the water-man.
So on the Lakes of ouer-swelling Poe
Sayles the Venetian, & the Brittaines so
On the out-spread Ocean.

And to like purpose is that of *Festus Auiennus*:

*Navigia iunctis semper aptant pellibus,
Corioque vastum saepe percurrunt salum.*

Of stitched hides they all their vessels had,
And oft thorow sea in leather voyage made.

But that which is more obseruable is, that the *Iewes* were so vnskilfull in this art, as they commonly called the *Mediterranean* sea the great *Numb. 34. v. 6.* sea; not being in those times, as it seemes, much acquainted with the *Ocean*: And though the *Phœnicians* & *Carthaginians*, the *Tyrians* & *Sydonians*, are much renowned in histories for great *Navigatours*; yet it is thought by the learned that those voyages they performed, was onely by coasting and not by crossing the Ocean.

--- *Hæc atas quod fata negarunt
Antiquis totum potuit sulcare carinis
Id pelagi immensum quod circuit Amphitrite.*

This age what fates to former times deni'd
Through the vast Ocean now in ships doth ride

Lib. 1. de natura Sayth *Fracaſtorius*, and *Acoſta*, *Equidem navigationem altissimo Oceano*
novioribus, c. 1. 8 commiſſam neque apud *Veteres* lego, neque ab illis aliter *Oceanum* navigatum
puot

puto quam à nostris Mediterraneum: That the Ancients adventured themselves into the maine Ocean, neither doe I read it in any of their Writers, nor doe I beleue they otherwise sayled ouer the Ocean, then wee doe now ouer the *Mediterranean Sea*. And it should seeme they undertooke not their longest voyages without *Oares*, which the *Scripture* implies in that undertaken by *Ionas*, where the Marriners vpon the rising of a violent tempest were constrained to vse their *Oares*. *Ionas*. i. 13.

I am not ignorant, that as *Vatablus* and *Arias Montanus* would make *Ophir*, whither *Salomon* sent his Nauie (by reason of the affinitie of the name) to be *Peru* in the *West Indies*, so *Pineda* spends no lesse then twelue leaues in the largest folio, to proue *Tharsis*, to which it is likewise commonly thought to haue gone to be *Tartessus* in *Spaine*: But for the first of these opinions, *Cornelius Wyssliet*, Secretary of state in the Counsell of *Brabant*, in his booke intituled *Descriptionis Ptolomaeae argumentum*, or *Occidentis notitia*, hath strongly confuted it; and so hath *Peterius* in his third booke vpon *Genesis* treating of *Hauilah*. But Sir *Walter Raleigh* is confident that himselfe hath so knockt it in the head, as it were idle to make a y more question thereof: That this question, saith he, bee a subiect of no farther dispute. It is very true that there is no Region in the world of that name, (meaning *Peru*) sure I am that at least *America* hath none, no not any city, village, or mountaine so named: But when *Francis Pizarro* first discovered the lands to the South of *Panama*, arriuing in that Region which *Attabaliba* commaunded, (a Prince of Magnificence, riches and dominion, inferiour to none) some of the *Spaniards* vtterly ignorant of that language, demanding by signes as they could, and pointing with their hand athwart the riuer or brooke that ran by, the *Indians* answered *Peru*, which was either the name of that brooke or of water in generall. The *Spaniards* therevpon conceiuing that the people had rightly vnderstood them, set it downe in the iournall of their enterprise, and in the first description made and sent ouer to *Charles* the Emperour, all that West part of *America* to the South of *Pannama* had the name of *Peru*, which hath continued euer since, as diuerse *Spaniards* in the *Indies* assured me. Which also *Acosta* the Iesuite in his naturall & morall *History* of the *Indies* confirmeth. And whereas *Montanus* also findeth that a part of the *Indies* called *Iucatan* tooke the name of *Iocktan*, who as he supposeth, navigated from the yrmost East of *India* to *America*: It is most true that *Iucatan* is nothing else in the language of that countrey, but, *What is that*, or *What say you?* For when the *Spaniards* asked the name of that place, no man conceiuing their meaning, one of the *Salanges* answered *Iucatan*, which is, *What aske you?* or *what say you*. Thus farre Sir *Walter Raleigh*, yeelding the reason of his dissent from *Montanus* & *Vatablus*, holding that *Ophir*, to which *Salomons* Navy sayled for gold, was *Peru* in the *West Indies*. Wherevnto may be added out of *Salmuth* in his Commentary vpon *Pancirollus*, that in all likelihood, this land of *Ophir* tooke its name from *Ophir* the sonne of *Iockan*, (as the land of *Hauilah* likewise did from another sonne of his, mentioned in the same place) who as *Iosephus* witnesseth, fixed his seate in the East, placing the countrey of

Ophir about *Chersonesus*, with whom accords *Gaspar Varrerius* in his Commentaries purposely written de *Ophyra Regione*, where he plainly proues *Ophir* to be that *Aurea Chersonesus* in the East Indies, which is now called *Malaca*. Moreouer one of the principall commodities which *Solomons* fleete brought home was *ivory*, of which in the *West Indies* there is none to be found, it being knowne to want *Elephants*. And lastly out of the Text it appears, that *Salomon* prepared his Navy for a voyage into the East, inasmuch as his ships set forth at *Exion-Geber* bordering vpon the Red sea, & thither as to the *Rendevouz* came the *Tyrrians* & *Sydonians*, *Hirams* men to joyne with them: which had beene a most indirect course, had they intended their voyage toward the West.

1 King. 9. 26.

27.

Hispanicorum
1.7.De Natura no-
vi Orbis l. 1. c.
13.

A. 2. 1. 39.

Gen. 10. 4.

Cap. 10

1 King. 10. 22.

Lib. 9. c. 11.

Now for *Pineda* his making of *Tarshis*, to bee *Tartessus* in his owne Countrey of *Spaine*, though herein he follow *Coropius Becanus*, yet in the judgment I suppose of most men, *recitasse est refutasse*, the very recitall of it, is refutation sufficient. For if I should demand *Pineda* where those *Spanish* mines are now to be seene, from whence *Salomons* shippes brought so much treasure, he must tell me, that either they are dried vp, or transported to the Indies, from whence in fleetes they are yearly brought back into *Spaine*, as *Sarrarius* sports with him, *in novum orbem translata magnis classibus revehantur*. So as had not *Spaine* it selfe an *Ophir* or *Tarshis* to furnish it with gold, the poverty of it would doubtlesse soone appeere to the world. Besides *Pineda* heerein dissents from *Avoffa* his owne countryman & brother of the same societie, who thinks that by *Tarshis* the *Hebrewes* indefinitely vnderstand some remote, strange, and rich place, as we, saith he, doe by the *Indies*. And if we should say, that *Salomons* *Tarshis* by a little chaunge of letters was *Paulus Tarsus* a famous city in *Silicia* (which seemes likewise to haue its name from *Tarsis* the 2^d son of *Javan*) we therein should I thinke, shoot neerer the mark then *Pineda*: but I must confesse for mine own priuare judgment, I rather incline to their opinion who by *Tarshis* vnderstand none other then the Sea. The *Israelites* & *Phenicians*, because they knew no other Sea then the *Mediterranean* in the beginning, & that the people of *Tarshis* had the greatest shippes, and were the first Navigators in those parts with such vessels, they were therefore called *Men of the Sea*, & the word *Tarshis* vsed often for the Sea. Thus *S. Hierome* in his commentaries on *Daniel*, *Ionas fugere cupiebat non in Tharsu Silicie, sed absolute in pelagus*. *Ionas* desired to flye not to *Tarsus* in *Silicia* but to the Sea. But *Iunius* and *Tremellius* goe farther, translating *Tarshis* by *Oceanus*, thus: *Nam classis Oceani pro Rege cum classe Chirami erit, semel terminis veniebat classis ex Oued. no. afferens aurum & argentum*. &c. which we thus render in our last English Translation: For the King had in Sea a navy of *Tarshis* with the navy of *Hiram*, thence in three yeares came the navy of *Hiram*, bringing gold and silver. And from this opinion, that by *Tarshis* is or may be vnderstood the Sea, the learned *Drusius* in his sacred observations dissents not, onely hee affirms that not *Tarshis*, but *Iam* is the common name for the sea, and that not in *Syriack* as *S. Hierome* would haue it, but in *Hebrew*. Whereas then it is said or vnderstood, that the shippes of *Salomon* went every three

three yeares to *Tharshis*, if by *Tharshis* we vnderstand the *Sin*, the phrase is not inproper or strange at all: for we vse it ordinarily wherefoeuer we navigate, namely, that the Kings shippes are gone to the *Sea* or returned from the *Sea*, by which it appeares, (not to touch their opinion who deceiued by the *Chalde Paraphrase*, by *Tharshis* vnderstand *Carthage*) that the voyage of *Salomons Navy* was neither to *Peru* in the *West Indies*, nor *Tartessus* in *Spain*, but to *Ophir* in the *East Indies*, which being performed by coasting, needed perchaunce more time, but lesse skill in navigation.

The perfection then of this *Art* seemes by Gods providence to haue beene referued to these latter times, of which *Pedro de Medina*, & *Baptista Ramusio* haue giuen excellent precepts. But the *Art* it selfe hath bin happily practised by the *Portugals*, the *Spaniards*, the *Hollanders*, & our owne *Nation*, whose voyages and discoveries, Master *Hackluit* hath collected & reported in three several volumes, lately enlarged & perfected by Master *Purchas*, and it were to be wished aswell for the honour of the *English* name, as the benefite that might thereby redound to other Nations, that his collections and relations had beene written in *Latin*, or that some learned pen would be pleased to turne them into that *Language*. Among many other famous in this kinde, the noble spirited *Drake* may not be forgotten, who, God being his *Guide*, wit, skill, valour and fortune his attendants, was the next after *Magellanus* that sayled round about the world, wherevpon one wrote these verses vnto him.

Drake peragrati novit quem terminus orbis

Quemque semel mundi vidit vterque polus:

Si ræcant homines facient Te sydera notum

Sol nescit comitis immemor esse sui.

Sir *Drake* whom well the worlds end knew,

Which thou didst compasse round,

And whom both Poles of Heav'n once saw,

Which North and South doe bound.

The starres above will make thee knowne

If men here silent were:

The Sun himselfe cannot forget

His fellow traveller:

And for the better breeding, continuance, and increase of such expert *Pilots* amongst vs, it would doubtlesse bee a good & profitable worke, (according to Master *Hackluit*'s honest motion in his *Epistle Dedicatory* to the Lord *Admirall*, then being) if any who hath the meanes had likewise the minde to give allowance for the reading of a *Lecture* of *Navigation* in *London*, in imitation of the late Emperour *Charles* the fift, who wisely considering the rawnesse of his Seamen, and the manifold shipwracks which they sustained in passing & repassing betweene *Spain* and the *West Indies*, established not only a *Pilot Major* for the examination of such as were to take charge of shippes in that voyage, but also founded a *Lecture* for the *Art* of *Navigation*, which to this day is read in the *Contractation* house at *Swill*. The Readers of which *Lecture* haue not

Comden in
Devonshire.

A

only carefully taught and instructed the *Spanish Mariners* by word of mouth, but haue also published sundry exact & worthy Treatises concerning *Marine Causes*, for the direction & incouragement of posterity: and namely these three, *Alonzo de Chauz*, *Hieronymo de Chauz*, & *Rodrigo Zamerano*, & to this purpose it is a commendable work of Master *Hues*, who for the instruction of *Navigators* in the principles of *Geometry* & *Astronomy*, & thereby for the improuement & advancement of the *Art of Navigation*, hath written & twice published in two severall editions a learned *Treatise* of the *Celestiall* & *terrestriall Globes*, and their vse, which for the better vse of such as are ignorant of the *Latin* tongue, and desirous to learne, I could wish were translated into our owne *Language*.

CAP. 10.

Touching diuerse artificiall workes and usefull inventions; at leastwise matchable with those of the ancients, namely & chiefly the invention of Printing, Gunnes, and the Sea-Card or Mariners Compasse.

S E C T. I.

Of some rare inventions and artificiall workes of this latter age, comparable both for use and skill to the best of the

Ancients.

AS the *Arts & Sciences* haue all of them in these latter ages either beene reuiued from decay or reduced to use, or brought forward to perfection: so many secrets of *Nature* & rare conclusions haue beene found out & imparted to the *World* by *Albertus Magnus*, *Levinus Lemnius*, *Fernelius*, *Fracastrorius*, *Baptista Porta*, *Cornelius Agrippa*, *Cardanus*, *Trithemius*, *Delrio*, and others, and many singular artificiall inventions, for the use, ease, delight, or ornament of mankind, as a number of *Mechanicall*, *Mathematicall*, & *Musicall Instruments*, *Chimneyes*, *stirrups*, *paper spectacles*, *Porcellan*, *perspectiue glasses*, *fining of sugars*, *hand-mills*, *gloves*, *hats*, *bands*, *watches*, besides diuerse excellent workes in *stuffs*, in *silkes*, in *linens*, in *hangings*, in *carpets*, and the like, particularly set downe by *Polydore Virgill de Inventoribus Rerum*, and *Pancirollus* in his *Neua-reperta*, & *Cardanus* in his 17 booke *de artibus, artificiosisque rebus*, to whom notwithstanding much more might easily be added, For as truth is the daughter of time, so are usefull Inventions too, as rightly *Manilius*, *lib. 1.*

*Sed cum longa dies acuis mortalia corda
Et labor ingenium miseria dedit, & sua queng;
Ad vigilare sibi iussit fortuna premendo,
Seducta in varias certarunt pectora curas,
Et quodcumque sagax tentando repperit usus,
In commune bonum commentum lata dedere.*

But

But when that tract of time had whet mens wits,
 And industry had moulded them, by first
 Fortune pressing each man to endeavour
 To free himselfe from miserie, together
 They bend their minds to search out sundry things
 And what is found by observation sage,
 They cheerefully impart from age to age.

I will onely specifie some of the rarest artificiall workes of this latter age,
 comparable for the workmanship with the best of the ancient.

Peter Ramus tels vs of a wooden Eagle, & an iron flye made by *Regiomontanus* a famous Mathematician of *Norinberg*, whereof the first (in imitation and emulation of *Archytas* his doue) flew forth of the city aloft in the aire, met the Emperour a good way off comming towards it, & hauing saluted him, returned againe, waiting on him to the city gates. The second at a feast whereto he had invited his familiar friends, flew forth of his hands, & taking a round, returned thither againe to the great astonishment of the beholders: Both which the diuine pen of the noble *Du Bartas* hath excellently expressed.

Why should I not that wooden Eagle mention,
 A learned Germans late admir'd invention,
 Which mounting from his fist that framed her
 Flew farre to meet an *Almaine Emperour*.
 And hauing met him with her nimble traine
 And weary wings, turning about againe
 Followed him close vnto the Castle gate
 Of *Norinberg*, whom all their shewes of state,
 Streetes hang'd with Arras, arches curious built,
 Gray-headed Senate, and youths gallantise,
 Grac't not so much as only this devise.

The 6 day of
 the first week.

He goes on and thus describes the flye,

Once as this *Artist* more with mirth then meat
 Feasted some friends whom he esteemed great,
 From vnder's hand an iron flye flew out,
 Which hauing flowne a perfit round about,
 With weary wings return'd vnto her Master,
 And as judicious on his arme he plac't her.
 O diuine wit, that in the narrow wombe

Of a small flye could finde sufficient roome
 For all those springs, wheelles, counterpoise and chaines,
 Which stood instead of life, and spurre, and raines.

Desinamus itaque Archyta columbam mirari, cum muscam, cum aquilam geometricis alis alazam Norbergæ exhibeat, saith *Ramus*, let vs giue ouer to wonder at *Archytas* his doue, sithence *Norinberg* hath exhibited both a Flye and an Eagle winged with Geometricall wings. *Bartas* likewise remembers the curious Diall & clock at *Strausburgh*, which my selfe haue beheld not without admiration,

But who would thinke that mortall hands could mould
 New heauens, new starres whose whirling courses should

With

With constant windings though contrary wayes
 Marke the true monds of yeares & months & dayes,
 Yet 'tis a story that hath oft beene heard
 And by an hundred witnessles auer'd.

Neither doth he forget that most exquisite silver *spheare* (matchable with *Archimedes*, or that of *Zapores King of Persia*) which was sent as a present from the Emperour *Ferdinand* to *Solyman* the great *Turke*, & is mentioned by *Paulus Iouius* & *Sabellicus*: It was carried as they write, by twelue men, vnframed & reframed in the *Grand Signiours* presence by the maker, who likewise deliuered him a booke contayning the mystery of vsing it.

Nor may we smoother not forget ingratelie
 The *Heauen of silver*, that was sent but lately
 From *Ferdinando* as a famous worke
 Vnto *Bizantium* to the greatest *Turke*:
 Wherein a spirit still mouing too & fro,
 Made all the *Engine* orderlie to goe;
 And though the one *spheare* did alwayes slowly slide,
 And contrary the other swiftly glide,
 Yet still their stars kept all their courses euen
 With the true courses of the stars of heauen.
 The Sun there shifting in the *Zodiague*
 His shining houses, neuer did forsake
 His pointed path, there in a moneth his sister
 Fulfil'd her course & changing oft her lustre
 And forme of face, (now larger, lesser soone)
 Followed the changes of the other moone.

SECT. 2.

Of the benefits and Inventour of the most
 vsfull *Art of Printing*.

BVt leauing these,
Magna nec ingenijs investigata priorum
Quaeque diu latuere canamus
 I'll speake of greater things which long lay hid
 Neither were found by search of former wits.

These spoken of, are in truth but toyes & tryfles in regard of those three most vsfull inventions, which these latter ages challenge as due & proper to themselves, *Printing*, *Gunnes*, and the *Marriners compasse*; of which *Cardane* comparatiuely speakes in high tearmes. *His tribus tota Antiquitas nihil par habet*, All Antiquity can boast of nothing equall to these three. Vpon these then will I insist, & with these conclude this comparison of *Arts & Wits*; the rather for that there is none of them but some haue excepted against, as being not *moderne* but *ancient* inventions. I will begin with *Printing*, touching which *Bodin* outvies *Cardane*, *Vna typographia cum omnibus omnium veterum inventis certare facile potest*: *Printing* alone may easily contend for the prize with all the inventions

ventions of the Ancients. And Polidore Virgill having spoken of the famous Libraries erected by the Ancients, presently adds, *Fuit illud omnino magnum mortalibus munus, sed nequaquam conferendum cum hoc quod nostro tempore adepti sumus, reperto novo scribendi genere: tantum enim una die ab uno homine literarum imprimitur, quantum vix toto anno a pluribus scribi possit.* That was indeede a great benefit to mankind, but not to be compared with this which our age hath found out & injoyed, since a new kinde of writing was brought to light and practised, by meanes whereof, as much may be printed by one man in one day, as could be written by many in a whole yeare; or as Sabellicus, as much as the reader pen-man could well dispatch in two yeares. And by this meanes, bookes which were before in a manner confined to the Libraries of Monasteries, as their onely Magazines, were redeemed from bondage, obtained their enlargement, & freely walked abroad in the light; so as now they present themselves familiarly to the eyes & hands of all men, and he that hath but slender meanes, may notwithstanding furnish himselfe in a competent manner, there being now more good Authours to be bought for twenty shillings, then could then be purchased for twenty pounds. And besides, they then spake such languages as it pleased the Monkes to put into their mouths, who many times thorow ignorance, or negligence, or wilfulnes mistooke words and sentences, and sometimes thrust that into the Text which they found in the Margine. From whence arose such a confusion in most Authours, that it much puzzled the best wits how to restore them to the right sense, as Lodowicus Vives complains, it befell him in the setting forth of S. Augustines workes *de Civitate Dei, & diuina diuina sepe numero fuit, & coniecturis vera restituenda. Lectio:* I was often forced to guesse at the sense & none otherwise then by conjectures could the text be restored to the true reading: And Erasmus in his preface to the workes of the same father, *vix in aliteris tam impie quam in huius sacri Doctoris voluminibus lusi otiosorum temeritas,* hardly hath the rashnes of idle braines so impiously played its part in the volumes of any other, as of this holy Doctour. Yet that other complaint of his in his preface before S. Hieromes workes, touching the many and grosse corruptions which therein he found, farre exceeds this, *Unum illud & vere dictum & audacter minoris arbitror Hieronymo suos constituisse libros conditos quam nobis restitutos:* This one thing may I truly and boldly affirme, that in mine opinion, S. Hieromes bookes cost him lesse paines the making, then the mending. Again, it cannot be denied but the fairenes of the letter beyond that of ordinary writing, addes no small grace to this invention. *Mira certe Ars,* sayth Cardane, *quod mille chartarum una die conficiuntur, nec facile est indicare an in tanta facilitate ac celeritate pulchritudo, an in tanta pulchritudine celeritas & facilitas sit admirabilior:* An admirable Art sure it is, by which a thousand sheetes may be dispatched in a day; neither is it easie to judge whether in so great easinesse and quickenesse of dispatch the fairenes of the letter, or in the fairenesse of the letter the quickenesse of dispatch and easinesse thereof, be more to be wondered at. Lastly, it is not the least benefit of printing, that by dispersing a number of Copies into particu-

De Inventor.
reum, lib. 7:

Enead 10: 6:

In prefatione.

De varietate re-
rum, lib. 13: 64:

lar mens hands, there is now hope that good letters shall neuer againe suffer so vniuersall a decay as in former ages they haue done, by the burning and spoyling of publique *Libraries*, in which the whole treasure of learning was in a manner stored vp. Since then by this meanes, bookes are become both *fairer*, and *cheaper*, and *true*, and *lesse subiect to a totall perishing*: and since by this *Art* the *preseruer of Arts*, the *Acts* & writings of worthy men are made famous and commended to posterity; it were a point of haynous ingratitude to suffer the *Inventor* thereof to be buried in obliuion.

Some difference I confesse there is about his name, yet not such but may be reconciled without any great difficulty. *Peter Ramus* seemes to attribute it to one *Iohn Fust* a *Moguntine*, and in trueth shewes good cardes for it, telling vs, that he had in his keeping a copie of *Tullies Offices* printed vpon parchment with this inscription added in the end thereof: *Præsens Marci Tullij clarissimum opus Iohannes Fust Moguntinus ciuis non atramento, plumali canna, neque area, sed arte quadam perpulchra manu Perri de Gerneshem pueri mei feliciter effeci, finitum an. 1466, 4 die mensis Februarij.* This excellent worke of *Marcus Tullius* I *Iohn Fust* a citizen of *Mentz* happily imprinted, not with writing ynke, quill, or brasle pen, but with an excellent *Art* by the helpe of *Peter Gerneshem* my servant: finished it was in the yeare 1466, the 4th of *Februarie*. *Pasquier* averres that the like had come to his hands, and *Salmuth* that one of the same impression was to be seene in the publique *Librarie* at *Ausburg*, and another (as others) in *Emanuel College* in *Cambridge*, and my selfe haue seene a fifth in the publique *Librarie* at *Oxford*, though with some little difference in the inscription. Yet *Pollidore Virgill* from the report of the *Moguntines* themselves affirmes, that *Iohn Gutenberg* a Knight, and dwelling in *Mentz*, was the first *Inventor* thereof, & therein with him accord *Palmerius* in his *Chronicle*, *Melchior Guilandinus* in the 26 Chapter of his *Treatise touching paper & parchment*, *Chasaneus* in his *Catalogue of the Glory of the world*, the second part and 39th Consideration, *Veignier* in his *Bibliotheque*, *Bibliander de communicatione omnium linguarum*, in his chapter of printing (professing that therein he follows *Wymphilin-gius* in his *Epitomie* of the affaires of Germany) *Iohannes Arnoldus* in his booke of the *Invention of Printing*; And lastly, *Munster* in his *Cosmographie*, who addes this particular, that he smothered it a long time, labouring to conceale it all that he might. For the reconciling then of this difference, it may well be that *Gutenberg* was indeed the first happy inventour of this inualueable *Art*: But *Fust* the first, who taking it from him, made prooffe thereof in printing a booke: They both then deserue their commendation, but in different degrees: *Gutenberg* in the highest, *Fust* in a second or third; & no doubt, but many since haue added much to the speede, grace and perfection thereof, whose names, though wee know not, yet perchance, haue they as well deserued of the commonwealth of learning as hee: Sure we are, that *Manutius Operinus*, *Raphelengius*, *Plantin*, and both the *Stephens*, the Father & the Sonne, are not to be forgotten, but remembered with honour, for the furthering and perfecting of this *Art*.

Yet

Yet some there are who writing of the affaires of the Indies, as *Petrus Maffaius*, *Garzias ab Horto*, & *Paulus Iovius* assure vs, that either the *Germanes* borrowed this Invention frō the *Chineses*, or at leastwise the *Chineses* had the practise & vse of it long before them. Wherevnto I answer (not to question the credit of the *Authors*) though in truth (as is well knowne) no great friends to the *German* nation, that though it were long since in vse with the *Chineses*, yet, for ought appeareth, was it neuer, nor yet is with them, brought to that perfection as it is with vs at this day: *Si à veteribus tale quiddam excogitatum sit, ut nemo debita laude fraudandus, fateri quisque debeat omnia minus fuisse exculta, nitida, subtilia, elimata, nec tam spectabili literarum varietate exornata atque exposita*, saith *Levinus Lemnius*. If any such thing were discovered by the *Ancients* (either by the *Chineses* or otherwise) as they are not to be robbed of their due praise, so ought we to confesse, that all things are now more exact and perfect, and better polished with a faire variety of letters. But that the *Germans* should borrow it from the *Chineses*, as is pretended by the *Spaniards*, is more I thinke then is true, I am sure then is yet proved, or in likelyhood doth appeare: And the *Germans* themselves will neuer with patience endure such a wrong. *Germania certe nunquam sibi hanc laudem patietur extorqueri*, saith *Salmuth*; *Germany* will neuer suffer the praise of this Invention to bee wrested from her, And *Beroaldus*.

Hist. Ind. l. 6
Lib. 2. Arcm.
apud Indos c.
38.
Lib. 14. H. B.

De oculis re-
tum miras. l. 3.
c. 4.

O Germania muneris repertrix,

Quo nil utilius dedit vetustas

Libros scribere. Qua doces premendo.

Thou *Germany* this blessing didst invent,

Then which the world more vsefull neuer saw,

To write on bookes thou teachest thus by print.

And with him accords *Laurentius Valli*, though himselfe an *Italian*, if those verses bee his which are ascribed vnto him in the front of his *Workes*.

Abstulerat Latio multos Germania libros,

Nunc multo plures reddidit ingenio.

Et quod vix toto quisquam perscriberet anno,

Munere Germano conficit una dies.

Germany drew great store of bookes from *Italy*,

But now much more she doth. then she receiv'd, repay:

What erewhile in one year could scarcely written bee,

Now by *Germany's* helpe is finisht in one day.

S E C. 1.

Of the vse and invention of Gunnes.

AS the Invention of Printing is chiefly in vse in time of Peace, so is that of Gunnes in time of warre, with which the *Aries*, *Onagri*, *Catapulta*, or *Balista*, *Engines* of the *Ancients*, (which I know not well how to *English*, they being growne for the most part out of vse) are no way comparable, *Nec vlla ex parte huic conferendus est antiquus Aries, vires inferiores habebat, & difficilius ad muros adigebatur*, saith *Patricius*, The *Ramme* anciently for batterie, is in no sort to be compared with this *Engine*, it had lesse strength, & more difficulty there was in bringing it, and applying it to the walls. And *Bodine* to like purpose, (though herein perchance he jumpe not with *Lipsius* in his *Poliorcetica*) omittes *Catapulta Veterum & antiqua belli tormenta, quæ sic cum nostris conferantur sanè puerilia quædam ludicra videri possint*: I passe ouer the *Engines* of the *Ancients*, which being compared with ours, are rather childish toyes then instruments for warre. And *Lipsius* himselfe calls it, *Geniorum, non hominum inventum*. an invention of spirits, and not of men. Such is the force of these moderne *Engines*, that they not only destroy men, but cast downe walls, rampiers, towres, castles, citties, and shake the tallest shippes into shiuers, there being nothing that comes within their reach that can stand against them. It was a peece of almost incredible bignesse which by *Mahomets* commaund was employed against *Constantinople*, *ad quam trahendam adhibebantur septuaginta iuga boum, & his mille viri*, as witnesseth *Chalcondilas* in his eight booke *de rebus Turcicis*, for the drawing of which were employed seuentie yoke of oxen, and two thousand men. It is true that there is nothing more mischievous to besieged cities, and so is there nothing that helps them more for the chasing away of the besiegers, it being so for the most part in all things, which either the Art or wit of man, or God & Nature hath framed, that the more helpfull they are being well vsed, the more hurtfull are they being abused: then fire and water there is nothing more commodious to the life of man, yet is the *Proverbe* true, that when they are once enraged, & passe their bounds, they become merciles: The tongue is said by *Esape* to be both the best and the worst meat that comes to the market: for with it we both blesse God & curse men, saith *S. Iames*. And yron by *Pliny* is rightly tearmed, *optimum, pessimumq; vita instrumentum*, the best & worst instrument belonging to man, But sure it seemes that God in his providence had reserued this Engine for these times, that by the cruell force & terrible roaring of it, men might the rather be deterred from assaulting one another in hostile and warlike manner, And I verily beleeue, that since the invention and vse thereof, fewer haue beene slaine in the warres then before. Neither doth it serue, (as is commonly objected,) to make men cowards, but rather hardens them. For hee that dares present himselfe to the mouth of a Cannon, cannot feare the face of death in what shape soeuer it present it selfe.

How

De rego l. 7.
tit. 6.Metbod. bish.
c. 7.De Machinis
dialogo 11.

Howsoever some haue not beene wanting, who would beare vs in hand that this Invention is not of *latter times*, but *ancient*, among whom Sir *Walter Rawleigh* is one, who in his *History of the World*, referres not only the Invention of *Printing*, but of *Gunnes* too, and *Ordinance* of battery to the *Indians*, grounding himselfe heerein vpon the report of the *Portugals*: And hereby, saith he, we are now made to vnderstand, that the place of *Philostratus in vita Apollonij Tiani*, is no fable, though expressed in fabulous words, when he saith, that the wise men which dwell betweene *Hypheis* and *Ganges* vse not themselves to goe forth to battle, but that they driue away their enemies with *thunder* and *lightning*. But hereof I can say nothing, choosing with *Camerarius*, *potius credere quam cum molestia experiri*, rather to beleue it, then to endure the hazard and trouble to make tryall of it. Others referre it to *Salmones*, as witnesseth *Levinus Lemnius*, induced therevnto by those verses of *Virgill*

*Mediat. f. 10. r.
centur. 2. c. 28
De occult. re-
rum miraculis
l. 3. c. 4.
Æneid. l. 5.*

*Vidi & crudeles dantem Salmones penas,
Dum flammis Iovis & sonitus imitatur Olympi.
Quatuor hic inuictus equis ac lampada quassans
Per Graium populos mediaque per Elidis urbem
Ibat ovans, Drumque sibi poscebat honores
Demens qui nimbo & non imitabile fulmen,
Ære & cornipedum cursu simulabat equorum.*

I saw *Salmones* there endure
Most cruell paines and great,
For that he dar'd the flames of *Ioue*,
And thunder counterfeir.
In Chariot drawne with horses foure,
Shaking a fiery brand
Through mids of *Elis* towne he rode,
And through all *Gracian* land
Triumphing wise: and to himselfe
Audaciouly did take
Honours diuine. Mad franticke man
That did not inlie quake:
With horne-foot horses, and brasse-wheels,
Ioues stormes to emulate,
And lightnings impossible
For man to imitate.

But *Servius* in his *Commentaries* conceiues, that this imitation of *thunder* was by driuing his Chariot ouer a brasen bridge: And if hee vsed any *Engine*, it seemes to haue beene rather for rattling and terrour, then for any reall effect: And whereas great *Ordinance* exceed thunder, this was such that it came farre short of it: And therefore as *Rosa* hath well obserued, the Poet calls it.

-----non imitabile fulmen.

But this I leaue as a very vncertaine ground for the ancient invention of this *Engine*. *Petrarch* and *Valturius* vpon better shew of reason (as they conceiue) referre it to *Archimede*, found out (as they pretend) by him for the ouer-throw of *Marcellus* his shippes at the siege of *Syracuse*.

*De re med. vtri-
usque fort. dial.
99.
De re militar.*

Miscell. 1: 61:

De regimine
Principum. l. 3.
parte 3: c. 18:Nova Reperta,
tit. 11:

Lib. 3: c. 14:

But it were strange that both *Plutarch* & *Linie*, who haue written largely of his admirable wit & wonderfull *Engines*, and particularly of the siege of that citie, should among the rest forget this rare *invention*, and yet more strange that the *Romanes* vpon the taking of the citie should not take it vp and make vse of it: Nay, as *Magius* (who hath written a chapter of purpose, to refute them who referre this invention to the *Ancients*) hath obserued, neither *Heron*, nor *Pappus*, nor *Athenaeus*, nor *Biton* in their manuscripts of the *Mechanniques*, (for printed they are not) haue described any such *Engine*: nor *Aegidius Romanus*, (who liued & wrote in the reigne of *Philip* the faire King of *France* about the yeare 1285,) where he treates purposely of warlike *Engines* & *instruments*, remembers any such thing. *Brighman* in his exposition on the *Revelation* of *S. Iohn*, tels vs that by the fire, & smoke, & brimstone which in that place are said to haue issued out of the mouths of the horses, are to be vnderstood our powder & gunnes now in vse, & that of them *S. Iohn* prophesied, but how these can be said to issue out of the *mouthes* of horses, he doth not well expresse, nor I thinke well vnderstood.

The common opinion then is, that this diuise was first found out by a *Monke* of *Germanie*, whose name many writers affirme to be deferedly lost: But *Forcatulus* in his fourth booke of the *Empire* & *Phylosophy* of *France*, names him *Berthold Swarts* of *Cullé*, & *Salmuth*, *Constantine Anklistzen* of *Friburg*: Howsoeuer they all agree that he was a *German Monke*, and that by chaunce a sparke of fire falling into a pot of *Niter*, which he had prepared for *Physicke* or *Alchemy*, and causing it to fly vp, he therevpon made a composition of powder, with an instrument of brasse & yron, and putting fire to it, found the conclusion to answere his expectation. The first publique vse of *Gunnes* that we reade of, was thought to be about the yeare 1380 as *Magius*, or 400 as *Ramus*, in a battle betwixt the *Venetians* & the *Genowayes* fought at *Clodia Fossa*, in which the *Venetian* hauing from this *Monke* belike, gotten the vse of *Gunnes*, so galled their enimies, that they saw themselves wounded & slaine, and yet knew not by what meanes, or how to prevent it, as witnesseth *Platina* in the life of *Vrbane* the sixth. And *Laurentius Valla* in the second booke & 34 Chapter of his *Elegancies*, (which as himselfe testifies, he wrote in the yeare 1438) affirms that the *Gunne* grew in vse not long before his time. His words are, *Nuper inventa est machina quam Bombardam vocant*, the *Engine* which they call the *Gunne* was lately found out. And *Petrarch* who liued somewhat before him to like purpose in his 99 dialogue of the *Remedies of both fortunes*, though therein I confesse he seeme to crosse himselfe, *Erat hac pestis nuper rara, ut cum ingenti miraculo cerneretur*: This pestilent deuise was lately so rare, that it was beheld with marueilous great astonishment. Yet I haue seene the copie of a record, that great ordinance were brought by the *French* to the batterie of a Castle or fort called *Outhwyke*, neere to *Calis*, and then in possession of the *English*, the first yeare of *Richard* the second, of which fort, one *William Weston* was Captaine, and being questioned in Parliament for yeelding vp the fort, he doth in his excuse alledge, that the enimies brought to the batterie thereof nine peeces de
grosses

grosses Canons par les quelles les mures & les maisons du dit Chastel furent rentes & percussez en plusieurs lieux, of great Canons, by meanes whereof the wals and houses of the sayed Castell were in diuerse places rent in sunder and sorely battered; and in another place, he tearmeth them huge, most greruous, & admirable Ordinance: nay more then so, I am credibly informed, that a commission is to be scene for the making of Saltpeter in Edward the thirds time, and another record of Ordinance vsed in that time some twety yeares before his death: by all which it should appeare, that either the invention of Gunnes was sooner then is commonly conceiued, or that our Nation and the French had the vse of it with the first, howsoeuer, it is most cleare, that at least-wise in these parts of the world this invention was not knowen till in latter ages. in comparison of the worlds duration.

S E C T. 4.

Of the vse and invention of the Marriners Compasse or sea-card, as also of another excellent invention sayd to be lately found out vpon the Load-stone, together with a conclusion of this comparison touching Arts & Wits, with a saying of Bodins, and another very notable one of Lactantius.

TO these inventions of Printing & Gunnes, may be added in the last place that of the Marriners compasse, of which Bodin thus confidently speakes, *Cum Magnete nihil sit admirabilius in tota re-* *Methodo hist. cap. 7.*
rum natura, vsum tamen eius plane diuinum Antiqui ignorarunt: Though there be nothing more admirable then the Load-stone in the whole course of Nature, yet of the Diuine vse thereof were the Ancients ignorant: And Blondus, *Certum est id navigandi auxilium Priscis omnino fuisse* *Italia Illustrata reg. c. 13.*
incognitum: It is certaine that helpe of sayling was altogether vnknown to the Ancients. And Cardan, a man much versed in the Rarities of Nature, *inter cetera rerum inuenta admiratioe primum digna est ratio Nauticae* *de subtilitate: 17.*
pyxidis: Among other rare Inventions, that of the Marriners compasse is most worthy of admiration. By meanes of it, was Navigation perfected, the liues and goods of many thousand haue bin, and daily are preserved: It findes out a way thorow the vast Ocean, in the greatest stormes and darkest nights, where is neither path to follow, nor inhabitant or passenger to inquire; It points out the way to the skillfull Mariner when all other helps faile him, and that more certainly though it be without reason, sense, and life, then without the helpe thereof all the Wisards & learned Clearks in the world, vsing the vnited strength of their wits & cunning can possibly doe: By meanes of it are the commodities of all countreys discovered, trade, & traffique, & humane societie maintained, their seuerall formes of gouernment, and religion obserued, & the whole world made as it were one Common-wealth, and the most distant Nations fellowes citizens of the same bodie politique.
 This wonderfull instrument we haue amply described by Cieza in his second tome & ninth chapter *de Robris Indis*, and Bellonius in his second booke & sixteenth chapter *de Singularitatibus*: But for the reason thereof;

De Numano
vioribus, l. 1:

thereof, I say with *Acosta*, *Causas huius tanti prodigij alij rimentur, & Sympathiam nescio quam conentur inducere, ego summi Opificis potentiam providentiamque quoties intueor, & vehementer admiror, & iucundissime celebro.* Let others search out the causes of this so wonderfull an instrument, & pretend therein I know not what Sympathie, I for my part as oft as I looke vpon it, cannot but exceedingly admire, & most willingly praise the power and providence of God.

Whether it were knowne to the *Ancients* or no, some doubt is moved, as of all things else there is: But herein, in my judgement, without any sufficient reason. For can we conceiue that so rare a deuise & of so singular vse could be knowne to *Aristotle*, *Theophrastus*, *Pliny*, *Dioscorides*, *Galen*, and that we should no where in any of their workes finde the least mention thereof? Surely, I for my part shall neuer beleue it, neither can I bee perswaded that so pretious and vsefull an invention could possibly be entertained & commonly practised, and yet lost againe out of the world as if it had neuer beene. But that indeed it was not practised appeares by this, that the *Ancients*, when by reason of a storme or mist they had lost the sight of the lights of heauen, they had no remedy to fly vnto; *Nullum caelo nubibus obscurato à magnete aut alio instrumento petebatur auxilium*, when the heauen was darkened with clouds, they had no assistance from the Load-stone or any other instrument.

Blondus Italia
illustrata Regio-
ne 13:

Ænead. 5:

Clauumque affixus & hærens
Nunquam amittebat oculosque sub astra tenebat
The helme he held & neuer it forooke
Put on the stars his eyes did euer looke
Saith the Poet, as long as the starres appeared, but when they were bo- misted, they then wandred they knew not whither.

Ænead. 3:

Tres adeo incertos caca caligine soles,
Exramus pelago, totidem sine fidere noctes.
On Sea we rou'd three dayes as darke as night,
Three nights likewise not seeing starrie light.

Ag. 27. 20:

And in *S. Pauls* coasting voyage by sea, when they had lost the sight of the *Sunne* and *Starres* all hope that they should be saued was then taken away.

Some notwithstanding haue beene found, who haue thought this invention ancient. *Levinus Lemnius* in his third booke and fourth chapted de *Occultis nature miraculis* seemes to doubt of it. *An hoc instrumentum Nauticum superioribus seculis extitit, an nostro id erod excogitatum, non ausini certo pronunciare.* whether this instrument of Navigation were in being in former ages, or found out in latter times, I cannot certainly define: Now that which chiefly causes him to make a doubt thereof, is those words of *Plautus*, *Hic ventus nunc secundus est, cape modo versoriam* where by *versoriam*, *Lemnius* would haue vs vnderstand the *Mariners Compass*, and then addes, *Quamquam ut opinor hac pexidicula nostro iam tempore magis exculta sit, elimata, expolita, omniaque exactius demonstrat*, as in the same chapter he speaks of printing: Yet I beleue that this instrument was in latter ages brought to exact perfection: But for *Plautus*

In Mercatore
Sc. na. 5:

I dare say he was neuer guilty of such a meaning: *Turnebus* by *Verforiam* Lib. 20 aduers. cap. 4. vnderstanding the rope with which the sayle, orners the rudder, with which the ship is turned: Neither of which are impertinent or improper, so as there is no necessity of applying it to the Marriners Compass. *Stephen Pasquier* in his 4 Booke & 23 chapter of his *Recherches* of France brings it vp as high as the times of *S. Lewis* by the verses of one *Hugh de Bercy*, who liued in his raigne, and as he pretends plainly describes it: but whether the words be so plaine as he makes them, or whether they were published by some other since *Bercy*, but in his name, is very vncertaine, specially since no Poet or Historiographer contemporary with him, or more ancient then he, are found to make mention thereof: and yet *S. Lewis* died not much about 300 yeare since. *Pineda* for the more commodious placing of *Tharshis* in *Spaine*, is confident that it was in vse in *Solomons* time, making his vniverfall wisdome, and deepe insight in the nature of all things, the principall ground of his opinion: But *Solomons* wisdome though it were vniverfall, and deepe beyond all the children of the East, inasmuch as God gaue him *latitudinem cordis*, a large heart as the sand on the sea shore, yet was it finite and limited aswell in things naturall as supernaturall. I doubt not but *Adam* in the state of integrity knew more then *Solomon*, and yet I dare not pronounce him omniscious, that being an attribute, (as is likewise *Omnipotentie*, *vbiquity* & *eternity*) individually proper to the Godhead, & incommunicable to any created substance, though meerey incorporeall, whether they bee the damned or the blessed spirits. If then the holy Angels, if *Adam* in Paradise knew not all things, nay if the Sonne of God himselfe, as he was man confesse himselfe to be ignorant of some things, why should wee thinke it strange to affirme, that *Solomon* knew not all things. If there be such a secret as the artificiall transmutation of other mettals into gold, (which by the experiments of many is confidently avouched) it is more then probable he was ignorant of it: for had he known it, he needed not to haue sent his Navy to *Ophir* or *Tharshis* for gold; as likewise had he knowne this secret of the Load-stone, it needed not to haue spent three yeares in going and coming, neither should his Marriners haue needed to craue the assistance of the *Tyrians* and *Sydonians*, as *Pilots* for the better conducting of them in their voyage. I conclude then that either *Solomon* knew not this secret, or if he knew it, he put it not in practise, or if he put it in practise, it was since lost and recouered againe, which to me seemeth the most vnlikely of all.

Now to the authority of these three, who plead for the antiquity of this Invention, may be opposed thirteene, and those in learning nothing inferiour who pleade against it, maintaining it to haue beene an Invention of latter ages vnkowne to the Ancients, as *Acosta* lib. 1. histor. Ind. cap. 17. *Mariana* lib. 1. de rebus Hispaniae cap. 22. *Maluenda* lib. 3. de Antichristo cap. 24. *Gomara* tomo 1. Indica Historiae cap. 10. *Turnebus* lib. 20. aduers. cap. 4. *Pancirollus* in his *Nova reperta* tit. 11. *Salmuth* in his Commentaries on that place. *Philander* in his Comment. vpon *Vitruvius* lib. 10. cap. 14. *Lilius Giraldus* lib. de Nauig. cap. 1. *Cardan* de subtilitate lib. 17. *Bozius* de signis Ecclesiae lib. 2. *Bodin* in his methode of History cap. 7. *Ramus* in

Schol. Mathemat. lib. 2. and to those may be added many more, were I ambitious in mustering vp of names, or did the cause require it. Since the writing hereof I finde that our *Fuller Miscell. 4. 19.* thinks it likewise very probable, that the *Tyrians* anciently had the vse of the *Compassse*, and that *Solomon* might bee the Inventor thereof, but against him may be produced the *reasons* before pressed against *Pineda*, & not onely the *authorities* already alleadged, but vnto them we may farther adde that of *Gaspar Varrerius* in his Commentary *De Ophyra Regione*, *Cuius vim nativamque lapidis in Arctos semper respectantis antiquis ignotam fuisse manifestum est.* It is cleere that the natie proprietie of this stone of turning alwayes to the *North*, was to the ancients vnknowne.

But a greater doubt presents it selfe about the *time* and *Author* of this Invention, when & by whom it should first be found out & set on foot. Doctour *Gilbert* our Countreyman (who hath written in Latin a large & learned Discourse of the properties of this stone) seemes to be of opinion that *Paulus Venetus* brought the Invention of the vse thereof frō the *Chineses*. *Oforius* in his discourse of the acts of King *Emanuel*, referres it to *Gama* and his Countrey-men the *Portugals*, who as he pretends took it from certaine barbarous Pirats roauing vpon the Sea about the *Cape of good hope*. *Goropius Becanus* likewise thinks hee hath great reason to intitle it vpon his Countrey-men the *Germans*, in as much as the 32. points of the winde vpon the *Compassse* borrow the names from the *Dutch* in all *Languages*. But *Blondus*, who is therein followed by *Pancirolius*, both *Italians*, will not haue *Italy* loose the praise thereof, telling vs that about 300 yeares agoe it was found out at *Malphis* or *Melpbis* a Citty in the Kingdome of *Naples* in the Province of *Campania*, now called *Terra di Lavorador*. But for the Author of it, the one names him not, & the other assures vs, he is not knowne: yet *Salmuth* out of *Ciezus* and *Gomara* confidently christens him with the name of *Flavius*, and so doth *Du Bartas* in those excellent verses of his touching this subject.

Hispanicorum
43.

Italia illustrata
Regione 13.

W'are not to *Ceres* so much bound for bread,
Neither to *Bacchus* for his clusters red,
As Signior *Flavio* to thy witty tryall,
For first inventing of the Sea-mans dyall,
Th' vse of the needle turning in the same,
Divine device, O admirable frame
Whereby thorow th' Ocean in the darkest night
Our hugest Carracks are conducted right,
Whereby w'are stor'd with trouch-man, guide and Lampe,
To search all corners of the watery Campe.
Whereby a ship that stormy heau'ns haue whorl'd
Neere in one night into another world
Knowes where she is, and in the Card descries
What degrees thence the *Æquinoctiall* lies.

It may well be then that *Flavius the Meluitan* was the first Inventor of guiding the ship by the turning of the needle to the *North*: but some *German* afterwards added to the *Compassse* the 32 points of the wind in his owne language, whence other Nations haue since borrowed it. But surely

surely a pitty it is that the Author of such an Invention is not both more certainlie knowne & honourably esteemed: He better deserving in my judgment to be inrolled and ranked among the *great benefactors of the world*, then many who for their supposed merits, of *mankind* were deified among the *Heathen*.

Another excellent and secret conclusion vpon this stone, pretended to be found out in these latter times, is, that by touching two needles with the same stone, they being severally set so as they may turne vpon two round tables, hauing on their borders the *Alphabet* written circlewise, if two friends agreeing vpon the time, the one in *Paris*, the other in *London*, (hauing each of them their table thus equally fitted) be disposed vpon certaine dayes & at certaine houres to conferre, it is to bee done by turning the needle in one of the tables to the *Alphabet*, & the other by *Sympathie* will turne it selfe in the same manner in the other table, though neuer so farre distant: which conclusion if infallibly true; may likewise prooue of good and great consequence: howsoever I will set it downe as I finde it described by *Famianus Strada* in imitation of the stile and vaine of *Lucretius*.

*Magnesi genus est lapidis mirabile, cui si
Corpora ferri plura stylosve admooveris, inde
Non modo vim motumque trahent quo semper ad vrsam
Quæ lucet vicina polo se vertere tentent,
Verum etiam mira inier se ratione, modoque
Quotquot cum lapidem tetigere styli, simul omnes
Conspirare situm motumque videbis in vnum.
Vt si fortè ex his aliquis Roma moveatur
Alter ad hunc motum quamvis sit dissitus longè
Arcano se naturæ fœdere vertat.
Ergo age si quid scire voles qui distat amicum
Ad quem nulla accedere possit epistola, sume
Planum orbem patulumque notas, elementaq; prima,
Ordine quo discunt pueri, describe per oras
Extremas orbis, mediæq; reponè jacentem
Qui tetigit magneta stylum, ut versatilis inde
Litterulam quamcunq; velis contingere possit.
Hujus ad exemplum simili fabricaveris orbem
Margine descriptum, munitumq; indice ferri,
Ferri quod motum Magnete accepit ab illo,
Hunc orbem disseffurus sibi portet amicus;
Conveniatq; prius quo tempore, quævis diebus
Exploret stylus an trepidet quidve indice signes.
His ita compositis si clam cupis alloqui amicum
Quem procul à Te Te terræ distinet ora
Orbi adjunge manum, ferrum versatile tracta,
Hic disposita vides elementa in margine toto
Quæis opus est ad verba notis hunc dirige ferrum
Litterulasq; modo hanc modo & illam cuspide tange
Dum ferrum per eas iterumq; iterumq; rotando*

Lib. 2. Prologus
ne 6.

Componas singillatim sensa omnia mentis.
Mira fides longe qui distat cernit amicus
Nullius impulsu trepidare volubile ferrum
Nunc huc, nunc illuc discurrere conscius heret
Observatque styli ductum sequiturque legendo
Hinc atq; hinc elementa quibus in verba coactis
Quid sit opus sentit ferroque interprete discit.
Quin etiam cum stare stylum videt, ipse vicissim
Si qua respondenda putat simili ratione
Litterulis varie tactis rescribit amico:
O vrinam hac ratio scribendi prodeat usu
Cantior & citior properaret epistola, nullas
Latronum verita insidias fluviosque morantes,
Ipse suis princeps manibus conficeret rem
Nos soboles scribarum emersi ex equore nigro
Consecraremus calamum Magnetis ad aras.

The Loade aboue all other stones hath this strange propertie,
 If sundry steels thereto, or needles yee applie,
 Such force & motion thence they draw, that they incline
 To turne them to the beare which neere the Pole doth shine.
 Nay more, as many steels as touch that vertuous stone,
 In strange & wondrous sort conspiring all in one,
 Together moue themselues, and situate together:
 As if one of those steels at Rome bestir'd, the other
 The selfe-same way will stirre though they far distant be,
 And all through Natures force & secrete Sympathie:
 Well then if you of ought would faine advise your friend
 That dwels far off, to whom no letter you can send,
 A large smooth round table make, write down the Christcrosse
 In order on the verge thereof, and then bestow (row
 The needle in the mid't which toucht the Load, that so
 What note soc're you list it straight may turne vnto:
 Then frame another orbe in all respects like this,
 Describe the edge, and lay the Steele thereon likewise,
 The Steele which from the selfe-same *Magnetis* motion drew;
 This orbe send with thy friend what time he bids adieu:
 But on the dayes agree first, when you meane to proue,
 If the Steele stir, and to what letters it doth moue.
 This done, if with thy friend thou closely would'st advise,
 Who in a countrey off far distant from thee lies,
 Take thou the orbe & Steele which on the orbe was set,
 The christcrosse on the edge thou seest in order writ,
 What notes will frame thy words to them direct thy Steele,
 And it sometime to this, sometime to that note wheele,
 Turning it round about so often till you finde
 You haue compounded all the meaning of your minde;
 Thy friend that dwels far off, o strange! doth plainly see
 The Steele to stir, though it by no man stirred bee,

Running

Running now heere now there: He conscious of the plot
As the Steele guides pursues, & reades from note to note,
Then gathering into words those notes, he clearly sees
What's needfull to be done, the needle truchman is:
Now when the Steele doth cease its motion, if thy friend
Thinke it convenient answer backe to send,
The same course he may take, and with his needfe write
Touching the seuerall notes what so he list indite.
Would God men would be pleas'd to put this course in v're,
Their letters would arriue more speedy and more sure,
Nor Riuers would them stoppe, nor theeu's them intercept,
Princes with their owne hands their businesse might effect,
Wee Scribes from blacke sea scaped, at length with hearty wils
At th'altar of the Loade would consecrate our quils.

Of this devise, how two absent friends might confer at great distance,
Viginerius in his *Annotations* vpon *T. Linus*, speaketh somewhat in the
1316 columnne of his first volume; as namely that a letter might be read
through a stone wall of three foote thicke, by guiding and mouing the
needle of a *compasse* ouer the letters of the *Alphabet*, written in the cir-
cumference: but the certainty of this conclusion, I leaue to the expe-
riment of such as list to make tryall of it, and so conclude this compa-
rison touching *Wits & Arts* with the words of *Bodinus*. *Non minus pec-*
cant qui à veteribus aiunt omnia comprehensa, quam qui illos de veteri multa-
rum artium possessione deturbant, habet Natura scientiarum thesauros numi-
rabiles qui nullis ataribus exhaustiri possunt. They are no lesse to blame
who affirme all things to haue been found out by the ancients, then they
who would thrust them out of the possession of many *Arts* found out
by them: For the Nature of sciences includes, in it infinite treasure
which can neuer be exhausted. Or rather with those of *Laetantius* wor-
thy to be written in letters of gold, as being no lesse true and pertinent,
then witty and elegant: *Dedit omnibus Deus pro virili portione sapientiam,*
ut & inaudita investigare possent, & audita perpendere; nec quia nos illi tem-
poribus antecesserunt, sapientia quoque antecesserunt, quæ si omnibus equaliter
datur, occupari ab antecedentibus non potest. Illibabilis est tanquam lux &
claritas solis, quia ut sol oculorum, sic sapientia lumen est cordis humani. Qua-
re cum sapere, id est veritatem querere omnibus sit innatum, sapientiam sibi
adiungunt qui sine ullo iudicio inventa maiorum probant, & tabulis peritiam
more ducuntur. Sed hoc eos fallit quod Maiorum nomine posita non parant fieri
posse, ut aut ipsi plus sapiant quia Minores vocantur, aut illi de se putant quia
Maiores nominantur. God hath giuen wisdom vnto all according
to a competent measure, that they might both finde out things vnheard
of before, and weigh things already found out. Neither because they
had the start of vs in time, doth it likewise followe that they haue it also
in wisdom, which if it be indifferently graunted to all, cannot bee
forestalled by them which went before. It is vnimpairable like the
light and brightnes of the sunne, it being the light of mans heart as the
sunne is of his eyes. Sithence then to be wise, that is, to search the
truth, is a disposition inbred in euerie man, they debarre themselves of

Method. hij.
cap. 7.

Lib. 2. c. 8. Di.
nim. Inst.

wisedome, who without any examination approve the inventions of their Ancestours, & like vnreasonable creatures, are wholly led by others. But this is it which deceiues them, the name of *Ancestours* being once set in the front, they thinke it cannot be that either themselues should be wiser, because they are called *Punies*, or the others should in any thing be mistaken, because they are called their *Ancestours*. And thus haue we seene that there is in *mankind* no such *vniversall* & *perpetuall* decay in regard of *age* & *life*, of *strength* & *stature*, of *arts* & *wits*, as is commonly pretended: It now remaines, that in the last place wee examine their *manners* & *conditions*, *vertues* & *vices*, whether it be so that men alwayes grow *worse* & *worse*, as it is likewise generally and confidently both held and beleevd.

LIB. IV.

Of the pretended decay in matter of manners, together with a large prooffe of the future consummation of the world, from the testimonies of the Gentiles, and the vses which wee are to draw from the consideration thereof.

CAP. I.

That there is no such vniversall & perpetuall decay in the manners of men as is pretended, which is first proved in generall, and then from Religion the ground of manners.

SECT. I.

That there is a vicissitude and Revolution in vertues and vices, which is first proved in generall, and then from Arts & Sciences.

SINCE it is the neere affinitie and mutuall connexion betwixt these foure, *Age*, *Strength*, *Wit*, & *Manners*, that as the three former ordinarily follow the temper & complexion of the body, so for the most part doth the fourth too; though I must confesse that by the freedome of the will in *moral* matters we are more masters of the fourth, then of the other three, which are more naturall, and consequently lesse in our power to alter or commaund; as *strength* then is the comfort of *age*, and *wit* the grace of *strength*, & *vertue*, the guide of *wit*: so *age* without *strength* is tedious, *strength* without *wit* dangerous, *wit* without *vertue* hurtfull and pernicious. If then hauing matched men of *latter* ages with those of the *former* in regard of *age*, *strength*, & *wit*, they should not like-

wise

wife proue matchable in regard of *vertue*, it were a blemish rather then an ornament, a discommendation then a prayse.

Now though it be true that *vice* at this day so abounds thorow the world, as it commonly doth, and well may breed a doubt euen in the best, whether these *last times* be not indeed the *worst*, and as it were the lees & dregs of all ages; yet when I consider that in these *latter ages*, (if we compare them with the precedent since the *Creation*) a great part of the knowne world hath beene converted to the *Christian* doctrine, and that the *Authour* of it hath told vs, *By their fruites yee shall knowe them*; mee thinkes I should wrong both him and it, if I should yeeld that the world hath not thereby beene bettered, euen in regard of *civill vertue* & *morall goodnes*: *Deus ut parens diligentissimus appropinquante ultimo tempore nuncium misit, qui vetus illud seculum fugatamque iusticiam reduceret, ne humanum genus maximis & perpetuis agitaretur erroribus; Redijt ergo species illius aurei temporis, saith Lactantius.* God as a most tender father, the

Lib 5. Instit. c. 7

end now drawing on, sent his Messenger, who should reduce that old age and banished justice, least mankinde should alwayes be tossed vp & downe with infinite & continuall errours, so as now we haue brought backe againe vnto vs a representation of those golden times.

But as I cannot easily grant that men alwayes, and in all places waxe worse and worse, so I doe not beleieve that alwayes, & in all places they waxe better and better, or that they stand at a stay: But as in the *Arts* & *Sciences*, so likewise in matter of *manners*, there is a *vicissitude*, an *alteration* & *revolution* as before hath beene touched in part. The world is sometimes better & sometimes worse, according to the times of warre or peace, the conditions of Princes & Lawes, and the execution of them. Sometimes *vertue* increaseth in one kingdome and decreaseth in another, and againe in the same kingdome *one vice* growes vp and another withers, at least-wise for a time. This *circulation* of *vertue* and *vice* hath beene obserued, and the obseruation thereof commended to posterity by the soundest & sagest writers in *Antiquity*: *Nisi forte in rebus cunctis inest quidam velut orbis, & quemadmodum temporum vices ita morum vertantur, nec omnia apud priores meliora, sed nostra quoque atas multa laudis & artium imitanda posteris tulit, saith Tacitus.* Vnlesse perchance there be in all things a certaine circular change, & as there is by turnes an entercourse of times, so also of Customes and Manners. Neither were all things in ancient times better then ours, bur our age hath likewise left to posterity many things worthy praise and imitation And againe, *vitia erunt donec homines, sed neque hac continua, & meliorum inter-*

Annal. l. 3. c. 12.

Cerealis apud Tacitum. lib. l.

ventu pensantur. Vices there will be, as long as men are, but these last not alwayes, and they are often recompensed by the interuening of better times. And with him accords the graue *Seneca*: *Hoc maiores nostri questi sunt, hoc nos querimur, hoc posterum nostri querentur, euerfos esse mores, regnare nequitiam, in deterius res humanas & in omne nefas labi: at ista stant loco eodem, stabuntque paululum duntaxat ultra aut citra mota, ut fluctus quos aestus accedens longius extulit, recedens maiore littorum vestigio tenuit, nunc in adulterio magis quam in alio peccabitur, abruptetque frenos pudicitia, nunc conviviorum vigebit furor, & fadissimum patrimoniorum ex-*

De benef. l. 1. c. 10.

tium

tium culina, nunc cultus corporum nimius, & forma cura, præ se ferens animi deformitatem; nunc in petulantiam & audaciam erumpet male dispensata libertas, nunc in crudelitatem priuatam ac publicam ibitur bellorumq; ciuili-um insaniam, qua omne sanctum ac sacrum profanetur, habebitur aliquando ebrietati honor, & plurimum meri cepisse virtus erit. Non expectant vno loco vitia, sed mobilia & inter se dissentientia, tumultuantur invicem fuganturq;. Caterum idem semper de nobis pronunciare debebimus, malos esse nos, malos fuisse, inuitus adiciam, & futuros esse. This our Ancestours complained of, this wee complaine of, this our posterity will complaine of, that manners are corrupted, that wickednes reignes, that humane affaires grow worse & worse, but these stand where they were, and so shall remaine, being only at times a little remoued; sometimes this way, sometimes that way, as the waues which the tide flowing carries farther in, but ebbing leaues farther off. Sometimes Adultery spreads it selfe more then any other sinne, and immodesty will endure no bridle: and sometimes againe the madnes of feasting is in fashion and the kitching the basest kinde of consuming a mans patrimony; And then againe the immoderate decking of our bodies and care of preseruing our beautie, which too much discouers the deformitie of the mind; sometimes liberty dispensed with breaketh out in to desperate boldnes, sometimes into cruelty publique & private, and the rage of ciuill wars, whereby all holy things and places come to be profaned, and the time will come when drunkennes shall be had in honour, and it shall be held a vertue to swill downe much wine. Vices rest not in any one state or place, but shifting hither & thither, and fighting one against another, they both assault and put one another to flight: But howeuer it goe, it shall alwayes be truly said of vs, that wee are naught, naught wee haue beene, (and which I vnwillingly adde) we shall still be naught. And the same Author hauing related a storie out of *Aselepiodorus*, how *Phillippe* of *Macedon* sent men downe into an old mine to search what store was left in it, and whether the Couetousnes of former ages had not drawne it dry, cum magna hac voluptate legi, saith he, intellexi enim seculum nostrum non novis vitijs sed iam antiquitus traditis laborare, nec nostra atate primum auaritiâ venas terrarum lapidumque rimatam in tenebris male abstrusa quassisse: Illi quoq; Maiores nostri quos celebramus laudibus, quibus dissimiles querimur nos esse, spe ducti montes ceciderunt & supra lucrum sub ruina steterunt. This I read with marveilous great content: for thereby I vnderstood, that our age was not burdened with new vices, but such as were anciently practised, nor that *Auarice* now first searched into the veines of the earth & stones, seeking out those things which Nature hath buried in darkenes. Euen those our Ancestours, whom we so highly extoll, to whom we complaine that our selues are vnlike, in hope of lucre cut thorow mountains and vnder danger of ruine stood vpon their gaine.

It cannot be denied, but that a wicked Gouvernour hath many times a good successour, and a gracelesse father a godly and vertuous sonne.

Egregia est soboles scelerato nata parente:
A worthles sire begets a worthy sonne.

Thus

Thus Constantine succeeded to Dioclesian, Iouinian to Iulian, Alexander Senerius to Heliogabalus, Hezekias to Ahaʒ, & Iofias to Amnon. And doubtles were the son alwayes worse then the faher, the successour then the predeceffour, and succeeding ages then the proceeding, villny had long ere this stretched it selfe to the vtmost period, & that complaint which the satyrift vttered by way of Poeticall aggrauation had long before this time beene verified in truth and in deede:

Non habet ulterius quod nostris moribus addat

Posteritas.

Nought hath posterity

Which to our manners may yet further added be.

SECT. 2.

*The extreame follie of the ancients, in adoring
& invoking images.*

IN this comparison of manners, I will first begin with the Religion of the Ancients, which ouer-spread almost the whole world, because from their foule errors in matters of the first Table we shall easily guesse at their grosse irregularities in those of the second, the duties of the latter depending vpon the obseruation of the former: And besides in the very choice & exercise of their Religion will appeare much *inhumanitie & brutish stupiditie*; Their Idols of gold, & siluer, & stone, and wood were to the inspired pen-men of holy writ so ridiculous, that euery where they inueigh against them as most *fottish vanities*; and the worshippers of them, as men voide of common Reason, shewing themselves more blockish then the very blockes they adored, in that being themselves made according to Gods image, they worshipped images made with their owne hands, and bestowed vpon their owne workes the Deitie of him, from whom they receiued breath and being. Their Idols are silver and gold, saith the Prophet David, *euē the workes of mens hands, they haue a mouth and speake not, eyes haue they and see not, they haue eares and heare not, noses haue they and smell not, they haue hands and touch not, feete haue they and walke not, they that make them are like vnto him, and so are all they that put their trust in them.* And the Prophet Esay hauing shewed how a man plants a tree, & when it is grown vp cuts it downe; with part thereof he baketh his bread, with part he rostheth his meate & warmeth himselfe, and with the residue thereof he maketh his god, euē his Idoll: The Carpenter stretcheth out a line, he fashioneth it with a red thread, he planeth and he pourtraieth it with the compasse, and maketh it after the figure of a man, and according to the beauty of a man, that it may remaine in an house; then boweth he and worshippeth, and prayeth vnto it, and saith, Deliuert me for thou art my God: And therevpon inferres, they haue not knowen nor vnderstood, for God hath shut their eyes that they cannot see, and their hearts, that they cannot vnderstand. And the Prophet Ierimy much to like purpose, one cutteth a tree out of the Forrest with an axe, and another decketh it with siluer and with gold, they fasten it with nayles and hammers,

Ps. 115. 4.

Cap. 44. 9. &c.

Ier. 10. 3. &c.

that it fall not, the Idoles stand vp as a palme tree, but they speake not: They are borne because they cannot goe, and then concludes, They dote and are foolish, for the stock is a doctrine of vanity. But most liuely & elegantly, yet with scorne and derision haue we this blockish vanity described in the booke of *Wisdom*. Miserable are they, and among the dead is their hope that call them Gods, which are the workes of mens hands, gold & siluer, and the thing that is invented by Art & the similitude of beasts, or any vaine stone that hath beene made by the hand of antiquity. Or as when a Carpenter cutteth downe a tree meete for the worke, and pareth off all the barke thereof cunningly, & by Art maketh a vessell profitable for the vse of life, and the things that are cut off from his worke he bestoweth to dresse his meat to fill himselfe, & that which is left of these things which is profitable for nothing, (for it is a crooked peece of wood, & full of knobs) he carueth it diligently at his leisure, & according as hee is expert in cunning, he giueth it a proportion, & fashioneth it after the similitude of a man, or maketh it like some vile beast, and straketh it ouer with vermilion, & painteth and couereth euery spot that is in it, And when he hath made a convenient Tabernacle for it, he setteth it in a wall, & maketh it fast with iron, providing so for it lest it fall: for hee knoweth that it cannot helpe it selfe, because it is an image that hath need of helpe: Then he prayeth for his goods, & for his marriage, and for his children, hee is not ashamed to speake vnto it that hath no life, hee calleth on him that is weake for health, he prayeth vnto him that is dead for life, he requireth helpe of him that hath no experience at all, & for his journey him that is not able to goe, and for gaine and successe in his affaires, asketh ability to doe of him that is most vnable to doe any thing.

This childish foppery the *Primitive Christians* also scoffed & laughed at, *Quæ amentia est, aut ea fingere quæ ipsi postmodum timeant, aut timere quæ sinxerunt*, saith *Lactantius*: What a madnesse is it either to make things which themselves feare, or to feare those things which themselves haue made. *Nec intelligunt homines ineptissimi quod si sentire simulacra & mouere possent, ultro adoratura homines fuissent à quibus sunt expoliata*. Neither doe these foolish men vnderstand that the images they adore, had they but sense & motion, would adore them who framed & formed them. *Sed hæc nemo considerat, ac mentes eorum penitus succum stultitia perbiberunt: adorant ergo insensibilia qui sentiunt, irrationalia qui sapiunt, ex anima qui vivunt, terrena qui oriuntur e cælo. Iuvat ergo velut in aliqua sublimi specula constitutum vnde universi exaudire possint Persianum illud proclamare,*

O curas hominum, ô quantum est in rebus inane,

O curvæ in terris animæ & cælestium inanes!

But these things none considereth, their minds being thoroughly drenched with the liquor of foolishnes: They which haue sence adore things without sence, which haue life things without life, which are from heauen things earthly. It were good then from some high tower that all might heare it, to proclaime aloud that of *Persius*,

O cares of men! O world all fraught
With vanities! O mindes inclined
Towards earth, all voide of heau'nly thought!

And *Sedulius* an ancient *Christian* Poet, by Nation a *Scot*, hath excellently described this palpable folly,

*Hec miseri qui vana colunt, qui corde sinistro
Religiosa sibi sculpunt simulacra, summq;
Factorem fugiunt, & que fecere verentur,
Quis furor est que tanta animos dementia ludite?
Vt volucrem, iurpemq; bovem, torumq; draconem,
Semihominemq; canem supplex homo pronus adoret.*

Ah wretched they that worship vanities,
And consecrate dumbe Idols in their hearts,
Who their owne Maker God on high despise,
And feare the worke of their owne hands and Art!
What fury, what great madnesse doth beguile
Mens mindes, that man should vgly shapes adore
Of birds, or buls, or dragons, or the vile
Halfe dog halfe man on knees for aide implore.

To these vgly shapes doth *Seneca* allude: *Nunquid vocant que si accepto spiritu occurrerent monstra haberentur.* Divine powers they call those which if they should meete hauing life put into them, would be held monsters. And one of their owne Poets seemes to jest at their grosse-nesse herein.

*Olim truncus eram ficulnus inuotile lignum,
Quem Faber incertus scamnum facere iussit, Priapum
Maluit esse deum.*

Horatius,

Euen now I was the stocke of an old figge tree,
Th' workeman doubting what I then should bee,
A bench or god, at last a god made mee.

It is indeed true, that the *Romanes* for a time were altogether without images for any religious vse, but afterward they receiued into their City those of all other Nations by them conquered, so as they who were *Lords* of the whole world, became *slaves* to the *Idoles* of all the World: Which *bables*, as witnesseth *S. Augustine*, that learned *Varro* both bewailed & vtterly condemned in expresse words: *Qui primi simulacra Deorum populis posuerunt, ij & civitatibus suis timorem ademerunt, & errorem addiderunt:* They who first erected *Idols* for the peoples vse thereby both abolished all feare of the *Deitie* and introduced error. But the wise *Seneca* thus derides them, *Simulacra Deorum venerantur, illis supplicat genu posito, illa adorant, & cum hac suspiciant, fabros qui illa fecere contemnunt:* the Images of the Gods they worship, those they pray vnto with bended knees, those they adore, and while they so greatly admire them, they contemne the Artificer that made them.

S E C T. 3.

*Their grosse and ridiculous blockishnesse in
the infinite multitude of
their gods.*

1 Cor. 8. 5.
De Iconoclastica
disciplina 3. 14.

1 King. 11.

2 King. 17.

Capl. 18.

Ier. 2. 28. 11. 13

Lib. 2. cap. 7.

THeir strange *insatiation* will yet appeare farther vnto vs if wee rise a little higher from the *Images* to the *Gods* which they represented, and surely whether their *practice* about their *images*, or their *opinion* touching their *Gods* were more grosse and ridiculous, it is hard to define: Whether we regard their *number* or their *condition*, or their *manner of service*. For their *number* he that reades *Boccace* his books de *Genealogia Deorum*, will easily finde them almost numberlesse; so as the *Apostle* might well say, *There be Gods many, and Lords many*. *Crinitus* out of *Hesiodus* makes them *thirty thousand* strong: & the *Iupiters* alone out of *Varro* no lesse then *three hundred*. There were *Dij* *majorum gentium*, which were worshipped generally throughout the greatest part of the world; & *Dij Tutelares*, gods of seuerall Nations & Provinces, chosen to be their patrons & guardions, which may be gathered by those *high places* which *Solomon* built for his *Idolatrous wiues*, wherein they worshipped the seuerall Gods of their seuerall Nations, *Ashoreth* the Goddesse of the *Sidonians*, and *Milcom* the God of the *Ammorites*, *Chemosh* the God of the *Moabites*, & *Molech* the God of the *Ammonites*: so likewise for all the rest of his outlandish wiues, which burnt incense & offered vnto their Gods, whereby it appeareth that euery Nation had a God of his owne, & yet farther may it be seene by the practice of those Nations which *Salmanazer* transplanted into the *Samaritan Cities*, of whom it is recorded, that though they feared the Lord, yet they worshipped euery one his owne *peculiar God*, of whom there is a Catalogue in the same place set downe; The *Babylonians Succoth Benoth*, the *Cuthites Nergall*, the *Hammathites Ashima*, the *Avites Nibhaz*, & *Tartak*, the *Sepharvites Adramelech*, & *Anamelek*. And as seuerall Nations & Provinces chose to themselues their Gods, so did likewise the Cities as we may partly see by that rabble of them mustered vp by *Rabshakeh* in his Oration to King *Hezekiah*, where is the God of *Hamah* and *Arpad*, where is the God of *Sepher-vaim Hevab* & *Iuah*: & in imitation of the *Gentiles* did the men of *Judah* multiply their gods according to the number of their Cities. Neither did Nations, Provinces, & Cities onely affect to haue euery one vnto themselues their owne peculiar and seuerall Gods, as their Patrons and defenders, but the same was likewise followed by all their seuerall families, who still had their *Lares* & *Deos Penates*, that is, their household Gods, as the Protectours of their families, whom because they adored in the secret & inward parts of their houses, the Poets vse to call *Deos Penetrales*: Yea and as *Pliny* reporteth, not only seuerall families had their seuerall Gods, but also euery seuerall person would adopt a seuerall God of his owne, insomuch that hee thought the number of Gods to bee multiplied about the number of men. *Major Calitum populus etiam quam hominum intelligi potest, cum singuli*

singuli quoque ex semetipsis singulos Deos faciant, Iunones Geniosque adoptando sibi. We may well conceiue greater multitudes of Gods then of men, seeing euery man adoppeth as he pleaseth both greater & small gods to himselfe. All which considered, *otiosum est per omnia Deorum nomina percurrere qui colerentur à veteribus*, saith Tertullian. It were an idle thing to attempt to runne through the names of all the Gods which the Ancients worshipped, they had so many old Gods & new Gods, hee Gods & shee Gods, citry Gods & countrey Gods, common Gods & proper Gods, land Gods & sea Gods. And with Tertullian heerein accords S. *Augustine*, *Quando autem possint uno loco libri huius commemorari omnia nomina Deorum aut Dearum, quæ illi grandibus voluminibus vix comprehendere potuerunt singulis rebus propria dispartientes officia Nymnum.* How can all the names of their Gods and Goddeses bee recounted in one chapter of this booke, which themselves could not range within the compasse of many great volumes, appointing a particular God to waite on euery particular thing; nay for some thing, saith he, they had many Gods, as namely for corne they had *Segetia* for the sowing of it, while it lay vnder the earth *Tutelina*, when it sprang vp *Proserpina*, *Nodorus* when it shut into a blade, when it spired *Volutina*, when the eare opened *Patilena*, when it brake forth *Hofelina*, when it bloomed *Flora*, when it kernald *Lacturia*, when it grew ripe *Matuta*, when it was reaped *Rumini*. His conclusion is, which also shall be mine for this point, *Ne omnia commemoro quia me piget quod illos non puder: neither doe I name all, for that it grieueth me to write what they were not ashamed to act.*

SECT. 4.

The most shamefull and base condition of their gods.

THe quality & condition of their gods was doubtles much more shamefull then their multitude. The common opinion touching their great god *Iupiter* was, that he was intombed in *Crete*, and his monument was there to be seene. Wherevpon *Lactantius* wit ily demaunds, *Quomodo potest Deus esse alibi vivus alibi mortuus, alibi habere templum, alibi sepulchrum?* Tell me I beseech you how can the same god be aliue in one place and dead in another, haue a temple dedicated to him in one place, and a tomb erected in another. Nay *Callimachus* himselfe in his hymne on *Iupiter*, calleth the *Cretians* lyars in this very respects, *χρηστὸν ἀπὸ τῶν Κρητῶν* &c. which part of his hymne is thus translated into Latine by *Bona Ventura Vulsantus*.

At certe mendax est Creta, sepulchrum

Quæ posuit tibi qui haud moreris, nam semper es idem.

The *Cretians* alwayes lyars are, who rail'd vnto thy name

A sepulchre, that neuer diest, but euer art the same.

Moreouer, they gaue diuine honour to notorious common strumpets, as vnto Goddeses, to *Venus*, to *Faula*, to *Lupa* the nurse of *Romulus*, so called among the shepheards for the common prostitution of her body, and to *Flora*, who hauing gained much by her meretricious trade; she made by her will the people of *Rome* her heire, and left a sum

of money, by the vse whereof, her birth-day was yearly to be celebrated, with the setting forth of games, which in memorie of her they called *Floralia*. Nay, their great Goddesse *Iuno*; they make both the wife and the sister of *Iupiter*, and *Iupiter* himselfe with the other gods, no better then *Adulterers*, *Sodomites*, *murderers*, *theeves*: Neither were these things concealed or whispered in priuate, but published to the world; they were liuely described by their *Painters* in their tables, by their *Poets* in their verses, and acted by their *Players* vpon their stages.

Laſant. l. 5. c.
21.

Quanta maiestas putanda est. Qua adoratur in templis, illuditur in theatris, what great maiestie call yee me that, which is adored in the temples, & prophaned in the *Theatres*. And so farre were the worshippers of these goodly gods from punishing or censuring them therein, that they were highly applauded and approved by the people, and rewarded by the state: Neither were these things written or spoken by *Lucian*, or such as scoffed at *Religion*, but by those who professedly vndertooke the prayse of their Gods, *Non enim ista Lucilius narrat aut Lucianus qui Dijs & hominibus non pepercit, sed hi potissimum qui Deorum laudes canebant, & quibus credemus si fidem laudantibus non habemus*. These things are not reported by *Lucilius* or *Lucianus*, who spared neither God nor man, but specially by them who sung the prayses of the Gods; and to whom I pray you in such cases should we giue credit, if not to them, who purposely seeke to commend:

Cap. 9.

Besides, they worshipped ridiculous gods, as *Fortunam*, *Fornacem*, *Mutam*, the passions of the mind and the diseases of the body, *Timorem*, *Pallorem*, *Febrem*, nay *Vices*, *Priapum*, *Cupidinem*, *non nomina colendorum sed crimina colentium*, not names fit for Diuine powers to be worshipped, being nothing else but the vices of the worshippers. Heerevnto may be added their filthy gods, *Crepitus ventris*, *Cloacina*, *sterquilinium*, well deseruing that reproach which is cast vpon them by *Aristophanes*, that they were *Dij Merdiuori*, & so *Moses* calleth the in expresse tearmes,

Deos stercores,
Deut. 29. 17.
Hist. l. 3. c. 6.

dirty dung-hill gods, as the originall is rendred by *Iunius & Tremelius*. Foure whole dayes, saith *Tacitus*, *Cremona* ministred matter to sacke & to burne, and all things beside both holy & prophane being consumed into ashes, the temple of *Mephitis* without the wals remained vntouched, either because it stood out of the way, or by reason of some diuine vertue of the goddesse: Now would you know what this goodly Lady

Sir H. Savill in
his marginall
notes on that
place.

Deut. 32. 13.

1. Cor. 10. 20.

was, surely none other then the Goddesse of ill fauours: and these kinde of Gods and Goddeses *Lactantius* deseruedly wiseth to be euer present with their worshippers: Yet not content with this, they worshipped the *Devills* themselues, *they sacrificed vnto diuels not vnto God*, saith *Moses*: And I say, saith the *Apostle*, *that the things which the Gentiles sacrifice, they sacrifice to Devills and not to God*.

What should I speake of the *Thebans* worshipping a wezell, the *Troians* a mouse, the *Egyptians* an onion or a leeke, and such like contemptible things: which notorious folly, *Iuvenall*, who liued a while amongst them, thus wittily derides.

Satyr. 15.

*Porrum & cape nefas violare & frangere morsu
O sanctas Gentes quibus haec nascuntur in hortis*

Numina!

Numina!

A leeke, an onyon ô'tis wickednesse,
These once to violate & to eate no lesse,
Sweete Saints they are, & holy ones I trow,
To whom their gods doe in their gardens grow.

And diuerse such absurd Gods they worshipped, which would make
a modest man euen blush to name, as *Sybilla* hath truly noted:

--- *Hæc adoratis*

Et multa alia vana quæ sane turpe fuerit prædicare

Sunt enim Dii hominum deceptores stultorum:

These foolish Gods and many more
Like vaine, they worship and adore:
Which filthy were to name in Schooles,
Such filthy gods deceiue but fooles.

S E C. 5.

*Their barbarous and most vnnaturall cruelty, in sacrifici-
cing their children to their Gods.*

NOW if from the multitude and quality of their Gods we proceede
yet a little farther, to search into the manner of their service, wee
shall easily finde that more frenlike & vnreasonable, then either of
the two former. Which madnes of theirs is well set forth by *Seneca*, *Si in fragmentis*,
*intueri vacet quæ faciunt, quæque patiuntur superstitioni, inueniet tam inde-
cora honestis, tam indigna liberis, tam dissimilia sanis, ut nemo fuerit dubita-
turus, furere eos si cum paucioribus furerent, nunc sanitatis patrocinium est
insanientium turba:* If a man had but the leasure to looke into those
things, which men led with superstition both doe & suffer, he shall find
them so vnbecfitting honest, so vnworthy of ingenuous, so vnlike sound
& sober mindes, as no man would doubt but they were starke madde,
were but the number of them fewer that thus got a madding, whereas
now the only plea for themselues that they are in their right wits is the
number of mad men.

Alexander ab Alexandro hath of set purpose composed an intire *Dierum Genia-
lium, l. 6 c. 26.* chapter touching this point, where the maine matter hee insists vpon,
that made the sacrifices of the *Heathen* most odious, was the effusion of
humane blood in the service of their Gods; yet had this barbarous vn-
naturall practice spread it selfe well neere ouer the knowne world: It
was in vse among the *Trojans*, as it should seeme by that of *Virgill*, tou-
ching *Aeneas*:

Vinexat & post terga manus quos mitteret umbris
Inferias caeso sparsurus sanguine flammæ.

Aeneid. 11:

Their hands behind their backes he bound whom he had desti-
A sacrifice vnto the ghosts, & on whose flames to shed (ned
Their blood he purposed.

And againe in another place,

Salmonæ creatus

Aeneid. l. 10.

Quatuor

*Quatuor hic iuvenes totidem quos educat Vfeus
Viventes rapit, inferius quos immolet umbris.
Captivoque rogi perfundat sanguine flammæ.*

*Sulmos foure sonnes aliue he tooke, Vfeus foure sons likewise,
Whom to the ghosts he purposed eftsoones to sacrifice,*

And on those burning carkases to spill their captiue blood.

Lib. 5. c. 10.

Whereupon *Lactantius* cries out, *quid potest esse hæc pietate dementius, quam mortuis humanas victimas immolare, & ignem cruore hominum tanquam oleo pascere?* What can be more frenlike then this kinde of piety, which sacrificeth living men for the ease of the dead, & feedes the fire of the Altar with humane blood, as it were with oyle. The Grecians in like manner were infected with this bloody and deadly disease.

Æneid. 1. 2.

*Sanguine placastis Divos & Virgine caesa
Cum primum Iliacas Danaï venistis ad aras
Sanguine querendi reditus, animaq; litandum
Argolica.*

With blood and offering of a maid the Gods were pacified,

When first to Troy-ward yee were bound, with blood yee must a-

Seeke your returne, with Grecian soule they must be satisfide (gaine

The *Virgine* he meanes was *Iphigenia*, who was sacrificed in the sight of her father *Agamemnon*, which gaue occasion to that of *Lucretius*,

Tantum Religio potuit suadere malorum?

Such, so much wickednes Religion could perswade

This wicked custome was likewise taken vp by the *Carthaginians*, as appeares by *Silius Italicus*:

Lib. 4.

*Mos fuit in populis quos condidit advena Dido
Poscere exadi Deos, veniam, ac flagrantibus aris
(Infandum dictu) parvos imponere natos
Vrna reducebat miserandos annua casus.*

The ancient custome of that state, Queene *Dido* stablished, Was this, with humane sacrifice the Gods they worshipped,

On burning Altars (out alas) their children young they slew,

An yearly lot these cruelties did solemnely renew,

Lib. 1. c. 21.

And *Lactantius* reports out of *Pescenius Festus*, that the *Carthaginians* hauing for a time intermitted that kind of sacrifice, and being ouerthrown in a battell by *Agathocles* King of *Sicill*, for the pacifying of their God *Saturne*, whom by their losse they conceiued to be displeased with the; they sacrificed at once vnto him two hundred children, sons to the chiefe Nobility of the city, whereby perchaunce, saith he, they gaue themselves a greater blowe, then *Agathocles* their professed enemy had done. The *Gauls* also our next neighbours were guilty of this diuelish kind of worship, if we may credit *Lucan*.

Et quibus immixtis placatur sanguine diro

Tentates, horrensq; feris altaribus Hæsus

Et Taranis Scythica non minor ara Diana.

And they that vse with cursed blood their *Idoll Gods* to please

Tentates fierce, & *Hæsus* grimme whom nought else may appease;

But sacrifice of humane flesh & *Taranis* likewise

Worshipt

Worship as curst *Diana* is just after *Scythike* wise.

Neither were the *Moabites* free from this horrible sin; as may be seene in the 2 of *Kings* and the 3, where the King of *Moab* tooke his own son, as some thinke, or others the King of *Edoms* sonne, & offered him for a burnt offering vpon the wall. And generally it was practised by the Inhabitants of the land of *Canaan*, Their sons & their daughters they burnt in the fire to their Gods. The parents killed with their owne hands soules destitute of helpe. Good God, that the candle of reason should be so farre dimmed, and the image of God defaced in man, as to thinke that an acceptable sacrifice, which was in truth an horrible & sacrilegious impiety, as if religion did extinguish naturall affection; or that were lawfull at the *Altar* or in the temple, which in the market place was most vnlawfull, and punishable in an high degree: *Nonne satius esset pecudum more viuere*, saith *Lactantius*: were it not better to liue as beasts without all sense of religion, then to exercise it in such sauage manner: Yet was not this so strange in the barbarous nations, their religion being heere in sutable to their manners, as in the *Romans*, the professed *Masters* forsooth of *Morality* & *Civility*: Yet came this damnable practice long in vse among them too, vntill it was to be abolisht by decree of *Senate*, during the Consulship of *Cornelius Lentulus*, & *Licinius Crassus*: Which makes me the more to wonder that *Virgill* held amongst them, as the world then went, an honest vnderstanding man, should after the publishing of this decree, commend it in *Aeneas* as an act of piety, and not rather censure it as a most abominable impiety.

V 27.
Deut. 12. 31.
Wisdome 13.

Hæc culpa non illius fuit qui literas fortasse non didicerat, sed tua qui cum esses eruditus, ignorasti tamen quid esset pietas, & illud ipsum quod nefarium, quod detestabiliter fecit, pietatis esse officium credidisti, saith *Lactantius*. This was not so much *Aeneas* his fault, who was perchaunce altogether vnlearned, as thine, who being indued with knowledge, yet wast ignorant what was piety, & beleuest that to be a pious act, which he most wickedly & detestably committed.

Lib. 5. c. 10.

But that which I most admire, is, that it should creep in amongst the *Iewes*, the peculiar people of the true God, as himselfe complains by the Prophet *Jeremy*: And they haue built the high places of *Tophet*, which is in the valley of the son of *Hinnon*, to burne their sons & their daughters in the fire, which I commaunded them not, neither came it into my heart; By the Prophet *Ezekiell*, when they had slaine their children to their Idols, then they came the same day into my sanctuary to prrphane it, & by the Prophet *Dauid*, They were mingled among the Heathen, and learned their workes, and they serued their Idols which were a snare vnto them; yea they sacrificed their sons & their daughters vnto Devils, and shed innocent blood, even the blood of their sons and of their daughters, whom they sacrificed vnto the Idols of *Canaan*, and the Land was polluted with blood. Thus *Ahaz* made molten images for *Baalim*, and burnt his children for sacrifice before the Idoll *Moloch*, or *Saturne*, which was represented by a man like brazen body bearing the head of a calfe, set vp not far from *Hierusalem*, in a valley shadowed with wood, called *Gehinnon* or *Tophet*, from whence is the word *Gehenna* vsed for hell. The children offered were inclosed within the carkasse of this I-

Ier. 7. 31.

Ezek. 13. 39.

Psal. 106. 35.
36 37. 38.

2 King. 16. 3.
3 Chron. 28. 3.
Selden de Diis Syru.

doll, and as the fire increased, so the sacrificers with a noise of Cymbals & other instruments filled the aire, to the end, the horrible cries of the children might not be heard; and hence the place borrowd the name of *Tophet*, from *Top*, which signifies a *timbrell*, of which most detestable impiety, able to make a mans haire stand an end and his heart tremble even at the relation thereof: *Paulus Fagius* hath written at large in his *Commentary vpon the Chaldee Paraphrase*, & before him *S. Hierome* vpon the tenth of *S. Matthew*, and since him *Wolphius* in his *Expositions* on the second booke of *Kings*, added for supplement of *Peter Martyrs*, thus sharply but justly censures it, *Fuit autem hæc plusquam belluina immanitas; que enim fera suos catulos non potius amant, amplectantur, foveant, nutriant, quam occidant, ne dum crudeliter excruciatos necent*, This monstrous inhumanity was more then brutish: for what wild beasts doe not rather loue, imbrace, nourish and cherish their young ones, then kill them & cruelly torment them to death?

S E C T. 6.

Their monstrous beastlinesse in the worship of Priapus & Berecynthia, as also of their doting follie in their divinations, together with a touch vpon the childish fables of the Iewish Rabbines, the absurd opinions and horrible practises of ancient Heretikes in the primitive Christian Church, & the incredible ignorance and superstition of the Romish.

Syntax. 8.

August. de Civ. Dei, 6. l. 8. cap.

Nos pudore pulso flammis (sub) love Coleis aperiis.

Lib. 1. contra Iovinianum, c. 12. Originim, c. 8. Numb. 25. 5.

I cannot tell whether their cruelty were greater in the worship of *Moloch*, or their beastlinesse in the worship of *Priapus*, described by *Gyraldus* at large, in his *history of the Gods*: And *Tostatus* in his 50 question vpon the 20 of *Exodus*. It was so obscene, as the very mention of it, cannot but offend chaste eares; *Hic morbus, hoc crimen, hoc dedecus habet inter illa sacra professionem quod in vitiosis hominum moribus vix habet inter tormenta confessionem*. They professe in the holding of those sacrifices, that beastly crime, which the most vitious men will hardly confesse vpon the racke. I will therefore skip ouer it as cleanly as I may, as men commonly doe ouer boggs & quagmires. The shape in which this God was represented, was such as nature hath taught vs to hide: The gestures of the Priests in seruing him, such as I wonder their Matrones & Virgines, in whom were any sparkes of modesty, could behold it with patience: And for the people who came to worshipping, the sacrifice being ended, they all stepped aside into a thicked, which was alwayes planted neere the Altar of this God, and there like brute beasts promiscuously satisfied their lust, thereby as they conceaued best pleasing their God, which was the cause, as it seemes, that the true God commaunded, that no groves should be planted neere the place of his worship, and if any were, they should be cut downe. This *Priapus*, as *S. Hierome* & *Isidore* are of opinion, was the same with that *Baal-peor* or *Beelphegor*, whom the *Moabites* & *Madianites* adored, & the *Israelites* themselves for loue of the *Madianitish* women: And the same *S. Hierome* makes

makes *Maacha* the mother of *Asa*, guilty of the same villany, in his commentaries vpon the fourth of *Hosea*, where he thus translates part of the fifteenth chapter of the first booke of *Kings*: *Insuper & Maacham matrem suam amouit, ne esset princeps in sacris Pryapi, & in loco eius*: Moreouer hee deposed *Maacha* his mother, that shee might not be chiefe in the sacrifices of *Pryapius* & his groues.

Of much like condition to this worship of *Pryapius*, was that of *Bereynthia*, the mother of the gods, as we finde it described by S. *Augustine*, out of his owne experience; his words are these. *Ante eius Lecti-* De ciuit. Dei
lib. 2. c. 4.
cam die solenni Lauationis eius, talia per publicum cantabantur, à nequissimis scènicis, quàm non dico matrem Deorum, sed matrem qualiumcunq; Senatorum vel quorumlibet honestorum virorum, imò vero qualia nec matrem ipsarum Scenicarum deceret audire: Such filthy stuffe was by loose lewd varlets sung before her charer on the solempne day of her lauatiō, as was utterly vnfit for the mother of the Gods, but of any Senator, nay of any honest man, nay of the singers themselves to heare: and perchance, sayth he, they would haue blushed to haue spoken that before their own mothers at home, which before the mother of the Gods in the sight & hearing of innumerable multitudes of both sexes they boldly sang, & therevpon breaks out into this exclamation, *Quæ sunt sacrilegia, si illa erant sacra, quæ inquinatio, si illa lauatio*: what should we call sacriledge, if this were sacrificing: what pollution, if this lauatiō: and if this be sacriledge, then surely the worshipping of God by blasphemies & cursings, as did the *Syndians*, is a degree beyond sacriledge; who notwithstanding proceeded so farre in this diuellish mad custome, *ut ea facere pro vitæ habereantur, si quando inter solennes ritus vel imprudenti alicui consideres bonum verbum*, as witnesseth *Lactantius*, that they held it a violation of their sacrifice, if during their solempne Ceremonies, but a good word chaunced to slippe from any man though vnawares. Now what a lamentable case is this, to consider that the common enemy of mankind should so farre prevaile in blinding their vnderstandings, as to conceiue that the Author of life should be worshipped with the effusion of humane & innocent blood, the fountain of holinesse with brutish impurity, the father of blessings with execrable cursings.

Heerevnto may be added the vaine diuinations which the Romans made vpon the entrails of Beasts, vpon the flying, the feeding, the singing, the cherping of birds: But the sage *Cato* & those of the wiser sort well saw the doting folly of these lying vanities, *Potest Augur Augurem Cicero de diuinatione, l. 2.*
videre, & non ridere: Can one Diuiner looke vpon another & not smile? And the same *Cato*, as S. *Augustine* reports it, when one asked counsell of him in sober earnest, what harme he thought aboded him because De doct. Christiana, l. 2. c. 21.
Rats had gnawne his hose, he answered with a iest, *that it was no strange thing to see that, but it had bene much more straunge if his hose had deuoured the Rats*. Tully likewise in his disputations touching such arguments, De diuinatione, lib. 2.
when one to inforce the verity of diuination had sayd, that a victorie which fell to the *Thebanes*, was foreshewed by an extraordinary crowing of cocks, he could reply vpon that with a very smooth & quicke put off, *that it was no miracle cockes should crow, but if fishes had so done, that had bin*

Dierum Genia-
lium.

Coloss. 1. 13.

wonderfull indeede.

I will conclude this point, as *Alexander ab Alexandro* doth his last booke: *Quantum debemus Christo Domino Regi & Doctori nostro, quem verum Deum veneramus & scimus, quod prae monstrantē explosa monstrōsa ferarum Gentium doctrina ritūq; immani & barbaro, veram religionem edocuit, humanitatem & verum Deum colimus, evictisq; erroribus & infandis ineptijs quas Prisci coluere, quid quēq; docuit & quibus sacris quidq; mente Deum colere oporteat noscitur.* How much doe we owe to Christ our King & Master, whom we acknowledge and worship as true God, by whose guidance and direction, the monstrous doctrine and barbarous rites of those savage nations being chased away, and we being taught true Religion, imbrace civility and the true God, and the errors & unspeakable follies which the Ancients had in honour and reverence, being brought to light, we know what our dutie is, with what ceremonies, and with what minde God is to bee worshipped; which is in effect the same with that of the Apostle, *Thanks be to God, who hath delivered us from the power of darkenesse, and translated us into the kingdome of his deere Sonne.*

If I were disposed to enlarge this discourse, heere might easily be remembered the vnflattery tales, the childish fancies and fables of the Jewish Rabbins in their *Talmud* and *Cabal*, the most absurd opinions and horrible practices of Ancient Heretiques in the Primitive Church, the incredible ignorance & superstition among those, who for the space of many ages were commonly accounted the best, nay the only Christians: But each of these would require a large volume, and are already fully discourbed by others. The first by *Galerius de arcana Catholica veritatis*, and *Buxdorfius* in his *Synagoga Iudaea*; the second by *Irenaeus*, *Philastrius*, *Epiphanius*, *Augustine*, *Praxeus*, *Alphonsus a Castro* and others; the third by the writers of the reformed Churches, who haue set themselves to oppose the corruptions and abuses of the Church, or rather the court of Rome: And howbeit the Romanists in requitall heereof would proue their Adversaries doctrine to open a gappe to disobedience and licentiousnes, yet I doubt not but the more sober minded among them, finde that to proceede, rather out of eagernes, and heat of disputation, then from any solide reason or settled judgement, since it is certaine, that since *Luther* awakened the world, the manners even of the *Romish Clergy* themselves are not a little reformed.

the one in that he caused not his friends to re-
ceive the money which they had borrowed, and the other
that without examination of the particular causes and reasons of every
man's debt he gave the same to all alike, both good and bad,
and Saxons, whereof some were wicked
and impious, others most ab-
surd and ridiculous.

SECT. II. The unjust and absurd Lawes of Solon the
Athenian Emperour.

AS Religion is the hinge vpon which the government of the Politi-
call state depends and mooues, so next after it good and whole-
some Lawes serue much for the bettering of a Common-wealth in
matter of manners. Law being therefore defined by Plato to bee a rea-
sonable Rule leading and directing men to their due end for a publique good, or-
daining penalties for them that transgresse, & rewards for them that obey. And
by Cicero to be the highest and chiefe reason grafted in nature, commanding
those things which are to be done, & forbidding the contrary. But by the Civi-
lians most briefly and properly, *Lex est sanctio sancta, iubens honesta, pro-
hibens contraria*, Law is an holy decree, (that is, a decree not to be viola-
ted) commanding honest things, and forbidding the contrary. Now
as the ancient Rhymys were defective in points of true Religion: so were
they likewise in making iust Lawes; sometimes commanding where
they should forbid, and againe forbidding where they should com-
maund, rewarding where they should punish, and punishing where they
should reward. I will instance onely in some particular Lawes of the
Grecians, and of our Predecessours the Saxons.

Among the Grecians foure Law-makers were most renowned, Solon,
Lycurgus, Plato, and Aristotle, two of which actually founded Common-
weales, the one the Athenian, the other the Lacedemonian. The other
two onely framed them in Idea or speculation, yet all provided Lawes
for them, such as they were. I will begin with Solon, accounted one
of the seuen Sages in Greece, highly commended for his great wisdom
in making Lawes both by Aristotle and Plato, who proposeth him and
Lycurgus as patternes for all such as shall institute Common-weales, and
devise Lawes for them. Solon then resolving for the releueing of the
poore to make a Law for the abolishing and cancelling all contracts and
obligations of debts past, & imparting his minde therein to some of his
intire friends, they seeing his resolution, borrowed great store of mo-
ney, and employed it in the purchase of land, wherevpon it followed
that when Solon published his new Law, they remained exceedingly in-
riched, their Creditors defrauded, and he much suspected of deceit, as
to haue had secret intelligence with them, & part of their gaine. And
although it seemeth that therein he had wrong, for he lost by his owne
Law, as some write, 15 talents which were owing him, yet in two things

De Legibus.

Lib. 1. de Legi-
bus.

See Fitz Her-
bert in his
Treatise of Po-
licie and Reli-
gion, part. 1.
c. 7.

Plutarch, in
Solone.

Offic. lib. 2.

he cannot be excused, the one in that he caused not his friends to restore the money which they had guilefully borrowed, and the other that without examination of the particular causes and reasons of every mans debt, he ordained a general abolition of all debts both good and bad, whereby as well those which were able to pay, as the vnable were discharged, and all Creditors without difference defrauded, contrary to all equity & justice, which as *Cicero* saith speaking of the like case, requireth about all things that every man haue his owne, & that equall regard be had to the rich as well as to the poore; which (saith he) is no way observed, *cum locupletes suum perdunt, & debitores lucentur alienum*, when rich men loose their owne, and debtors gaine that which belongeth to other men.

Another of *Solons* absurd Lawes was, that whosoever in any publique sedition should be *interdixit* & take neither part, should remaine euer after infamous: his reason was for that hee thought it not convenient that any man should so much loue his owne ease, as not to participate of the trouble of the Common-wealth, whereof hee was a member, which reason of his together with the Law it selfe, *Plutarch* wisely and worthily rejecteth, for that it would be an assured meanes to put (as it were) fire to gun-powder, & to set all the Common-wealth on a flame without helpe of any internall remedy. For (saith he) as in a sicke body all the hope of helpe within it selfe is to be expected from the parts that are sound, and therefore when the body is wholly corrupted, there is no helpe of remedy but from abroad, even so in a politike body sick with sedition, all the internall remedy is to come from the whole sound parts thereof, that is to say, such as are *Neutralls*, who may labour with the one side, and with the other to compound the quarrell: for otherwise where all is in tumult, no remedy can be expected, except it come from abroad, & therefore *Plutarch* holdeth it for the highest and principall point of *Politique Science* in any governour to know how either to prevent seditions that they neuer grow, or else quickly to appease them when they are growne, be they neuer so little. For as the least sparke that is may fall into such matter, that it may set an whole house on fire: so the least civill sedition may fall among such persons & in such times that it may put a whole Common-wealth in combustion, and vtterly ruine it.

S E C T. II.

*The vnreasonable and irreligious Lawes of Lycurgus**the Lacedemonian Lawgiuer.*

NOW for *Lycurgus* if wee examine his Common-wealth and the Lawes thereof, we shall finde that he likewise failed both in true prudence and in morall vertue. For whereas a good Lawmaker ought to frame his Common-wealth no lesse to religion, justice, temperance, then to fortitude, that it may stand & flourish as well in time of peace, as in time of warre, his Lawes tended principally to make the people

people *valiant* and *warlike*, wherevpon it followed that the *Lacedemonians* flourished so long as they had warres, and when they came to enjoy peace, they fell to decay within a while, as *Aristotle* noteth. Whereby *Pol. 2. 7.* the weaknes of the *Lawes* of *Lycurgus* evidently appeared. For as peace is not ordained for warre, but warre for peace, as motion and labour is ordained for rest: so in like manner a *Common-wealth* is rather to bee framed & ordained for peace then for warre: & yet so for both, that it may stand by both: But in the *Common-wealth* of the *Lacedemonians* this was no way performed. For the *Lawes* of *Lycurgus* tending onely to make them strong, laborious & valiant, could not make them religious, just & truly temperate. Which for *ciuill discipline* and peaceable government is most requisite. For as for *Lawes* tending to religion, wee finde none made by *Lycurgus*, nor any religious act of his but only one, more ridiculous then religious, as that he dedicated an *Image* to *laughter*, which he made a *God*, or at least would haue to be worshipped for a *God*, to make the people merry at their publique feasts and meetings; & besides he opened a great gappe to *injustice* and to all cosenage and deceit: for hee ordained that it should bee lawfull for any man to steale any kinde of meate, so that he were not taken or discouered in the doing of it, and that boyes & children should haue so little allowed them to eate, as they should bee forced to sharke and proole for their better provision to make them thereby more industrious, nimble and quick of spirit, and others more wary and watchfull to keepe well that which they had. Infomuch that who could steale most cunningly was most commended; But who seeth not that this was the next way to fill the *Common-wealth* with *Theeues*. For is it likely that those who from their infancy are brought vp in pilfering trifles, will afterwards, when they haue got the habit and ability thereof, forbear to steale things of great importance? Or can theeeues practise their occupation with more safety any way to become in the end most expert, and thereby pernicious to the *Common-wealth*, then with the warrant and vnder the protection of the *Law*: seeing the penalty which was ordained for them that were taken with the manner, was not inflicted for the injustice of the fact, but for their lacke of skill and dexterity in the performance, which must needs make euery man labour to excell in the act of theeuery. Finally, when the *Law* not onely permitteth, but induceth men to deceiue sometimes, and in some things, doth it not also dispose, and as it were direct them to deceiue as oft and howsoeuer they may. Therefore good and wise *Law makers* seeke to prevent euils, & to cut off the occasions of vice, and not to minister matter therevnto, which in our corrupt natures needeth a bridle to restraine it, and not a spur to prick it forward.

This may also be said in respect of another *Law* of *Lycurgus*, inducing to *intemperancie* and all kinde of *incontinencie*. For although hee ordained some things notably for the education of youth, tending as it seemed to the repression of concupiscence and dissolute life, as a very spare and homely dyet, hard bedding of reedes, or (as some write) no bedding at all, continuall labour and exercise, one onely garment for the *Infim. l. 3.*

the whole yeare & ſuch like; yet it appeareth that his meaning was none other therein, but only the better to inable them to indure the labour and toyle of the warre. For he ordayned other lawes ſo much in fauour & furtherance of *luſt* & all carnalliry, yea in the worſt kind, that it might iuſtly be ſaid, he made his whole common-wealth worſe then a *Burdell*. For he inſtituted certaine wreſtlings, & dances, & other exerciſes of boyes & wenches naked, to be done in publique at diuers times of the yeare, in the preſence both of young and old men, which what effect it might worke in the mindes & manners of their citizens, any man may eaſily judge, eſpecially, ſeeing that both their lawes and cuſtomes, permitted that men ſhould be *inamored of boyes*, which was held for laudable & neceſſary for their good education; it being preſumed that their louers would carefully inſtruct them in vertue.

Furthermore *adultery* which was puniſhed with death, not only by the law of *Mofes*, but alſo by the lawes of other nations, as a thing pernicious to the common-wealth, was not only permitted, but alſo aproued by *Lycurgus* his lawe, ordaining, that if an old man married a young wife, ſhe might with her husbands licence, make choyce of any young man that ſhee liked to haue a child by him, which her husband brought vp as his owne: And if a valiant or vertuous man, as good ſouldiers were there termed, liked well of another mans wife, he might demaund leaue of her husband to haue iſſue by her: which was not denyed, but thought convenient for their common-wealth, to maintaine a good race & breed of valiant men; as *Plutarch* ſignifieth in defence of this law of *Lycurgus*.

Polit. l. 2. c. 7.

Doidor: Siculus.
l. 5. c. 14.

This then being ſo, what marvell is it that all ſinne of the fleſh, and beaſtlineſſe, reigned more in *Lacedemonie*, then any where elſe in *Greece*, as *Ariſtole* witneſſeth: Nay, what wonder is it that *Almighty God* of his juſt judgement plagued them for it in the end, with a memorable ouerthrow in the plain of *Leuctra*, where they loſt the dominion of *Greece* by the occaſion and for the puniſhment of an horrible rape committed by two of their citizens.

S E C T. 3.

The impious & diſhoneſt Lawes of Plato.

TO *Solon* and *Lycurgus*, we may adde *Plato* and *Ariſtole*, who though they founded no common-weales, as did the other two, yet they framed in writing either of them one, in which they laboured to ſhew both the excellencie of their owne wits, & perfection of humane policie; wherein nevertheleſſe they evidently ſhewed the imbecillity & imperfection of both: For what can be more *abſurd* or more *impious*, then the community which *Plato* ordained in his common-wealth, not only of goods & poſſeſſions, but alſo of women, to the end, that no man ſhould haue any thing proper or peculiar to himſelfe: in ſomuch, that Fathers & Mothers ſhould not know their own children, neither yet any child know his owne parents; whereby he thought to eſtabliſh

establiſh in the commo-wealth ſuch a perfect vnity, that no man ſhould be able to ſay, that is thine, or this is mine: But euery one haue a general care of all; whereas if that law were in practice, the vtter ouerthrow of the common-wealth, and of all humane ſociety muſt needs followe thereon. For Matrimony being taken away, and ſuch a promiſcuous and beaſtly procreation introduced, the naturall loue betwixt parents and their children, brethren, kinsfolke, & allies, & all conſanguinity, kinned, & affinity would be quite aboliſhed: horrible inceſt betweene kinsfolke, brethren & ſiſters, father & daughter, mother & ſonne which all nations abhorre, would ordinarily be committed: And by occaſion of quarrells, which ſometimes could not bee avoided; one brother would kill another, the father the ſonne, and the ſonne the father, for lacke of knowledge one of another: Beſides many other great inconveniences, declared very particularly and at large by *Aristotle* in the ſecond booke of his *Politiques*; And *Lactantius* in the third of his *Di-*
Cap. I. 2. 3. & 4.
Cap. 21. 22.
vine Inſtitutions, where he proveth this imaginary community of *Plato*, to take away frugality, abſtinenſe, ſhamefaſtnes, modeſty, and juſtice it ſelfe, the mother of all other vertues. *Sic honeſta & legitima eſſe incipiunt qua ſolent flagitioſa & turpia indicari*, in aſmuch as thereby thoſe things are held honeſt and lawfull, which are commonly accounted foule and wicked. *Sic virtutem dum vult omnibus dare, omnibus ademit*, & by this meanes, while hee pretended to make all vertuous, hee made all vitious. *Nam rerum proprietates & vitiorum & virtutum materiam continet, communitas autem nihil aliud quam vitiorum licentiam*: For a propriety in things, contains in it the ſubieſt matter aſwell for vertue as for vice to worke vpon, but community hath nothing in it beſides the liberty of vice. *Qui ergo vult homines adaequare, non matrimonia, non opes ſubtrahere debet, ſed arrogantiam, ſuperbiam, tumorem, ut illi potentes & elati pares ſe eſſe mendiciſſimis ſciant; detracta enim diuitibus inſolentia & iniquitate, nihil intererit vitrumne alij diuites alij pauperes ſint, cum animi pares ſint quod efficere nulla res alia preter religionem Dei poteſt. Putavit ergo ſe juſtitiam inueniſſe cum eam prorsus euerterit, quia non rerum fragilium ſed mentium debet eſſe communitas*. Hee then that would bring in an equality among men, muſt not take away weddings and wealth, but arrogancy, pride, and ſwelling, that thoſe, who by reaſon of their great power, are puffed vp, may know themſelues to be peeres to the pooreſt beggars. For remove inſolencie, iniuſtice, and vncharitablenes from the rich, and there will no inconvenience followe from hauing ſome poore, & others rich: Their minds being equall, which nothing but true religion can poſſiblely effect. *Plato* thought then he had found juſtice, when indeed he ouerthrew it, in aſmuch as there ought not to be a community of things, but of minds. And farther, both *Aristotle* & *Lactantius* though vpon different reaſons, ſhew, that the vnity which *Plato* ſought by this meanes to eſtabliſh in his common-wealth, would not follow therevpon: *Non inuenit concordiam quam querebat, quia non videbat unde oriatur*, hee found not that concord he ſought for, becauſe hee ſaw not from whence it ſprang. Whereby appeareth his double error, the one, that he found not that vertue he ſought to plant, the other, that he ſould

that vice he sought to prevent; And so I passe to another most dishonest & vnreasonable law of his, which was this.

Having ordained that young men should for increase of their strength & agility of body, exercise themselues naked at certaine times & in certaine places appointed for that purpose, called *Gymnasia*; commaunded also not as *Lycurgus* did in *Lacedemonia*, that young girles and wenches should daunce naked amongst boyes; but farre more absurdly, that women in the flower of their youth should daunce, runne, wrestle, ride, & doe all exercises with young men naked aswell as they, which, saith he, whosoever misliketh, vnderstandeth not how profitable it is for the *common-wealth*. But who could imagine that the *Prince of Philosophers*, (for so was *Plato* esteemed) could so farre forget himselfe, as hauing instituted and framed his *common-wealth* to all kinde of vertue, as the only meanes to arriue to perfect felicity, who, I say, considering this, could imagine, that this great Professour, Master, & Teacher of vertue, would not only permit, but also ordaine a thing so contrary to his own profession, to the end of his *common-wealth*, and to his owne lawes, precepts, and counsels, as the lasciuious aspect of naked women, whereby the fire of concupiscence being kindled in men, and the bridle of naturall modesty taken from women, what else could follow thereon but all beastly dissolutenes & carnality of life, aswell in the one as in the other. For precepts are giuen, and lawes ordained in vaine against incontinencie, when the occasions, provocations, & nourishments thereof are permitted, which whosoever vseth to admit, plaieth with the flame, as doth the fly, and commonly is burned thereby.

SECT. 4.

The vnnaturall & vncchaſt lawes of Aristotle.

Ut perhaps some may thinke that *Aristotle*, *Platoes* scholler, who was the wonder of the world for his wit, and vnderooke to censure & syndicate both his Master, and all other *Law-makers* before him, saw cleerer in matter of lawes for the reformation of manners and the good of the *common-wealth* then he. Let vs then examine him a little, and we shall finde that he erred more absurdly then any of them: This may appeare by two of his lawes; whereof the one was, that if a man had any *deformed* or lame child, he should cast it out like a whelp, and expose it to perishe: And the other was, that if a man had about a certaine number of children, which number hee would haue to bee determined according to euery mans ability, his wife should destroy the fruite in her wombe, when she found that she had conceiued; wherein he shewed himselfe more *vnnaturall* and *inhumane* then the very brute beasts. For, as *Cicero* sayth very well, these two things cannot agree together, to wit, that nature would haue procreation, and that it would not haue the creature, when it is borne to be beloued and conserued; the which appeareth, sayth he, euidently in brute beasts, whose labour and care in the conseruation of that which is borne of them is such, that we

acknow-

Polit. 7. c. 16.

Lib. 3. de Finibus.

acknowledge the force and voice of *Nature* therein. What then can be more dissonant from *Reason* and *Nature*, then that a man who is borne and naturally inclined to clemency, humanity and piety, should shew himselfe vnkinde and inhumane not towards beasts, but towards men, not towards strangers or servants, but towards his owne off-spring, and that not for any fault of theirs, but for some defect or deformity of body, which they could not either prevent or remedy, and ought rather to moue a man to compassion and pittie, then to cruelty. *Expectet aliquis ut alieno sanguini parcant, qui non parcant suo: non possunt innocentes existimari, qui viscera sua in pradam canibus obijciunt, & quantum in ipsis est crudelius necant, quam si strangulassent*, saith *Lactantius*. Can any man expect they should spare other mens blood, that spare not their owne? innocent they cannot be held, who expose their owne bowels for a prey to dogges, and as much as in them is, kill more cruelly then if they had strangled them. Lib. 6. cap. 30.

Besides such corporall defects doe not alwayes nor often hinder the operation of the minde and vnderstanding, and therefore it may very well happen by the execution of this inhumane Law of *Aristotle*, not onely that a Father shall be depriued of a sonne, but also the Commonwealth of a serviceable & notable member. For as *Seneca* saith, *ex casu vir magnus exire potest, & ex deformi humilique corpusculo formosus animus & magnus*. A worthy man may come out of a base cottage, and a beautifull high spirit out of a low deformed body.

The like may be said of the other Law of *Aristotle* concerning abortion or the destruction of the Childe in the mothers wombe, being a thing punished seuerely by all good Lawes as injurious not onely to nature, but also to the Commonwealth, which thereby is depriued of a designed Citizen, as *Cicero* tearmes it, speaking of a woman of *Miletum* in *Asia*, who hauing procured abortion of her childe a little before her time of trauell was condemned to death, *neque injuria*, saith he, *quia designatum reipub. ciuem sustulisset*, & very justly for that shee had made away one that was designed to bee a Citizen of the Commonwealth: In which respect the *Ciwill & Common Law* do grievously punish all wilfull abortion after conception, and the *Canonists* teach it to bee a mortall sinne.

And heere I cannot forbear to say somewhat of another Constitution of *Aristotles*, which I know not whether it were more absurd or ridiculous: for whereas he forbade in his Commonwealth the vse of lasciuious pictures and images, lest young men, and specially children might be corrupted by the sight thereof, neuerthelesse in the same Law he excepteth the Images and pictures of certaine Gods, in whom, saith he, the custome alloweth lasciuiousnesse, meaning no doubt the painted tables and grauen stories of the adulteries of *Iupiter*, *Mars*, *Venus*, and other Gods and Goddesse, set forth euery-where among the *Paynims*, as well in private houses as in their Temples and other publique places: Wherein may be obserued the ridiculous absurdity of this great *Philosopher*, for what could it auale to take away all other wanton pictures and representations that might corrupt the mindes of youth, when hee expressly

Pol. 7. 17.

alloweth

alloweth the vse of the lasciuious pictures of the Gods, which must needs corrupt them much more: and as it were instill into them vitious affections & desires together with their religion, yea by the example of their Gods; by the imitation of whom they could not but hope to attaine aswell to perfection of vertue, as to eternall felicity, beleeuing as they did, that they were *true Gods*. For how could any man be perswaded that adultery deserued punishment, or was not a great, yea a diuine vertue seeing *Mars* taken rardy with *Venus*, or *Iupiter* stealing away *Europa* in shape of a bull, violating *Leda* in the forme of a Swan, & entering into the house of *Danae* by the louer like a golde showre; would not any man that should be religiously devoted to these Gods, be animated by the sight thereof to doe the like? yea and children learning their religion, and not only hearing, but seeing every-where by pictures & images that such acts were committed by their *Gods*, could they imagine that the same were evil and not to be imitated? This is very well declared by *Lucian* of his owne experience, who in his Dialogues maketh *Menippus* say thus, When I was yet but a boy, saith he, & heard out of *Homer* and *Hesiod* of the Adulteries, fornications, rapes and seditions of the Gods, truely I thought that those things were very excellent, and began euen then to be greatly affected towards them: for I could not imagine that the Gods themselves would euer haue committed adultery if they had not esteemed the same lawfull and good: And the like signifieth also *Cheræa* in *Terence*, who beholding a table wherein it was painted, how *Iupiter* deceiued *Danae* when hee came in at the top of the house, saith, that he was greatly encouraged to desloure a young maide by the example of so great a God: *at quem Deum*, saith he, *qui templa cæli summa sonitu concutit, ego homuncio hoc non facerem? ego vero illud ita feci & lubens*. But what God was this trow you? marry hee who shakes the highest Temples of Heauen with thunder, and therefore might not I who am but a silly wretch doe the like? yes truely I did it and that with all my heart. And it is doubtlesse most true which *S. Augustine* hath obserued to this purpose, *magis intuentur quid fecerit Iupiter, quam quid docuerit Plato vel censuerit Cato*: they rather considered what *Iupiter* did, then what *Plato* taught, or *Cato* thought.

In Eunuch.

S E C T. 5.

*The barbarous and vnciuill lawes of the Gaules
and the Saxons our Predecessours.*

NOW these Lawes of the *Gracians* were not more dishonest and vnmorall then were those of the *Gaules* and *Saxons* our Predecessours vnciuill and barbarous; I meane their ordeall Lawes which they vsed in doubtfull Cases when cleere and manifest proofes wanted to try and finde out whether the accused were guilty or guiltlesse: These were of foure sorts, as *Aneas Sylvius*, *Beatus Rhemanus*, *Iohannes Pomarius*, *Cornelius Killianus*, and others in their Histories and Chronicles report. The first was by *Campfight* or *Combate*, the second

Page 4. r. 3.
Versus 6. 3.

cond by yron made red hot, the third was by *hote water*, and the fourth by *cold water*.

For their tryall by *Camp-fight*, the Accuser was with the perill of his owne body to prooue the accused guilty, and by offering him his gloue or gantlet to challenge him to this tryall: which the other must either accept of, or acknowledge himselfe culpable of the crime whereof hee was accused. If it were a crime deseruing death, then was the *Camp-fight* for life and death, and that either on horsebacke or on foot: if the offence deserued imprisonment and not death, then was the *Camp-fight* accomplished when the one had subdued the other by making him to yeeld, or vnable to defend himselfe, and so be taken prisoner: the accused had the liberty to choose another in his steed, but the accuser must performe it in his owne person, and with equality of weapons. No women were admitted to behold it, nor men children vnder the age of thirteene yeares; the Priests and people did silently pray, that the victory might fall to the guiltlesse. And if the fight were for life & death, a Beere stood ready to carry away the body of him that should bee slaine. None of the people might crye, skreкке, make any noice, or giue any signe whatsoever. And heerevnto at *Hall in Suevia* (a place appointed for *Campfight*) was so great regard taken, that the Executioner stood beside the Iudges with an axe ready to cut off the right hand and left foot of the party so offending. He that being wounded did yeeld himselfe, was at the mercy of the other to be killed or let to liue: if hee were slaine, then was he carried away and honourably buried, and hee that slew him reputed more *honorable* than before. But if beeing ouercome he were left aliue, then was hee by sentence of the Iudges declared vtterly voide of all honest reputation, and neuer to ride on horsebacke, nor to carry armes.

The tryall by *red hot iron*, called *Fire-Ordeall* was vsed vpon accusations without manifest prooffe, though not without suspition, that the accused might be faulty; the party accused and denying the offence, was adjudged to take red hot iron, & to hold it in his bare hand, which after many prayers and invocations that the truth might be manifest, hee must either adventure to doe, or yeeld himselfe guilty, and so receiue the punishment that the Law according to the offence committed should award him. Some were adjudged to goe blinde-folded with their bare feete ouer certaine plow-shares, which were made red hot & laid a little distance one from another, and if the party in passing thorow them did chaunce not to tread vpon them, or treading vpon them receiued no harme, then by the Iudge he was declared innocent: And this kind of tryall was also practised here in *England*, (as was likewise the *Camp-fight* for a while) vpon *Emma* the mother of *K. Edward* the Confessor, who was accused of dishonesty of her body with *Allwin* B. of *Winchester*, and being led blind-folded to the place where nine hot *Cul-ters* were laid, went forward with her bare feet, and so passed ouer them, and being past them all & not knowing it, good Lord, said shee, when shall I come to the place of my purgation, then hauing her eyes vncouered and seeing her selfe to haue passed them, she kneeling down

Camden in
Dareet.

gaue God thanks for manifesting her innocencie in her preservation, & in memoriall thereof gaue *nine Lordships* to the Church of Winchester, and King *Edward* her sonne repenting he had so wrongfully brought his Mothers name into question, bestowed likewise vpon the same Church the Ile of *Portland* with other reuenewes. A much like tryall vn- to this is recorded of *Kunigund*, wife to the Emperour *Henry* the second, who being falsely accused of adultery, to shew her innocency did in a great & honourable assembly take *seauen glowen irons* one after another in her bare hands, & had thereby no harme.

The tryall called *Hot water*, Ordeall was in cases of accusation as is afore sayd, the party accused being appointed by the Iudge to thrust his armes vp to the elbowes in seething hot water, which after sundry prayers and invocations he did, and was by the effect that followed judged faulty or faultles.

Lastly, *cold water Ordeall* was the tryall, which was ordinarily vsed for the common sort of people, who hauing a cord tied about them vnder their armes, were cast into some riuer, and if they sunke down to the bottome thereof vntill they were drawne vp, (which was within a very short limited space) then were they held guiltlesse, but such as did remaine vpon the water were held culpable, being, as they sayd, of the water rejected & cast vp. These kindes of *impious & vniust lawes*, the *Saxons* for a while after their *Christianity* continued, but were at last by a decree of *Pope Stephen* the second vtterly abolished, as being a presumptuous tempting of *God* without any grounded reason or sufficient warrant, and an exposing many times of the innocent to manifest hazard.

C A P. 3.

Touching the insufficiencie of the precepts of the Ancient Philosophers for the planting of vertue, or the rooting out of vice, as also of the common error touching the golden age.

SECT. 1.

Touching the insufficiencie of the precepts of the ancient Philosophers for the planting of vertue, and the rooting out of vice, as also of the manners of the Ancients, observed by *Cælius secundus Curio*, out of *Luvenall* and *Tacitus*.

TO these lawes of the *Gracians* and *Germans*, may be added the opinions & precepts of the Ancient Philosophers, touching vertue and vice, finall happinesse and the state of the soule after this life which were as diuerse one to another as they were, all erroneous and opposite to the truth, the growth of vertue or suppressing of vice. What could possibly more hinder the course of vertue, then the doctrine of the *Epicureans*, that soueraigne happinesse consisted in pleasure or more

strengthen

strengthen the current of vice, then that of the *Stoicks*, that all sins were equall. The *Epicureans* though they graunted a God, yet they denyed his *providence*, which should serue as a spurre to vertue, and a bridle to vice. The *Stoicks*, though they graunted a diuine providence, yet withall they stiffely maintained such a fatall *Necessity*, not only in the events of humane actions, but in the actions themselves, as thereby they blunted the edge of all vertuous endeauours, and made an excuse for vicious courses. Againe, the *Epicurean* gaue too much way to irregular affections; and on the other side, the *Stoicke* was too professed an enemy to them, though regulated by reason; but both of them doubted, if not denyed the *immortality of the soule*, whereby they opened a wide gappe to all licentiousnesse, not censureable by the lawes of man, or which the executioners whereof either thorow ignorance could not, or thorow feare or fauour would not take notice of. Which hath often made mee wonder that the common-wealth of the *Iewes* would suffer such a pestilent sect in the bowels of it, as the *Sadduces*, who flatly denyed, not only the resurrection of the body, but the immortality of the soule. Since Aq. 13. 8. then the *Christian* religion, and that alone teacheth both, as fundamentall articles of our beleife, and withall a particular providence of God, extending to the very thoughts, and a particular judgement after this life, rewarding every man according to that he hath done in the flesh, whether it be good or euill; and besides, requires a *reformation of the heart & inward man*, the fountaine & source of all outward actions & speeches; it is most euident, that howsoever our *lines* bee, yet our *rules* tend more to vertue and honesty then did those, either of the *Gentiles*, or of the *Iewes*, who although they were not all infected with the foule leprosie of the *Sadduces*, yet it is certaine, that these doctrines and rules were not in the law of *Moses* & the *Prophets* so cleerely deliuered, as now they are by *Christ* & his *Apostles* in the *Gospel*; nay the law it selfe permitted vnto the such a diuorce, though for the hardnes of their hearts, as is not now allowed. And though the Law allowed not *Polygamie*, yet in regard of their frequent practice, we haue great reason to conceiue, that they scarce held it to be a sinne. And the *Pharises*, though of all other sects they pretended, and seemed to be the most zealous & strict obseruers of the Law; yet teaching others & themselves, practising the obseruation thereof as they did, only in regard of *outward conformity*, thereby perhaps made their disciples *formall Iusticiaries*, but withall *damnable hypocrites*, boyling in malice, & lust, & couetousnes while they set a faire face on it, and made a goodly semblance of holynes, piety, and devotion. And if it so fared with the *Iewes*, no marvell that the *Gentiles*, (their naturall inclination carrying them headlong to wickednes, and withall their religion, their lawes, the doctrine and examples of their Teachers, being as so many provocations to draw them onward) proued such indeede as the *Apostle* describes them to be in the
‘*1* of the *Romanes*, full of all vnrighteousnes fornication, wickednesse, couetousnes, maliciousnes, full of envy, of murther, of debate, of deceit, taking all things in euill part, whisperers, backbiters, haters of
‘*God*, doers of wrong, proud, boasters, inventers of euill things, disobedient

Mat. 19. 8.

Mat. 5.

Lib. 3. Ep. 8.

bedient to Parents, without vnderstanding, couenant breakers, without naturall affection, such as neuer can be appeased, mercileffe, which men though they know the Law of God, how that they which commit such things are worthy of death, yet not only doe the same, but 'favour them that doe them. And so I passe from the roote to the fruite, from the causes to the effects, from their *lawes & precepts* touching *manners*, to their *practice, & customes, & manners* themselves. And heere I must freely professe my selfe to accord with *Sidonius Apollinaris*, *ueneror antiquos, non ita tamen ut aequorum meorum virtutes & merita proponam*: I haue the Ancients in such due respect and veneration as they deserue, yet so as I would not willingly disesteeme or vnderalue the vertues and merits of those who haue liued since, or now liue in the same age with mee. The *Ancients* I know well, had many great vertues, and wee no lesse vices, yet let no man be so vnwise or vnjust, to surmise that either the former ages were free from *notorious vices*, or the latter voide of *singular vertues*. And surely, he that shall reade *Bohemus* of the manners of the *Gentiles*, or the bookes of *Iudges*, the *Kings*, the *Chronicles*, the *Prophets*, and *Iosephus* of the manners of the *Iewes*, will easily acknowledge the former: Wherevnto wee may adde the testimony of *Caelius Secundus Curio*, a witty and learned man of this age in his Epistle prefixed to his commentary vpon *Iuuenall*, where he tels vs, that meeting with those verses of *Horace*.

Damnosa quid non imminuit dies?

Ætas parentum peior avis tulit

Nos nequiores, mox daturos

Progeniem vitiosiore.

What doth not wastfull time impaire?

Our Fathers worse then Granfires are,

We worse then they, our progenie

More vitious then ourselues will be.

Hee began to doubt of the trueth of them, and therevpon fell to a serious inquirie thereinto, & for his better proceeding in that search, made speciall choice of two Authours, *Tacitus* and *Iuuenall*, the one held as vnpartiall in *history* as the other in *Satyres*, to make report what they found in matter of *manners* in their times, and hauing thorowly consulted with them both, but chiefly with the latter, from them he makes this relation, *Quibus auditis*, saith he, *& nostri seculi cum illa facta contentione deprehendi longe ab illa nostram atatem vitijs, illam à nostra multis & magnis virtutibus superari*: Vpon the hearing of them, and the comparing of this present age with that, I found that ours was much surpassed by that in vice, and that againe by ours in many and great vertues. Yet long before *Horace* did *Aratus* in *Phænomenis* take vp the same complaint:

Aurea degenerem pepererunt secula prolem,

Vos peiorem illis sobolem generabitis. --

Those golden fires a baser race begat:

Your race shall be yet more degenerate.

But *Hesiod* in his *ἔργα καὶ ἡμέρας*, is more aduised and moderate, hoping, it seemes

seemes, for better times then himselfe saw.

O vtinam quinto hoc minime mihi vivere saclo,

Sed fas vel post nasci, aut ante perire fuisset.

Would God this fift age I had neuer seene,

But or had died before, or after beene.

For with *Ovid* I can scarce hope that any should accord & professe,

Prisca inuent alios; ego nunc me deniq; natum

Gratulor.

Let others like old times, but I am glad

That in this latter age my birth I had,

SECT. 3.

*Touching that idle tale of the golden age first forged
by Poets, and since taken up by Historians.*

That which hath deceiued many in this point is that idle tale and vaine fancie forged by the Poets, & taken vp by some Historians, & beleueed by the vulgar of the foure ages of the world. The first of gold, the second of siluer, the third of brasse, & the fourth of yron. Thus elegantly described by the wittiest of Poets.

Aurea prima sata est etas quæ vindice nullo

Sponte sua sine lege fidem rectumque colebat,

Pæna metusq; aberant, nec vincla minacia collo

Ære ligabantur, nec supplex turba timebat

Iudicis ora sui, sed erant sine iudice tuti, &c.

Postea Saturno jancbrofa in Tartara misso

Sub Ioue mundus erat, subijtque argentea proles;

Auro dterior fulvo, pretiosior ære, &c.

Tertia post illam successit abenea proles,

Seuior ingenijs, & ad horrida promptior arma.

Non scelcrata tamen. De duro est ultima ferro

Protinus erupit vena peioris in ævum

Omne nefas, fugere pudor, verumq; fidesq;

In quorum subiere locum fraudesq; doliq;

Insidiæq; & vis, & amor sceleratus habendi.

Ovid. Met.

The golden age was first, which vncompell'd,

And without rule in faith and truth excell'd:

As then there was not punishment nor feare,

Nor threatning Lawes in brasse prescribed were,

Nor suppliant crouching prisoners shooke to see

Their angry Iudge, but all was safe and free, &c.

But after Saturne was throwne downe to Hell,

Ioue rul'd, and then the silver age befell.

More base then gold, and yet then brasse more pure, &c.

Next vnto this succedes the brazen age,

Worse natur'd, prompt to horride warre and rage,

But yet not wicked stubborne, yr'n the last,

Pp

Then

Then blushlesse crimes which all degrees surpast
 The world surround, Shame, faith and truth depart,
 Fraud enters, ignorant in no bad Art,
 Force, treason, and the wicked loue of gaine, &c.
 And from hence it seemes was that of *Boetius* borrowed

Lib. 2. Met. 3

*Felix nimium prior atas
 Contenta fidelibus arvis.
 Nec inertis perdita luxu,
 Facili quæ sera solebat
 Jejunia solvere glande,
 Nec Bacchica munera norat
 Liquido confundere melle,
 Nec lucida vellera serum
 Tyrio miscere veneno.
 Tunc classica sæva tacebant
 Odys neq; fusus acerbis
 Cruor horrida tinxerat arma.
 Vtinam modo nostra redirent
 In mores tempora prisca.*

Thrice happy former age well pleas'd
 With faithfull fields, from riot free,
 Whose hunger readily was eas'd
 With akornes gathered from the tree,
 They skill'd not with *Lyæus* juice,
 The liquid honey to compound,
 Nor knew that twice the *Serian* fleece
 In *Tyrian* die was to be drown'd,
 Alarmes of warrè were silent then,
 And horrid arms all smear'd with blood
 Through malice shed of cruell men
 Were yet vnscene. O would to God
 These times so much degenerate
 Might turne againe to th'ancient state.

But that all this adoe about the golden age is but an empty rattle & frivolous conceipt, like *Apuleius* his tale of a golden asse, *Bodin* is so confident, that he breakes forth into this assertion, *Ætas illa quam auream vocant, si ad hanc nostram conferatur, ferrea videri possit.* That which they call the Golden age being compared with ours, may well seeme but iron: And in truth he may boldly affirme it, if that be true which *Cicero* writes of it. *Fuit quoddam tempus cum in agris homines passim bestiarum more vagabantur, & sibi victu ferino vitam propagabant, nec ratione animi quicquam, sed pleraque viribus corporis administrabant. Nondum diuina religionis non humani officij ratio colebatur, nemo legitimas viderat nuptias, non certos quisquam inspexerat liberos, non jus æquabile quid utilitatis haberet, acceperant.* Time was when men like beasts wandered in the fields, and maintained their life by the food of beasts. neither did they administer their affaires by justice, but by bodily strength: There was no heed given either to Religion or Reason, no man enjoyed lawfull marriage, nor with

Method. Hist.
c. 7.

Cicero de inventionem Rhetor. l. 1

with assurance beheld his owne issue, neither were they acquainted with the commodity which vpright Lawes bring with them. During this golden age flourished *Camefis* & *Saturne*, & there is no doubt but by *Camefis* is vnderstood *Cham* the son of *Noah*, & by *Saturne* *Nimrod*, whose son *Iupiter Belus* (famous for the deposition of his father, incest with his sister, & many other villanies) saw the last of this age. Now how vertuous these men & times were, appeares by the story of *Moses*. *Cham* like a most vngracious childe discovers and derides the nakednesse of his aged & worthy Father, & was therefore deservedly accursed to be a *seruant of seruants*. *Nimrod* grandchilde to *Cham*, as his name signifies, was a notorious Rebelle, *Robustus venator coram Domino*, a great Oppressour, a Robber, as *Aristotle* numbers robbery among the severall kindes of hunting: And besides he is thought to haue beene the ring-leader in that out-ragious attempt of building the towre of *Babel*. And such kinde of men are those *Gyants* supposed to haue beene, who before this are called *Mighty men, men of renowne*; In as much as *Moses* presently adds, *And God saw that the wickednesse of man was great in the earth, and that euery imagination of the thoughts of his heart was onely euill continually: And it repented the Lord that he had made man on the earth, and it grieved him at his heart.* *Quibus verbis intelligit, saith Cassian, tantas ea tempestate fuisse morum corruptelas, vt omne virtutis, nequitiaeque genus ubique regnaret. Cum autem ex robore & potentia qua isti pollebant nominis celebritatem adepti sint, in eo animadvertere licet qualis fuerit prima mundi nobilitas aestimata, non quae pietatis, iustitiae, aliusve cuiusdam virtutis specie, & pulchritudine illustris appareret, sed quae solius potentiae, fortitudinisue titulo sese venditabat: Nam qui tum ceteris & aliores, robustioresque erant, vim aliis audacter inferentes, nobiliores, praestantioresque censebantur. Vnde fortassis illud invaluit, ut gentilitia quorundam insignia non nisi crudelium belluarum, rapaciumque ferarum & volucrum habeant imaginem.* By which words he vnderstands, that such and so great was the vniuersall corruption of manners in those times, as all kinde of vice and wickednesse euery-where reigned: And in that the men of that age are said to haue gotten renown by meanes of their exceeding great might, from thence we may gather how the first Nobility of the world was valued, not such as was conspicuous by the beauty & lustre of piety, justice, or any other vertue, but such only as gloried & contented it self with the title of strength & power. For those who then were more mighty and powerfull then others, and were thereby imboldened to oppress others, were commonly held the most noble and worthy. And happily from hence it was that some families carry in their Scutchions the representation of wilde beasts or birds of prey. Howsoeuer we are sure that vpon this vniuersall inuasion of sinne, followed the vniuersall deluge of water, washing and cleansing the earth from that abominable filthinesse which had generally infected and polluted it. And as about this time sinne was ripened, so in the very infancy of the world it grew vp so fast, that the second man in the world wilfully murdered the third, being then his only brother. And another of the same race soone after was the founder of *Polygamie*, and a while after it is added, *Then*

Gen. 9. 12.

Cap. 10. v. 9.

Cap. 11. 4.

Gen. 6. 4.

v. 5. 6.

De Gyant. c. 1.

Gen. 4. 8.

Gen. 4. 26

Gen. 5. 22.

Wisedome. 4.

11.

Bodin. loco ci-

tate.

men began to call upon the name of the Lord, as if till then they had not done it, at least-wise in publique assemblies. And in that, *Enoch* not long after this, is said to haue walked with God, *Iunius* giues this note vpon it, *id est, non est sequutus malitiam sui seculi*, that is, he followed not the wicked courfes of the age wherein he liued, and therefore was he translated, least wickednes should alter his vnderstanding or deceit beguile his mind. *Hæc est illa aurea ætas quæ talia mōstra nobis educavit*, this is forsooth that goodly goldē age which hath brought into the world & bred such foul mōsters. After this the world was pestered with a nūber of intollerable Tyrants, whom *Hercules* subdued, and yet was himselfe accounted by many a Captaine of Pyrats. And certaine it is, he was most foule, and yet I know not whether more foule, or strong in matter of lust; and both *Theseus* and *Perithous* (whom he admitted into his society) were of a straine much alike. But because these things happily may seeme fabulous, let vs listen to *Thucydides*, one of the ancientest & truest fathers of history. He then hath left vpon record, that a little before his time in Greece it selfe so great was the wildnes and barbarousnes thereof, that both by sea and land robberies were commonly practised, and that without any touch of disgrace, it was vsually demaunded of passengers, whether they were *Theeues* or *Pyrats*. And *Cæsar* in a manner reports the same of the Germans: *Latrocinia nullam habent apud Germanos infamiam quæ extra fines cuiusq; civitatis sunt, atq; ea inventutis exercenda atque desidia minuenda causa fieri predicant*. It is no discredit among the Germans to robbe, so it be without the bounds of their citties, and this they allow for the exercise of their youth & the shunning of idlenes. But particulars are infinite, wherefore I will content my selfe with one nation, & three or foure notorious vices of that Nation. The Nation shall be that of the ancient Romans, I meane before their receiuing of Christianity, because they were commonly reputed the most civill & best disciplined of the whole world. The speciall vices I will instance in, shall bee their cruelty, their conetousnes, their luxurie, their vaine-glory and ambition; and in these will I shew their wonderfull excesse beyond latter ages, concluding with a demonstration, that the most eminent and renowned vertues of the Romanes, as their wisedome & courage, haue likewise beene at least matched by some of latter ages, and that in some other vertues, as namely in modesty and humility, they haue beene much exceeded.

CAP. 4.

*Of the excessive cruelty of the Romans towards the
Iewes, the Christians, other Nations, one
another & vpon themselves.*

S E C. I.

Of the Romane cruelty toward the Iewes.

THe savage and barbarous inhumanity of the *Romans* appears partly in their cruell handling of the *Iewes & Christians*, & partly of other *Nations*: But chiefly in their *vnnaturall disposition* one towards another and vpon themselves: First then for the *Iewes*, it is indeede true, that by putting to death the *Lord of life*, and crying alowd, *His blood be vpon vs and vpon our children*, they wilfully drew vpon themselves the *Diuine vengeance* & that dreadfull threate: *Loe the dayes shall come when they shall say, happy are the barren and the wombes that haue not borne children, and the paps that haue not giuen sucke.* Yet were the *Romans*, though greater enemies to *Christian Religion* then the *Iewes*, appointed by *diuine providence*, as the Executioners of that vengeance, which they performed in a most vnmmercifull manner: And in regard of themselves, an vndue & vniust measure. For to let passe all other bloody massacres of them in diuerse townes & citties thorow the *Romane Empire*, after the passion of our *Sauioir*, and before the destruction of *Ierusalem*; surely their cruelty acted in the sledge of that citty, recorded by *Iosephus*, was such as were able, even to resolute an heart of Steele into teares of blood. De bello Iudaico. lib. 6, & 7. It was on every side so straightly begirt, that the besieged by extremitie of famine, were forced to eate, not only horses, asses, dogges, rats, & mice, and the leather that couered their shields & bucklers, but also the very dung out of their stables; yea, & a Noble woman was knowne to eate her owne child that suckt vpon her breast, wherein no doubt was fulfilled the prophetic of our *Sauioir*, *happy are the barren.* Such as were taken by the *Romans*, were by the commaundement of *Titus*, crucified before the walls of the citty, to the number of five hundred every day, vntill at length (as *Iosephus* reporteth) *there wanted both crosses for the bodies and place for the crosses.* Also great numbers of them, who being forced with famine, sought to saue their liues, by yeelding themselves to ther enemies, were neuertheles killed by the merciless souldier, and their bowels ripped vp, in hope to finde gold therein, vpon a report, or at least a conceite, that the *Iewes* did swallow their gold to convey it out of the citty by that meanes. Finally, the number of those which were slaine and died during the siege, was, as witnesseth *Iosephus*, *a million and an hundred thousand*, and of the *Captiues* nine hundred and seventy thousand, whereof *Iosephus* himselfe was one, Lib. 7. c. 17. and of those, some were condemned to the publique workes, others of the stronger & handsomer sort carried in triumph, and such as were vn-

Lib. 4. c. 2.

der the age of seventene yeares, were sold for litle or nothing, & those which remained in their countrey, were loaden with such greivous impositions and tributes, that they liued in a continuall misery & flauery worse then death. Yet the cruelty of the *Romans* towards these miserable *Iewes* ceased not heere, but in the next age, in the time of *Traiane* the *Emperour*, within lesse then fifty yeares after the subversion of *Ierusalem*, *infinita eorum millia*, sayth *Eusebius*, infinite thousands of them were killed in *Egypt*, and *Mesopotamia*, in *Macedonia* they were vtterly extinguished, and in *Cyprus* they were all either put to the sword or banished; and a law made, that it should be death for any *Iew* to arriue there, though he were driven thither by tempest against his will. And in a few yeares after *Iulius Severus*, being called out of *Brittaine* by the *Emperour Adrian*, and sent into *Iudea*, destroyed almost all the countrey. For as *Dyon* writeth, he dismantled fifty strong forts, and razed or burnt nine hundred eighty five townes or villages, and killed aboue fifty thousand *Iewes* in battell, besides an infinite number of others that died either by fire, famine, or pestilence, or were sold for slaues. Shortly after *Adrians* time, they were also miserably afflicted by the *Emperour Antoninus Pius*, and after him by *Marcus Aurelius*, and againe some yeares after that by the *Emperour Senerus*, who renewed the decrees of *Adrian* for their exclusion from the sight of their countrey, and triumphed for his great victories against them. Now though it be true, that the wickednes of the *Iewish* Nation was such, as they well deserued to be thus seuerely punished, yet cannot the *Romanes* be excused from vnreasonable cruelty in dealing thus vnmercifully with them, as if they had beene beasts rather then men.

SECT. 2.

Their cruelty toward the Christians, first in regard of the insatiable malice of their persecutors.

Tacitus An. 15. 10.

De Ciuit. Dei l. 18. c. 52.

Sueton. c. 37.

THEIR dealing with the *Christians*, (whom they likewise named *Iewes*, because our *Sauours Apostles* & first disciples, were all of that nation) was yet more mercilesse because more vnjust, They pretended the frequent rebellions of the *Iewes*, to be the reason of their great severity towards them: But the *Christians* they deadly hated and most cruelly persecuted only for their religion, whereas they suffered all religions saue the *Christian*, to be quietly exercised thorow their dominions. Now their cruelty towards the poore *Christians* appeared in the insatiable malice of their persecutors, the incredible number of those that suffered as *Martyrs* or *Confessors*, and the exquisite variety of their tortures. St. *Augustine* and his scholler *Orosius* compare the tenne persecutions of the *Primitive Christians*, (which as so many raging waues came tumbling one vpon the necke of another, to the tenne plagues of *Egypt*; the first of which was vnder *Nero*, whose cruelty or luxury was of the two more monstrous & vnnaturall, cannot easily be determined. He caused *Rome* to be set on fire, that he might the better conceiue the flames of *Troy*,

Troy, singing vnto it *Homers verses*. His father and brother he poysoned, murthred his master, wife, & mother, taking an exact view of her dead bodie, commending the proportion of some parts & discommending others. Besides, he made away whosoever was valiant or vertuous in Senate, in city, in Province without any difference of sexe or age. No marvell then, that being of a disposition so bloody he fell as a bitter storme vpon the *Christians*, and his cruelty be by *S. Paule* compared to the mouth of a *Lyon*. Nay by reason of that violent persecution, which vnder him the *Christians* endured; hee was, as witnesseth *S. Augustine* commonly reputed *Anti-Christ*: But certaine it is, that *Rome* being by his commaund set on fire, he falsely accused & punished most greivously the innocent *Christians* for it. The second persecution was vnder *Domitian*, whom *Tertullian* calls *Neronis portionem*, *Eusebius*, *heredem*, the one a part, the other the heire of *Nero*: And *Tacitus* puts onely this difference betweene them, that *Nero* indeed commaunded cruell murders, but *Domitian* not only commaunded them, but beheld them himselfe. What the world was to expect from him; appeared in his very entrance to the *Empire*, retyring himselfe euery day into a private closet, where he passed his time in killing of flies with a sharp bodkin, infomuch that one demaunding who was within with the *Emperour*, *Vibius Crispus* made answer, *ne musca quidem*, not fomuch as a flie: But from the blood of flies hee proceeded on to the shedding of the blood of men, so farre, and in so fierce a manner,

--- *Vt timeas ne*

Vomer deficiat, ne marra & sarcula desint.

Well might yee doubt

Least culters, mattocks, spades, yee soone should be without. The Authour of the last and most greivous persecution, was *Dioclesian*, whose raging cruelty towards the *Christians*, *Lactantius* sets forth in liuely colours. *Nemo huius tanta bellae immanitatem potest pro merito describere, quæ uno loco recubans tamen per totum orbem dentibus ferreis sevit, & non tantum artus hominum dissipat, sed & ossa ipsa comminuit & in cineres furit, ne quis extet sepultura locus. Quenam illa feritas, quæ rabies, quæ insania est, lucem vivis, terram moriuis denegasse?* No man can sufficiently describe the cruelty of this so vnreasonable a beast, which lying in one place, yet rageth with his iron teeth thorow the world, and doth not only scatter the members, but breake the bones of men; yea shewes his furie vpon their very ashes, least there should be found any place for their buriall: what rage, what madnes, what barbarous cruelty is this, to deny both the light to the liuing, and the earth to the dead? Where *Lactantius* seemes to allude to that fourth namelesse beast of *Daniell*, which was fearefull & terrible, and very strong, it had great yron teeth, it deuoured, and brake in peeces, and stamped the residue vnder his feete. And though I haue instanced only in these three, yet it is certaine, that the Authours and Instruments of these persecutions were all of a disposition much alike: Of whom the same *Lactantius* affirms, that they haue borrowed the shapes of beasts, and yet were more cruell then they, pleasing themselues in this, that they were borne men, & yet had they

L. 3. c. 11.

they nothing but the outward figure and lineaments of men. For what *Caucasus*, what *India*, what *Hircania*, saith he, ever bred or brought forth so cruell and bloody beasts; the rage of other beasts ceaseth when their appetite is satisfied, & their hunger being slaked, they grow more mild & tame, but the rage of these never ceaseth, their appetite is never satiated with blood; the truth whereof will easily appeare, if in the second place we doe but cast our eyes vpon the infinite multitude of innocent Christians that euery where suffered death, and for none other cause but only the profession of their religion.

S E C T. 3.

Secondly, in regard of the incredible number of those that suffered.

Sacr. Histor. l. 3.

Homilia 27. in
Euangelia.

Apocal. 7. 9.

Cap. 14. 20.

Tac. Annal. 15.
10.

Omnis ferè sacro Martyrum cruore orbis infectus est, neque ullis unquam magis bellis exhaustus est, saith *Sulpitius*: well nigh the whole world is stayned with the blood of the Martyrs, neither was it euer in the like sort emptied by any warres. And *Gregorie* the great almost in the same words, *totum mundum fratres aspiciate, Martyribus plenus est, jam penè tot qui videamus non sumus quot veritatis testes habemus, Deo ergo numerabiles, nobis super arenam multiplicati sunt quia quanti sunt à nobis comprehendi non possunt.* Brethren, looke abroad vpon the whole world, it is filled with Martyrs, we are hardly so many in number to behold them, as we haue witnesses of the truth, who haue sealed it with their blood, in regard of God they are numerable, but in regard of vs they are multiplied aboue the sand on the sea shore, in asmuch as we cannot comprehend their number. And happily those latter words of *Gregorie* had reference to that of *Cyprian*, himselfe a glorious Martyr, in his exhortation to Martyrdome: *Exuberante postmodum copia virtutis & fidei numerari non possunt Martyres Christiani, testante Apocalypsi & dicente, post hac vidi, &c.* The strength of courage and faith afterwards increasing, the Christian Martyrs could not be numbred, according to that testimonie in the *Apocalyps*. After these things I beheld, and loe a great multitude, which no man could number of all nations, & kindreds, and people, & tongues, stood before the Throne and before the Lambe, cloathed with long white robes, and palmes in their handes: Wherevnto might be added, that other Propheticall passage of the same booke; *The wine-presse was troden without the cittie, and blood came out of the wine-presse vnto the horse bridles by the space of a thousand & six hundred furlongs.* Which Prophecie we may well conceiue, to haue beene accomplished to the full, when the very axes & swords of the Executioners were blunted with executions, and themselves were forced to giue ouer and sit downe, being vtterly wearied therewith, when the day failing, the bodies of the executed, were burnt in the night, to giue light to passengers; and thirty three *Romane* Bishops successiue from *S. Peter* to *Syluester*, were all martyred, when hundreds, thousands, yea tenne or twenty thousands were slaughtered at once: Lastly, when by the testimony of *S. Hierome* in his *Epistle to Chromatius*

Chromatius

Chromatius, and *Heliodorus*, (if it be his) there was not a day in the yeare to which aboue fūe thousand might not justly be assigned, the *Kalends* of *Ianuarie* only excepted.

Funditur ater ubiq; cruor, crudelis ubique

Luctus, ubique paup & plurima mortis imago.

Piteous lamenting, dreadfull feare, and blood-shed every where,
And many a ghastly shape of death did euery where appeare.

*Lactantius, 5.
11.*

SECT. 4.

Thirdly, in regard of the various and diuvelish meanes and instruments which they deuised and practised for the execution or torture of the poore Christians.

NOW though the *Romane* cruelty sufficiently appeare in the malice of the principall persecutors of the *Christians*, and the infinite number of *Martyrs* that suffered, yet doubtlesse the various and diuvelish meanes and instruments, which they diuised and practised for their dispatch or torture doth more evidently proue it. *Qua autem per totum orbem singuli gesserint enarrare impossibile est. Quis enim voluminum numerus capiet tam infinita tam varia genera crudelitatis?* saith *Lactantius*. *Lib. 5. c. 11.* Those things which in this kinde thorow the world were euery where acted, to recount were impossible. For what number of volumes can containe so infinite and diuerse kindes of cruelty? And againe, *dici non potest huiusmodi indices quanta & quam graua tormentorum genera excogitauerint, ut ad effectum propositi sui pervenirent.* It cannot be expressed, how many and how greivous kindes of torments those Iudges diuised, that they might attaine the end of their purpose. And *Gregory* *Moral. 33. 12.* to like purpose, *Qua penarum genera novimus qua non tum vires Martyrum exercuisse gaudemus?* What kinde of punishment can we conceiue which we reioyce not then to haue exercised the strength of the *Martyrs*? They were burned in furnaces, they were put into vessels of boyling oyle, they were pricked vnder the nayles with sharpe needles, their breasts were seared, their eyes boored, their tongues cut out, they were roasted at a soft fire with vineger & salt powred vpon them, they were throwne headlong downe the mountaines & rocks vpon sharpe stakes, their braines were beaten out with mallets, their bodies were scraped with sharpe shels and the tallents of wild beasts, they were fryed in iron chaires, and vpon grid-irons, their entrals were torne out and cast before their faces, they were crucified with their heads downward, they were hanged by the middles, by the haire, by the feete, their bones were broken with bats, they were torne a sunder with the boughes of trees, and drawne in peeces with wilde horses, they were tossed vpon buls hornes, and throwne to Libards & Lyons; they were couered vnder hogf-meate, and so cast to swine, they were stabbed with penknives, they were dragged thorow the streets, they were fleyd aliue, they were couered in the skins of wild beasts and torne in peeces with dogges, as witnesseth *Tacitus*, they were set to combate with wild beasts, as wit-

1 Cor. 15. 32. nesselth the Apostle of himselfe,
Vulg. En. l. 6.

*Non mihi si centum lingue sint, oraque centum
Ferrea vox, omnes scelerum comprehendere formas,
Omnia penarum percurrere nomina possem.*

An hundred tongues, an hundred mouths, an yron voice had I,
I could not all those torments name, nor kindes of villany.

S E C T. 5.

*Of their extreame cruelty towards others, their very
Religion leading them thereunto, as
witnesseth Lactantius.*

ANd least we should thinke that this cruelty of the *Romanes* towards the *Iewes* & *Cristians* was onely in regard of their Religion, their owne Histories informe vs of the like vpon other Nations, nay their owne very Religion was (it seemes) their strongest motiue & greatest inducement to cruelty: *Nec ullam aliam ad immortalitatem viam arbitrantur, quam exercitus ducere, aliena vastare, delere vrbes, oppida exscindere, liberos populos aut trucidare, aut subijcere seruituti*, saith *Lactantius*, They conceiue there is no other way to immortality but by leading Armies, laying waste other mens Dominions, razing cities, sacking to wnes, rooting out or bringing vnder the yoke of slaue-ry free-borne people. *Si quis unum hominem iugulauerit, pro contaminato & nefario habetur, nec ad terrenum hoc domicilium Deorum admitti eum fas putant, ille autem qui infinita hominum milia trucidauerit, cruore campos inundauerit, flumina infecerit, non modo in templum, sed etiam in calum admittitur, apud Ennium sic loquitur Africanus.*

*Si fas cadendo caelestia scandere cuiquam est
Mi soli caeli maxima porta patet.*

*Scilicet quia magnam partem generis humani extinxit ac perdidit. O quantis in tenebris Africane versatus es, vel potius O Poeta, qui per cades & sanguine patere hominibus ascensum in calum putaveris. Cui vanitati & Cicero assensit, Est vero inquit Africane, nam & Herculi eadem ipsa porta patuit, tanquam ipse plane cum id fieret, janitor fuerit in caelo. Equidem statuere non possum, dolendumne an ridendum putem, cum videam & graves, & doctos, & ut sibi videntur sapientes viros in tam miserandis errorum fluctibus volitari. Si hec est virtus quae nos immortales facit, mori equidem malim quam exitio esse quamplurimis. If a man kill but one, he is held for a villaine, neither is thought fit to admit him to the houses of the Gods heere vpon earth, but he who murders infinite thousands, waters the fields, & dies the rivers with blood, is not onely admitted into the Temple, but into Heauen; Thus in *Ennius* speaks *Africanus*.*

If man by murdering may climbe Heauen, assuredly,

The widest gate of Heauen is open laid for me.
Forsooth, because he had extinguished and made away a great part of mankinde. O with how great darknesse art thou compassed *Africanus*, or rather thou Poet, who thoughtest that by slaughter & blood an

entrance was opened for men into Heauen; yet to this vanity euen *Cicero* himfelfe affents, It is euen fo *Africanus*, faith he; for the fame gate was open vnto *Hercules*, as if himfelfe had then beene a Porter in Heauen when that was done. Truly I cannot well determine whether I fhould rather grieue or laugh when I fee graue & learned, & (as to thefelues it feemes) wife men; fo miferably tossed vp and downe in the waues of Errour: if this be the vertue which makes vs immortall, for mine owne part I professe I would rather die then bee the death of fo many. Yet had this doctrine (as it feemes) generally taken fuch deep roote in the mindes of the *Romanes*, that hee who fhed moft blood was held the worthieft & the holieft man, that is moft like the Gods, and fitteft for their habitation, which is the chiefe reason, as I conceiue, that we reade of fuch wonderfull slaughters committed by them, euen to the astonishment of fuch as haue beene acquainted but with the principles of *Christian Religion*. Within the fpace of feuteene yeares their warres only in *Italy, Spaine, & Sicily* consumed aboue fifteene hundred thoufand men, *Quasvi enim curiofe*, faith *Lypsius*, I haue diligently searched into it. One *Caius Caesar*, *o pestem, perniciemque generis humani*, O plague & mifchiefe of mankind, proteffeth of himfelfe, and boaffeth in it, that hee had flaine in the warres eleuen hundred ninety two thoufand, yet fo as the slaughter of his Ciuill warres came not into that account, but onely during his commaund a few yeares in *Spaine* and *France*. *Quintus Fabius* flew of the *French* one hundred & ten thoufand. *Cajus Marius* of the *Cimbri* two hundred thoufand. *Aetius* one hundred fixty two thoufand of the *Hunnes*. *Polybius* writeth that *Scipio* at the taking of *Carthage* gaue charge that all fhould be put to the fword without fparing any; And then addes, that this was a common fafhion of the *Romans*, *Videntur enim*, faith he, *terroris gratia hoc illi facere, itaque frequenter videre est quando Romani civitates capiunt, non homines modo occidi, sed canes etiam diffecari, & aliorum animalium membra truncari*. It feemes they did it to terrifie others, and therefore it hath beene often feene that the *Romanes* vpon the taking in of a City, not onely flew the men, but alfo cut in funder the dogs, & mangled other liuing Creatures. *Servius Galba* at his being in *Spaine* hauing afsembled the Inhabitants of three cities vnder a pretence of confulting with them about their welfare, on a fudden flew feuen thoufand of them, among whom were the very flowre of their youth. Likewise *Licinius Lucullus* Confull in the fame countrey, put to the fword twenty thoufand of the *Cancei* by the hands of his fouldiers fent into the city againft the exprefle covenants of their rendring. *Octavianus Augustus* hauing taken *Perusia*, facrificed three hundred of the principall Townfmen, which yeelded themfelues (as it had beene beafts) before an Altar erected to *Divus Iulius*, *Anto-* *ninus Caracalla* being incensed againft the citizens of *Alexandria* for fome petty jealts broken vpon him, entering into the city in a peaceable manner, & calling before him all their youth, he furrounded them with armed men, who at the figne giuen, fell instantly vpon them, and flew euery mothers fon of them, & then vſing the like cruelty vpon the refidue of the Inhabitants, hee vtterly emptied a fpacious & populous

S. nec. de Ira l. 2.
cap. 5.

Lypsius admiran-
da l. 4. c. 6.

citty. *Volesus Messalla* Proconsull of *Asia*, tooke off with the axe the heads of three hundred in one day, & then walking in & out among the dead bodies with his hands behind him, as if he had performed some noble act, he cries out, *ò rem verè regiam*, an exploit worthy a Prince. But me thinkes that of *Sulpitius Galba* exceeds them all, who entering into *Portugall* in an hostile manner laid waste the countrey, the Inhabitants wondering thereat, & not knowing the reason, neither being guilty to themselves of any offence, they send Ambassadors to renew their former league, he entertaines them, and seemes to take pittie on them that they were thus afflicted, but it may be, saith he, it was your wants that caused you to make some spoyles & shew of warre, I will remedy the matter, I will range you into three parts, & will seat you in a good & fat soile where you may lead the rest of your life more happily & securely: Come with your wiues & children into such a valley, & there will I assigne you your portions. They miserable people come on joyfully, being ranged into three bands, to the first of which when hee came, he bids them lay aside their weapons, as being now friends & fellowes, which being laide aside, he sets his souldiers vpon them, and kills them all vpon the place, in vaine calling vpon the Gods, & his faith giuen them. The same course he tooke with the second & third band, before the report of his first bloody act could come vnto them.

Neither did their cruelty extend only to men, but to townes & citties. *Sempronius Gracchus*, if we may credit *Polybius*, razing & laying waste three hundred in *Spaine*. *Nec habet omne ævum opinor quod adstruat his exemplis præter nostrum, sed in orbe alio*, saith *Lypsius*. I suppose no age can afford examples matchable to these, except ours, but that in another World, where he instances in the *Spanish* cruelties vpon the naked *Indi-*

Paul. Diac. hist. ans.
misc. l. 13. c. 4.

It is true indeed that *Theodosius* a *Christian* Emperour for a small matter in comparison, caused seaven thousand Innocents of *Theſſalonica* being called together into the Theater, as for the beholding of some playes, to be slaine by souldiers vpon the place, and though hee might well for the present purpose bee numbred among the ancient *Romane* Emperours, yet as a *Christian* I rather choose to excuse him, & that justly, in as much as being admonished by *S. Ambrose* he heartily repented of that bloody fact: & therevpon at the instance of that worthy Prelate made a Law that from thenceforth thirty dayes should passe betwixt the sentence of death and the execution thereof, in as much as the guilty, though spared for a time, might notwithstanding afterwards be executed. But the guiltlesse being once executed, could neuer againe bee restored.

S E C T. 6.

Of their cruelty one towards another by the testimony
of Tacitus and Seneca, and first in
their civill warres.

NOW that which yet much more aggravates the *Romane* cruelty is this, that they were not onely thus hard-hearted towards strangers, but without naturall affection, implacable, mercilesse one towards another, as appeareth partly in their factions & civill warres, partly in the tyrannie of their Emperours & inferiour Gouvernours, & partly in their bloody games & pastimes. What a miserable complaint is that which is made by Tacitus. *Legimus cum Aruleno Rustico Petus Thrasea, Herennio Senesioni Priscus Helvidius laudati essent capitale fuisse, nec in ipsos modo Authores, sed in libros eorum servitum, delegato Triumviris ministerio ut monumenta clarissimorum ingeniorum in comitio ac foro vrentur, scilicet illo igne vocem populi Romani, & libertatem Senatus, & conscientiam generis humani abolere arbitrabantur, Expulsis insuper sapientia professoribus, & omni bona arte in exilium acta, ne quid usquam honestum occurreret. Dedimus profecto grande patientia documentum, & sicut vetus Respub: videt quid ultimum in libertate esset, ita nos quid in servitute: adempto per inquisitiones etiam loquendi, audiendique commercio, memoriam quoque ipsam cum voce perdidissimus, si tam in potestate nostra esset oblivisci quam tacere.* Wee read that when Petus Thrasea was praised by Arulenus Rusticus, and Priscus Helvidius by Herennius Senesio, it was made a capitall crime, neither did their rage extend only to the Authours, but to their bookes. Cōmand being giuen from the Triumviri, that the monuments of those rare wits should be burnt in the pleading & market places. Forsooth in that flame they made accōut at one blaze to extinguish the voice of the people of Rome, & the liberty of the Senate, & the conscience of mankind. Besides the Professours of wisdom & all ingenuous Arts were banished, that nothing carrying the face of honesty might any-where appeare. Then did wee shew a singular example of Patience, & as former ages saw the utmost of liberty, so we of servitude. Moreouer the mutuall commerce of speaking & hearing being by inquisitions abridged, wee had surely lost our memory together with our voyce, had it bin aswell in our power to forget, as to be silent. Yet more pitifull is that sad complaint of Seneca touching his times: *Adeo in publicum missa nequitia est, & in omnium pectoribus evaluit ut innocentia non rara sed nulla sit. Numquid enim singuli aut pauci rupere fidem? undiq; velut signo dato ad falsq; nefasq; miscendum coorti sunt.*

-----Non hospes ab hospite tutus,

Non socer à genero, fratrum quoq; gratia rara est:

Lurida terribiles miscent aconita Noverca,

Imminet exitio vir conjugis, illa mariti,

Filius ante diem patrios inquirat in annos.

Sed quota pars ista scelerum est? Wickednesse is become so common, and

hath taken in all breasts such deep rooting, that innocency is not onely rare, but no-where to be found: Neither haue single persons, or some few onely transgressed the Law, but as it were at the giuing of a signe men are on all sides euery-where risen vp to the blending & confounding of right and wrong.

-- The host his guest betrayes,

Sonnes father in lawes, twixt brethren loue decayes,

Wiues husbands, husbands wiues attempt to kill,

And cruell step-mothers pale poysons fill,

The son his fathers hasty death desires.

And yet how small a part is this of the present villanies.

But the *Ciwill warres* was it which chiefly discovered the bloody & vindictiue disposition of this *Nation*. Before which, as testifieth Saint

Decio. Diu. l. 3.
6.23.

Augustine, their dogges, their horses, their asses, their oxen, & all such beasts as liued vnder the service & for the vse of men, of tame became so wild, that they forooke their mansions & masters, & got them into mountaines & woods, not without the danger of such as offered to reduce them to their former condition. And surely this wildnes of the

Cap. 24.

beasts served as a fore-runner of that fiercenesse & inhumanity which afterwards appeared in their Masters. The sedition of the *Gracchi* being appeased, *Lucius Opimius* Consull executed 3000 as being guilty of that conspiracie by iudiciall proceffe, *ex quo intelligi debet*, saith *S. Augustine*, *quantam multitudinem mortuorum habere potuerit turbidus conflictus armorum quando tantam habuit iudiciorum velut examinata cognitio*. From

Cap. 27.

whence we may probably gather what multitudes died in the confused conflict of Armies, since so great a number was made away by a legall tryall. But *Sylla* was he, who vnder pretence of chastising the out-rages of *Marius*, filled the city with blood. *Illo bello Mariano atque Syllano exceptis his qui foris in Asia ceciderunt, in ipsa quoque vrbe cadaveribus*

vici platea, fora, theatra, templa completa sunt, ut difficile iudicaretur quando victores plus funerum ediderunt vtrum prius ut vincerent, an postea quia vicissent. In the warres of *Marius* & *Sylla*, besides those which were slaine in the fields abroad, in the city it selfe their streets, their market

places, their theaters, their temples were all strewed ouer with carcases, so as it was hard to judge when the Conquerours slaughtered more, either first that they might conquer, or afterwards hauing conquered.

Valerius lib. 9.
24.2.

Sylla alone *quem neq; laudare, neq; vituperare quisquam satis dignè potest, quia dum querit victorias Scipionem se populo Romano, dum exercet, Hannibalem representauit*, whom no man can sufficiently either commend, or dis-

praise, for that in pursuing his victories hee shewed himselfe as another *Scipio* to the *Romane* state, in making vse of them another *Hannibal*, hee alone I say, by his infamous proscription, bereaued the city of foure thousand & seuen hundred Citizens, whose names he commaunded to be registred in the publique Records, *videlicet ne memoria tam praeclara rei dilueretur*, forsooth lest the memory of so notable a fact should be extinguished, neither were they of the baser ranke of the people, there being among them no lesse then one hundred & forty Senatours, besides infinite slaughters committed either by his commaund or permission,

neither

neither did he thus rage against those onely who bore Armes against him, but to the number of the proscribed he added the most peaceable citizens if they were rich, he also drew out his sword against women, as not being satisfied with the slaughter of men, *Id quoque inexplebilis feritatis indicium est*, saith *Valerius*, that was likewise a signe of most vnfatiable cruelty, that hee commaunded the heads of such as he had slaughtered to be cut off & brought into his presence, though retaining neither life nor visage, *ut oculis illa, quæ ore nefas erat manderet*, that he might feed vpon them with his eyes, because with his mouth he could not: the eies of *Marinus* he plucked out before he deprived him of life, & then brake in pieces all the parts of his body, & *Marcus Pletorius* because he fell into a sound at the sight of that execution he comanded presently to be slain vpon the place, *novus punitor misericordiae, apud quem iniquo animo scelus intueri scelus admittere fuit*, a rare punisher of mercy, with whom vnwillingly to behold a wicked act, was to commit wickednesse; but perchance though he thus tyrannized vpon the liuing, he spared the dead, no such matter, for digging vp the ashes of *C. Marinus*, who was sometime *Questor*, though afterwards his enemy, hee threw them into the river *Anien*, *En quibus actis felicitatis nomen sibi afferendum putavit*, behold with what goodly acts he purchased to himself the name of happinesse. *vix mihi verisimilia narrare videor*, I scarce seeme to my selfe to report likelyhoods, saith *Valerius*: And *S. Augustine* tells vs, that some counsell'd him, *sinendos esse aliquos vivere, ut essent quibus possit imperare*: that he should doe well to suffer some to liue, lest there should be none whom he might commaund. And from *Quintus Catulus* he deservedly wrested that bitter speech, *Cum quibus tandem victuri sumus si in bello armatos, in pace inermes occidimus*, with what forces are we likely to vanquish our owne enemies if wee thus kill our own men both armed in warre & vnarmed in peace. And from *Lucan* it drew those excellent verses,

*Aug. de Civit.
Dei lib. 3. p. 28.*

*Sylla quoq; immensis accessit cladibus ultor,
Ille quod exiguum restabat sanguinis urbi
Hauit, dumq; nimis jam putrida membra recidit,
Excessit medicina modum, nimiumq; secuta est
Quæ morbi duxere manus.*

Lib. 2.

After these barb'rous butcheries revengefull *Sylla* came,
The little blood that yet remain'd in Rome he spilt the same,
And whilst he off the rotten parts doth cut, the remedie
Due measure too much doth exceed, his hands the maladic
Pursue too farre.

And that herein he deliuered no more then trueth, or rather indeede came short of it, may sufficiently appeare by this one bloody act; *Sylla* having vpon his credit received to fauour foure *Legions* (which make vp twenty foure thousand) of the aduerse part; he caused them notwithstanding in publique to be cut in peeces, calling in vaine for mercy at his treacherous hand. And when the Senate hearing their groanes and scritch'es stood amazed at it, the satisfaction he giues them, was none other then this. *Hoc agamus Patres Conscripti pauculi seditiosi iussu meo puni-*

Valerius lib. 9

ni-

niuntur: My Lords let's to the businesse, as for the tumult you heare, it is only a few mutinous souldiers are punished at my commaund. Vpon which, *Lyffius* giues this iust censure: *Nescio quid magis hic mirer, hominem id facere potuisse an dicere*: I know not whether of the two I should more wonder at, that a man could either so doe, or so speake. Yet me seemes we need not much wonder at it, since the Senatours themselves were drawne out of the Senate house, as it had beene a prison to execution. Nay *Mutius Scevola*, being both a Priest & a Senatour, was flaine, imbracing the very Altar in the temple of *Vesta*, then which nothing among the Romans was held more sacred, and was like to haue quenched with his blood that fire, which was alwayes kept burning by the care of Virgins: *Quæ rabies exterarum gentium, quæ savitia barbarorum, huic de civibus victoria civium comparari potest*, saith *S. Augustine*: What rage of forraine nations, what cruelty of barbarians was ever comparable to this victory of fellow citizens vpon each other. Yet was the fire of these broyles scarce quenched before the flame burst out afresh in the civill warres, betwixt *Sertorius* & *Catiline*, *Lepidus* and *Catulus*, *Cæsar* and *Pompey*; of which *Lucan*.

De Civit. Dei
l. 3. c. 29.

Lib. 1.

-- *Alta sedent civilis vulnera dextra*

Hæc quantum terra potuit pelagique parari

Hoc quem civiles hausserunt sanguine dextra?

Deepe sticke the wounds which civill armes haue made:

What lands, what seas might haue bin purchased,

Even with that blood which civill warres haue shed:

And againe,

-- *Desuntq; manus poscentibus arvis:*

They wanted hands

For tillage of their lands.

And in another place,

--- *Generis quo turba reducta est*

Humani?

Hard it was to finde

What was become of mankind.

Yet after all this, again vpon the death of *Cæsar* in the Senate the *Triumviri*, *Octavius*, *Lepidus*, and *Antony*, vnder pretence of revenging his death & reforming the state, like the true schollers of *Sylla* ordained the like *proscription* as he had done, proscribing at once the heads of three hundred Senatours, and two thousand *Romane Knights*: Reade *Appian*, & in him a most liuely description of the incredible cruelty of those times, some making themselves away, some flying, some hiding themselves in wells and draughts, servants, & wiues, & children, hanging and howling about their masters, and husbands, and parents, but not able to helpe them: *Hæc scelera quibus nihil acerbius Sol ille vidit visurusque est ab ortu omni ad occasum, peream ego nisi humanitatem ipsam perüsse dicas fero* & *serino illo ævo*, they be the words of *Lyffius* the great patron of the *Romane vertues*. O horrible cruelty, then which the Sunne neuer saw or shall see any thing more greivous from the rising to the fall thereof. Let me not liue, if you would not beleue that humanity it selfe was vterly lost out of the world, in that bloody and barbarous age.

De bellis civi-
lib. 1. c. 14.

De constantia,
lib. 2. c. 24.

SECT. 7.

Secondly, of the cruelty of their Emperours towards their subjects, their Captaines towards their souldiers, their Masters towards their slaves, and generally of their whole nation.

YET within a while after *pax cum bello de crudelitate vertebat & vicis*, peace contended with warre which should be more cruell and overcome: I will instance only in *Tiberius* and *Caligula*, the third and fourth Emperours, and content my selfe only with a part of *Suetonius* his testimony concerning their monstrous cruelties. Touching the first, *specie gravitatis & morum corrigendorum, sed & magis natura obtemperans*, saith he: Under a colour of gravity & reformation, but in truth by a powerfull inclination in his nature he did many such outrageous acts, as it gaue occasion among others to the casting out of these verses on him.

Fastidit vinum, quia iam fuit iste cruorem;
Tam bibit hanc avidè quam bibit ante merum.

He loatheth wine, & now he after blood doth thirst,
Drinks this as greedily as wine he dranke at first.

Nullus à pena hominum cessavit dies, ne religiosus quidem ac sacer, no day was priviledged from executions, no not the most solemne holy dayes. Because *Virgins* by a received custome were not to be strangled, he caused the hang-man first to deflower a *Virgine*, & then to strangle her. He thought death so light a punishment, that when he heard *Cornelius* had by death prevented his tortures, he cryed out, *Cornelius me evasit*, *Cornelius* hath escaped me. His thoughts were so intent vpon nothing else but horrible executions, that having by familiar letters invited a *Citizen* of *Rhodes* to come to him to *Rome*, and being informed of his coming, he commaunded him instantly to be put to the racke, and his error being discovered, to be put to death, least it should be divulged. Having caused men to be drawne on to fill themselves with wine, hee would suddainely commaund their privy parts to be fast bound with lute-strings, that so for want of meanes for avoyding their vrine, they might endure miserable torments.

Caligula, a man of much like temper, succeeded him in the Empire, but in cruelty farre exceeded him. Many of honourable ranke being first branded with infamous markes, he condemned to the mines, or the beasts, or shut them vp like beasts in cages, or sawed them asunder in the midst. And that not for great matters, but either because they had no good opinion of his shewes, or had not sworne by his *Genius*: He forced fathers to be present at the execution of their sons, and to one, excusing himselfe by reason of his sicknesse, he sent his litter for him, inviting him to mirth and iollity. Having recalled one home, who in his Predecessours dayes was sent into banishment, he asked him how hee spent the time while he was abroad, who answered by way of complement, that he incessantly prayed for the speedy death of *Tiberius*, & his

succession to the Empire: wherevpon, conceiving that his banished men
 prayed likewise for his death; he presently dispatched away messengers
 to the Ilands where they liued in exile, commaunding them all to bee
 put to the sword. When he desired that a Senatour should be torne
 in peeces; he hired one, who entring in to the Senate house, should as-
 fault him as an enemy to the state, and stabbing him with stilletoes,
 should leaue him to be torne by others. *Neque ante satius est quam mem-
 bra, & artus, & viscera hominis tracta per vicos atque ante se congesta vidisset.*
 Neither was he satiated before with his eyes he beheld the members &
 bowels of the man dragged thorow the streets and cast before him. Hee
 did not commonly execute any, but with many & soft strokes, his com-
 maund being now generall and commonly knowne: *Ita ferire se mori
 sentiat,* so strike him that he may feele himselfe to die; Being offended
 with the multitude for crossing his desires, he was heard to say, *Vtinam
 populus Romanus unam cervicem haberet,* I could wish the people of Rome
 but one necke, meaning to chop them off at one blowe. He was wont
 openly to complaine of the vnhappy condition of his times, that they
 were not made famous by any publique calamity. That *Augustus* his
 government was memorable by the slaughter at *Varia*; & that of *Tiberius*
 by the fall of the scaffolds at *Fidene*: but his was like to be buried in ob-
 livion, by the calme and prosperous current of all things. And there-
 vpon would he often wish, for the overthrow of his armies, famine, pesti-
 lence, fire, earth quakes and the like, & when he was sporting or feasting
 himselfe, he abated nothing of his inbred and wonted cruelty, but shew-
 ed the same fiercenesse both in his words and deedes: Many times while
 he was dyning were some examined vpon the racke in his presence,
 and other had their heads stricken off. At *Puteoli* at the dedication of
 a bridge, having invited many vnto him from the shore, on the suddaine
 he giues order for the tumbling of them downe headlong into the sea, &
 such as tooke hold of any thing to saue their liues, he causes to be beaten
 off with poles & oares. Being one day very free at a great feast, he sud-
 dainely brake forth into a great slaughter: And the *Consuls*, who were
 next him, demaunding the reason thereof, his answer was, *Quid? nisi
 vna meo nutu iugulari vtrumq; vestrum statim posse,* nothing but this, that at
 a becke from me, both your throates may presently be cut. In the mid-
 dest of his icasts, when standing neere the statue of *Iupiter*, he demaunded
Apelles the *Tragedian*, which of the two, himselfe or *Iupiter* seemed the
 greater; *Apelles* making a pause, he commaunds him to be sliced in pee-
 ces with rods, now and then commending his voyce calling for mercy,
 as being sweetely tuneable in the very groaning. As oft as he kissed the
 necke of his wife or mistresse, he would commonly adde, *tam bona cervix
 simul ac in infero demetur,* so faire a necke may be taken off the shoulders
 when I list: And sometimes he boastingly threatned, that he would wrest
 it out of the heart of *Cassia* his darling with the racke, why he so affecti-
 onately loued her, so as it might truly be said of him, that he was indeed
 none other then *lutum sanguine maceratum*, a lump of clay foked in blood,
 and of his times might iustly be verified, what *Seneca* in his preface to his
 fourth booke of *naturall questions* speaks of *Caius*, *sciebam olim sub illo in e-*

am statum res humanas decidisse ut inter misericordie opera haberetur occidi-
vnder him things were brought to that passe as it was reckoned amongst
the workes of mercy to be slaine.

Neither was this the disposition only of their Emperours, but of their
inferiour governours & officers, happily by imitation of their Emperours:
in masters towards their slaves, in Generalls towards their souldiers, and
generally the whole multitude one towards another. *Vedius Pollio* was
wont vpon every light occasion, as sometimes for the breaking of a
glasse or some such trifle, to cast his slaves into his pond of Lampres,
to be devoured by them: *Vt in visceribus earum aliquid de servorum su-*

orum corporibus & ipse gustaret, saith *Tertullian*; that the entralls of his
Lampres might relish somewhat of the flesh of his slaves: But *Pliny*
giues this censure vpon it: *Invenit in hoc animali documenta sevitie, non*
tantum ad hoc feris terrarum non sufficientibus, sed quia in alio genere to-

tum pariter hominem distrahi spectare non paterat. He found out in this
fish a new kinde of cruelty, not but that the wilde beasts of the earth
were sufficient to effect the same; but because he could in none other
kind behold the whole man to be torne in peeces. Not much infe-
riour to this, was the rigorous cruelty of their Generalls towards the
souldiers, masked vnder the vizar of strict discipline. It is in this kind

a memorable example, that *Senecca* relates of *Piso*, who finding a souldi-
er to returne from foraging without his companion, as if he had slaine
him, whom he brought not backe with him, condemned him to death;
his execution being in readiness, and he stretching forth his necke to
receiue the stroke of the axe, behold in the very instant his compani-

on appears in the place, wherevpon the Centurion, who had the
charge of the Execution, commaunds the Executioner to sheath his
sword, and carries back the condemned souldier to *Piso*, together with
his companion, thereby to manifest his innocency; and the whole ar-

my waited on them with joyfull acclamations: But *Piso* in a rage gets
him vp to the Tribunal, and condemnes both the souldiers, the one for
returning without his companion, & the other for not returning with
him; and herevnto addes the condemnation of the Centurion for stay-
ing the execution without warrant, which was given him in charge, &
thus *constituti sunt in eodem loco perituri tres ob unius innocentiam*: Three

were condemned to die for the innocency of one. In more ancient
times, three of the *Albanes* named *Curii*, combating with three of
the *Horatii Romanes* for the Empire, by consent of both their states,
two of the *Romanes* were vanquished by the three *Albanes*; and the
three *Albanes* againe by one of the *Romanes*, whose sister having mar-

ried one of the *Albanes*, because she wept to see her brother wear the
spoiles of her husband, she was instantly dispatched by him. *Humanior*
huius unius femine quam universi populi Romani mihi videtur fuisse affe-
ctus, saith *S. Augustine*; the disposition of this one woman seemeth to
me more humane then that of the whole body of the people of *Rome*.

Heerevnto may be added that bloody speech, cast forth by the daugh-
ter of *Appius Claudius*, who being crowded by the multitude, as she came
from seeing some publique shew, *Vitium inquit, reus viscat frater, ali-*

Tertullian de
Pallio. 5.
Lib. 9. c. 27.

De Ira. l. 1. c. 26

Senecca Ibid.

Lib. 1. c.

De Civ. Dei
l. 3. c. 14.

Gellius l. 10. c. 6.

amque classem in Siciliam ducat atq; istam multitudinem perditum eat, quam me male nunc miseram convexavit. I wish, saith she, my brother were alive againe, that he might conduct another fleete against *Sicilie*, and so make away this multitude which thus troubles me. Now her brother *Publius Claudius* lately before had lost many thousands of the *Romans* in an expedition by sea against the *Sicilians*, and with them his owne life.

S E C. 8.

Thirdly, of their cruelty one towards another in their sword-fights: In which first is considered the originall and increase of these games, as well in regard of their frequency, as both the number and quality of the fighters.

ANd no marveill this speech should fall from her comming from a publique shew, in asmuch as the whole body of this people made the effusion of humane blood, and the slaughtering of men their common sport and pastime. Some they cast to beasts, some they set to fight with beasts, some to fight one with another. These they called *Gladiatores*, swordplayers, & this spectacle, *munus gladiatorium*, a sword-fight; in which their skill in defence was not somuch regarded or praised, as the vndaunted giving or receiving of wounds, and life vnfearefully parted with: neither mattered it who had the hap to surviue, he being reserved but for another dayes slaughter. And here I shall craue pardon, if I descend a little to particulars, and insift somewhat largely vpon some of them; The matter in it selfe seemes to require it, being no doubt very strange to such as are not acquainted with the *Romane* history, so strange, that in a people so renowned for their morall virtues, it might happily seeme incredible, but that I make it good by the testimony of graue *Authours*, and which is more, their owne: The testimony of any man against himselfe being in reparation of law of sufficient validity, without either legall exception, or iust suspicion. If the *Apostle* judged the testimony of *Epimenides* the *Poet*, forcible against his owne countrey-men the *Cretians*, why should not wee judge the testimony of the most approved *Romane Historiographers, Poets, & Orators* weighty enough, being alleadged against the *Romane Nation*. First then, I will consider the cruelty of the act it selfe, together with some aggravating circumstances. Secondly, the cruell disposition of the people, in entertaining it with that heat and fervencie of affection, as is wonderfull. Thirdly, that the *Christian Religion* was it which first cryed out against it by the pennes of her *Divines*, and then cryed it downe by the edicts of her *Emperours*.

The beginning of these kinde of shewes originally sprang from a superstitious conceite, (suggested no doubt by the common enemy of mankind) of sacrificing with the blood of men for the *Manes* or *Ghosts* of their deceased parents or neere friends. *Iunius Brutus* was the first

we

we reade of that began it in honour of his fathers funeralls, about 500 yeares after the *Cities* foundation. He exhibited to this purpose in the market place, 22 paires of sword-players: *Hoc scilicet erat expiare manes patris, vel potius placare diabolum*, saith *Peter Martyr*: This forsooth was to appease his fathers *Manes*, or rather to please the Devill. After this, they grew so common, that men by their testaments appointed them at their funeralls. Some there are, saith *Seneca*, who vndertake to dispose of matters, even beyond the tearme of their liues, taking order for stately monuments, pompous funeralls, & adrogum munera, and at the end of their funeralls, the exhibiting of sword-fights. And whereas it was in vse only at the funeralls of great men, within a while private men tooke it vp, *privatorum memorijs Legataria editiones parentant*, saith *Tertullian* in somewhat an harsh *African* phrase I confesse, but doubt-^{De Spectac.} lesse his meaning is, that even private mē by legacies in their last wils, provided for these sword-fights, which by the Romans were called *Editiones*. Neither was this vsed at the funeralls of men only, but of women too. *Iulius Caesar* exhibiting it at the death and for the honour of his daughter, which none ever did before him: and so from a small brooke, it increased to a great and mighty sea, and from matter of Religion, became a matter meere of honour in those that gaue it, and of pleasure in those that beheld it. *Transijt hoc genus Editionis ab honoribus mortuorum ad honores viventium*: These shewes passed from the honour of the dead to the honour of the liuing: The *Ediles*, the *Pretors*, the *Questors*, the *Consuls*, the *Priests*, the *Emperours* exhibited them at their birth dayes, at the dedication of publique works & at triumphes, and by degrees they came to set solemne dayes, which they held as festi-^{Tertullian.} vall, and at the last, not the *Magistrates* alone, but private men exhibited them at all times, without difference of persons or dayes. *Iuvenall* speaking of some that of base fellowes were become rich, addes

Munera nunc edunt & verso pollice vulgi

Quemlibet occidunt populariter.

Saty: 13:

Sword-playes they doe bestow, and when they turne the thumbe.

They murder whom they list.

And *Martiall* tels vs of a *Cobler* that exhibited them,

Das gladiatores futorum regule Cerdo,

Quodque tibi tribuit Subila, sica rapit.

Braue king of Coblers, thou sword-players dost maintaine,

And what thine awle doth get, the sword soone spends againe.

The number of sword-players thus exhibited, grew in the end to a multitude incredible. *Cesar* in his *Edileshippe* exhibited three hundred and twenty paire. *Gordianus* sometimes 500, & never lesse then an hundred every moneth. *Traian* by the space of 123 dayes without intermission tenne thousand; but that of *Nero* exceeds all, and almost be-^{Suetonius, c. 12.} liefe it selfe: *Exhibuit ad ferrum quadringentos Senatores sexcentosque Equites Romanos*: He brought forth to the sword-fight foure hundred *Seantours* and six hundred *Romane Knights*. So that in regard of those excessiue number thus wilfully cast away thorow the *Romane Empire*, we may justly complaine with *Lyssius*, *Non temere à funere or-*

tares, quæ revera funus & pestis orbis terræ, credo, imò scio, nullum bellum tantam cladem vastitatemque generi humano intulisse, quam hos ad voluptatē ludos, numerum cum animis vestris recensete dierum quos dixi hominumque, monior, si non unus aliquis mensis Europæ steterit vitæ caputū milibus, aut tricenis. It seemes vpon good reason to borrow its originall from Funeralls; it being in truerh the very funerall and plague of the World; I thinke, nay I know that no warre ever made such havocke of mankind as those games of pleasure. Doe but count the number of dayes & men which I named, & let mee not be credited, if one month sometimes did not cost Europe twenty thousand or thirty thousand heads. Yet was the expence infinite which these bloody games cost the masters of them in hiring, in dyeting, in disciplining, in arming in bringing forth their sword-players, in preparing the Theater & the like. And in this regard as for some noble and meritorious act they had titles & honours bestowed vpon them, & pillars with inscriptions erected to them, and during their shewes they had the power of publique Magistrates. And though those whom they exhibited in these games at first were slaves onely or captives, & ver whom they had *ius vitæ & mortis*, power of life & death, yet afterwards they drew into the same free men, Knights, Senators, yea Histories not onely affirming, that Commodus the Emperour did himselfe play the Gladiator in person, but his Statue in that fashion strake naked with his naked sword in his hand is yet to be seene at Rome in the palace of the Farnese. But that which passeth all bounds of humanity, moderation and modesty is, that Domitian exhibited women in these sword-fights, of which Statius,

in Sylviu.

Stat sexus studis insensq; feræ

Et pugnat caput improbus viriter,

Credas ad Tanaim ferumq; Phasim

Thermodontæas calere iurmas.

Th'vnskilfull sexe not fit for broyles;

In bloody fights to manlike toyles;

You at Tanais would have thought

Or Phasis Amazons had fought.

SECT. 9.

Secondly, of the fervent and eager affection of the people to these games; as also that they were in use in the Provinces, and namely among the Iowes, but refused by the Grecians, and why.

NOW the affection of the people to these bloody games was such, that at the death of a great man they would call for them as due, & mutine if they had them not. The market-places being not able to containe the multitude that flockt vnto them, they had Theaters & Amphitheatres built if not purposely, yet specially for these shewes, which

which places were of incredible both charge & capacity, some one of them being sufficient to hold above a hundred thousand persons, & yet all little enough in regard of the infinite troupes that resorted thither.

Equidem existimo, saith Tully, nullum tempus esse frequentioris populi quam illud Gladiatorium. Oratione pro Sestio,

Truly I thinke there is at no time a greater concourse of the people then at the sword-playes. And againe, *Id autem spectaculi genus erat quod omni frequentia atq; omni genere hominum celebratur, quo multitudo maxime delectatur,* that kinde of shew is it which is most frequented with company of all sorts, & with which the multitude is most delighted. They left all other sports to run to this,

Primo actu placeo cum interea rumor venit

Datum iri gladiatores, populus convolat;

Tumultuantur, clamant, pugnant de loco.

They be the words of the Comickall Poet. My first act pleased them well, when in the meane while a rumor was rais'd that the sword-players were at hand, at which noise the people flocke thither: They strue tumultuously, they cry out, they fight for their places. When the day was set,

they fought the time long before it came, as appeares by that of Seneca,

Quicquid interjacet grave est, tam mehercules quam quando dies gladiatorij muneris dictus est, transire medicas dies volunt. De brevitate uitae

Whatsoeuer falls in between is troublesome, as are the dayes which come between the publishing of the day of the sword-playes & the coming of it. Being assembled, and the sword-players entred the fight,

Trascuntur populus & injuriam putat quod non libenter pereunt, saith the same Seneca, the multitude growes angry and hold it a wrong and scorle done them, if they dye not willingly. De ira lib. 1.

With whō *Lactantius* accords in sense, & almost in words, *Trascuntur etiam pugnantibus nisi celeriter de duobus alter occisus est, & tanquam humanum sanguinem sitiant, oderunt moras.* Lib. 6. c. 20.

They are displeased with the sword-players except one of them be presently slaine: And as if they thirsted for humane blood, they are impatient of delayes. Such as were wounded, and lay weltering in their blood, they desired to be searched; *Ne quis illos simulata morte decudat,* lest any should deceiue them with a fained death. And this was not done onely by men, but by women, by *Virgines*, by *Uirgines* devoted to Religion, by the *Vestall Virgines* themselves.

--- Confurgit ad ictus

Et quoties Victor ferrum iugulo inserit illa

Delicias putat esse suas, pectusq; jacentis

Virgo modesta jubet converso pollice rumpi.

Prudentius.

— Rise vp at every stroke shee must, And whiles into the throat the Victors knife is thrust,

That's th' onely sport, and then the modest Vestall Priest

Turning her thumb commaunds to stab him through the brest.

Besides this, some of them bathed their hands in the blood of the slain, as *Lampridius* obserues in the life of *Commodus*; And which of all is most horrible to imagine, they sucked the reeking blood out of the fresh wounds. For which we haue the testimony of *Pliny*: Now a

dayes, saith he, you shall see them that are subiect to the falling euill to

Lib. 28. c. 21

drinke

drinke the very blood of *Fencers & sword-players* as out of living cups; a thing that when we behold within the same shew-place, *Tigres, Lyons, & other wilde beasts* to doe, we haue it in horreur as a most fearefull and odious spectacle, and these monstrous minded persons are of opinion, that the said blood forsooth is most effectuell for the curing of that disease, if they may suck it breathing warme out of the man himselfe, if they may set their mouth close to the veine, to draw thereby the very heart blood, life and all, How vnnaturall soeuer otherwise it be holden for a man to put his lips so much as to the wounds of wilde beasts for to drinke their blood. So as it seemes they still retained the nature of that *wolfe* which *Romulus* their founder sucked, and as their walls were tempered with blood

Fraterno primi maduerunt sanguine muri

With brothers blood the walls at first imbrewed were.

So were their mindes, And yet as if in all this they had done marvellous well, they proclaimed these *games*, they set vp bills in publique places to signifie the time & the number of the dayes they lasted, together with a list of the names and qualities of the *sword-players*, and sometimes the more to content and provoke the multitude, but too forward of themselves, they set forth and exposed to publique view those *Tragicall sports* in painted tables, artificially done and to the life, which practise was first begun by *Terentius Lucanus*, as witnesseth *Pliny*: All which considered, I haue often wondered at two things, the one that *Sathan* should so farre preuaile vpon this people in blinding their vnderstanding, being otherwise held a wise Nation, & great Professors of *Morality*; the other, that the *Divine Vengeance* should suffer such prodigious Cruelty to passe so long vnravenged: yet *Bodin* rightly and truly obserues, that by Gods iudgement at *Fidene* fifty thousand men beholding a sword-fight, were at once flaine by the fall of a *Theater*: which notwithstanding this foule practise infected most of their *Provinces* and *Colonies*, and so farre wrought it vpon the *Iewes* themselves, that *Agrippa* exhibited vnto them *una commissione paria septingenta*, seuen hundred paires of *Fencers* at one sitting, exceeding therein the *Romanes* themselves. And a kinde of shadow hereof we haue resembled in the 2. of *Samuel* and the 2. *Abner* said to *Ioab*, *Let the young men now arise and play before vs: and Ioab said, let them arise: Then there arose and went ouer twelue of Benjamin by number which pertained to Ishbosheth the son of Saul, & twelue of the servants of David, & euery one caught his fellow by the head, and thrust his sword in his fellowes side, so they fell downe together.* In which combat, saith *Peter Martyr* in his *Commentaries* on the place, their meaning was not to decide the controversie by the event of the conflict, for the sparing of blood as was intended in the duells betwixt *David* and *Goliath*, the *Horatii* & the *Curiatii*, *sed nihil aliud hic quaritur quam ut homines barbarico & belluino more sese mutuo sauciantes & cadentes, spectantium oculos pascere horrendo spectaculo*: Heere they sought for nothing else but that men wounding and killing one another in a barbarous and a beastly manner, and so falling downe dead before them they might feed the eyes of the beholders with an horride spectacle. Now for the

Grati-

Lib 35.7.

Methodo Hist.

5.7.

Tacitus Annal.

4.14.

Iosephus l.19.

Gracians, though it be true that the Athenians indeed desired the sword-plays after the Roman manner, yet Demonax gaue them a short & wise answer, prius evertendam esse aram misericordia quam tanta atrocitas publicè reciperetur, that the Altar erected to Mercy was first to bee demolished before so outrageous cruelty could with reason be admitted.

S E C T. 10.

Thirdly, these bloody spectacles were cryed out against by the tongues and penes of Christian Divines, and then cryed downe by the Lawes and power of Christian Emperours.

BVt after the bright beames of the glorious Gospell of Iesus Christ began to shine through the world, these bloody games were cryed out against by the writings of Christian Divines, and at last cryed downe and vtterly abolished by the power and edicts of Christian Magistrates. Lactantius is full and round in this point, *Qui hominem quamvis ob merita damnatum in conspectu suo iugulari pro voluptate computat, conscientiam suam polluit tam scilicet quam si homicidij quod sit occulte spectator & particeps fiat; hos tamen ludos vocant in quibus humanus sanguis effunditur, adeo longè ab hominibus faceffit humanitas, ut cum animas hominum interficiant ludere se opinentur nocentiores ijs omnibus quorum sanguinem voluptati habeant.* Hee that makes it his pastime to behold a man put to death, though justly deserving it, stains his Conscience as much as if he were guilty of secret murder, yet these they call games in which the blood of men is shed, so farre is manhood abandoned from men, that they thinke it but a sport, being in trueth themselues more worthy to suffer then they, in the shedding of whose blood they thus delight. And before him Cyprian, *Paratur gladiatorius ludus, ut libidinem crudelium luminum sanguis oblectet;* The sword-plays are prepared, that the blood gushing out may satiate the wicked longing of their cruell eyes. And before him againe Tertullian, *Qui ad cadaver hominis communi lege defuncti exhorret, idem in amphitheatro derosa & dissipata, & in suo sanguine squalentia corpora patientissimis oculis desuper incumbit.* Hee that startles at the sight of the Corpes of a man dead by the common course of Nature, most patiently and contentedly beholds them in the Amphitheater mangled and all to be goared with their owne blood. Epist. ad Denatum.

Now as the pens and tongues of the Christians were thus armed against this Monster, so were likewise their Lawes & Swords. Constantine the first Christian Emperour was he that first gaue it a deadly wound. *Vetit Idolis sacrificari, vetuit gladiatorum cadibus pollui vrbes;* Hee forbade sacrificing to Idoles, and the pollution of cities by the slaughter of sword-players. And the Law it selfe we haue inserted into the Code, *Cruenta spectacula in otio civili & domestica quiete non placent, quapropter omnino gladiatores esse prohibemus;* such bloody spectacles in these peaceable time we like not, and therefore straightly forbid all kinde of sword-plays. Yet after this (such was the madnesse of the people vpon them)

S f

that

that they were vehemently desired & brake out by starts, but it was a resolute and worthy answer of *Theodosius* to them earnestly soliciting him for the restitution of these games, *Pium Principem oportet non tantum regnare, sed etiam spectare clementer*; it behooves a religious Prince not only to reigne but to looke mildely and mercifully, that is, not to accuse himselfe to such cruell spectacles. And to the same purpose writes *Prudentius* to *Honorius*. T O E R

Lib. vii. contra
Symachum.

*Iam solis contenta feris infamis arena,
Nulla cruentatis homicidia ludat in armis,
Nullus in urbe cadat cuius sit pena voluptas.*

Th' infamous sand is now with beasts content,
In bloody armes manslaughter is not playd,
Nor pleasure made of death and punishment.

SECT. II.

The Romans being thus cruell towards others, likewise turned the edge of their cruelty vpon themselves, partly by a voluntary exposing themselves to present death in those publique shewes, either for money, or vpon a braverie, or by laying violent hands vpon themselves; which by their gravest writers was held not onely lawfull and commendable, but in some cases honourable.

THUS we see how these bloody shewes had their birth from *Paganisme*, but their death from *Christianity*, yet before we conclude this point touching the *Romane cruelty*, it shall not be amisse to consider how by the just judgment of God, they who were thus barbarously cruell towards others, turned the edge of their cruelty vpon their own breasts, and became likewise most vnmercifull and vnnaturall towards themselves; not onely by a voluntary exposing of themselves to death in their *Theaters*, by encountring with men and beasts, but by holding it lawfull, yea in some cases both commendable and honourable, to lay violent hands vpon themselves, & to cut off the threed and extinguish the lampe of their owne liues. For the first, it is certaine that many of them were well content to sell their liues for money,

--- *Quanti sua funera vendant,*

Quid refert? vendunt nullo cogente Nerone.

What skills it for how much their death they sell:

They sell't, yet them no *Nero* doth compell.

saith *Iuvenal*. and *Mamilius* to like purpose.

Nunc caput in mortem vendunt & funus arena

Atque hostem sibi quisq; parat cum bella quiescent.

In th' Amphitheater to death and slaughter they their head

Doe sell, and seeke out enemies when warres are quieted.

And with this did the *Christians* vpbraide them, *Nec vitæ quidem suæ parant*,

cunt, sed extinguendas publicè animas vendunt, saith *Lactantius*, Neither ^{Lib. 5. c. 9} doe they so much as spare their owne liues, but sell their soules to bee publicquely extinguished, and sometimes they did it vpon a bravery to shew their courage, as appeares by that of *Tertullian* in his exhortation to *Martyrdome*, *Quot otiosos affectatio armorum ad gladiū vocat, cerè ad feras ipsas affectatione descendunt, & de morsibus & cicatricibus formosiores sibi videntur?* How many idle companions onely thorow a vaine affectation of applause are drawne into the sword-fights, nay encounter with wilde beasts, seeming to themselues more beautifull by the scarres and wounds which they there receiue.

Neither did they only thus voluntarily expose their liues for a prize or vaine-glory to the rage of men or beasts, but which was more cruell, their greatest *Clearkes* held it not lawfull only, but commendable, and in some cases honourable, to cut off the threed of their owne liues: Heere-vpon he cries out in the *Tragedie*.

Vbiq; mors est optime hoc cavit Deus,

Eripere vitam nemo non homini potest,

At nemo mortem, mille ad hanc aditus patent.

Death's every-where, God would it so should be,

Life every man from man, death none can take,

A thousand wayes thereto wide open lye.

*Oedipus apud
Sen cam Theb,
act. 1. scen. 1.*

And lest we should thinke this to be but a *Poeticall fiction*, whereby men are made to speake what the *Poet* pleaseth, let vs heare the wisest & worthiest among them speaking in good earnest in this matter. *Quintilian* affirms, that *nemo nisi sua culpa diu dolet*, no man is long in paine or sorrow vnlesse it be thorow his owne fault, meaning that killing himselfe he may be rid of it when he pleaseth. Yea euen *Seneca* himselfe approoues of this selfe-homicide in diuerse places, and though himselfe of a contrary *Sett*, yet he highly cominends that speech of *Epicurus*, *Malum est in necessitate vivere, necessitas nulla est: Quidni nulla sit: patent undiq; ad libertatem via multa, breues faciles, agamus Deo gratias quod nemo in vita teneri potest.* ^{In proemio l. 6.} Indeed it is a misery to liue in necessity, but there is no necessity for a man so to liue, there are many, and short, and easie wayes to free our selues; let vs giue thanks to God that no man can bee compelled to liue whether he will or no. And againe, *Si me quidem velis audire, hoc meditare, exerce te ut mortem & excipias, & si ita res suadebit, a certis, interest nihil an illa ad nos veniat, an ad illam nos.* ^{Epist. 121.} If thou wilt follow my counsell, so prepare thy selfe, that thou mayst entertaine death, nay if need be, thou mayst send for it. For it matters not whether death come to vs, or we goe to death. Yea he mockes and derides those that make any scruple thereof, *bono loco res humanae sunt, quod nemo nisi vitio suo miser est, placet? Vrue: si non placet, licet eo reverti unde venisti,* the condition of our estate in this is happy, that no man is miserable but by his own default: Doth thy life please thee? liue; if it please thee not thou mayst returne when thou wilt frō whence thou camest. And in another place, *Quocumq; respexeris ibi malorum finis est, vides illud precipitem locum? illac ad libertatem descenditur. Vides illud mare, illud flumen, illud puteum? Libertas illic in iruo sedet; vides illam arborem, breuem, horridam, infalicem?* ^{Epist. 70.}

Pender indeliberatas. Vides iugulum tuum, guttur tuum, cor tuum? effugia servitutis sunt. Nimis mihi operosos exitus monstras, & multum animi atq; roboris exigentes. Queris quod sit ad libertatem iter? qualibet in corpore toto vena.

Which way soever thou lookest, there is an end of all evils to be found. Dost thou see an high and steepe place? by falling down from it, thou shalt fall into liberty. Seest thou such a sea, or such a river, or such a pit? liberty lies in the bottome of them, if thou haue the heart to cast thy selfe into them. Dost thou see a tree whereon others haue beene hanged? there hangs liberty, if thou wilt hang thy selfe. Dost thou see thine owne necke, throate, heart? they are all places of escape to flie from bondage. Are these too hard and painefull meanes to get out, & wouldest thou yet know the way to liberty? Every veine in thy body is a way to it. To conclude this point, *Pliny* would haue vs belecue that our mother earth having pittie on vs, doth bring forth poysons to dispatch our selues out of this wretched world with an easie draught, without wounding the bodie, or shedding the blood, when there shall be due occasion. And to this purpose, the fact of *Cato* & *Pomponius Atticus*, are by their *Historians* highly commended, as is likewise that of *Rafias*, by the Authour of the bookes of *Macchabees*, as a manfull and noble act. But among *Christians*, though it be sometimes practised, yet it is not taught by them; nay by the *Christian* religion, it is straightly forbidden & condemned, and so farre as punishment may light vpon the dead, it is punishable, not only by the *Common*, but by the *Cannon* & *Civill Lawes*. The *Romanes* are generally much commended for their *courage*, their *wisedome*, their *iustice*: But I would demaund what *courage* it is for a man to runne away from misery, that he may not grapple with it or looke it in the face? What *Wisedome*, to cominend their cittizens for dispatching themselnes at their owne pleasure, so robbing the state of a member, and perchaunce a very serviceable one, such as *Cato* was? What *iustice*, that men either thorow weakenes of mind, or strength of passion not alwayes capable of reason, should be permitted to giue sentence, and doe execution vpon themselues? And least we should thinke that this was the onely vice this *Nation*, (somuch renowned for civility and vertue) was subject vnto; I will likewise in passing touch their *Covetousnesse*, which was in truch insatiable, and then take a larger view of their *luxurie*, spreading it selfe into many branches, but all of them *most excessive*, & were they not recorded by their *owne writers* almost *incr edible*.

CAP. 5.

Of the excessive Covetousnesse of the Romanes, and their insatiable thirst, of having more, though by most vnjust and indirect meanes.

SECT. i.

Of the excessive covetousnesse of the Romanes in generall, by the testimonies of Petronius Arbitr, Iuvenall, Galgacus, and Hanniball; and in particular Cæcilius Claudius, Marcus Crassus, and specially Seneca the Philosopher are taxed for this vice.

THe rapine and covetousnesse of the Romanes was such, that being Lords in a manner of all the knowne world, yet therewith they rested not content.

*Orbem jam totum Victor Romanus habebat,
Qua mare, qua tellus, qua sydus currit vitrumque,
Nec satiatus erat,*

Petronius Arbitr.

Now the victorious Romane all the world had won,
Sea, land, and all where both the starres their course doe
Yet was not satisfied. (runne,

These are they, whom braue *Galgacus* in the life of *Iulius Agricola* 'justly stiles *Raptores orbis*, vnjust robbers of the world, who having left 'no land, saith he, to be spoyled, search also the sea, whom not the 'East nor West haue satisfied: To take away by maine force, to kill 'and to spoile falsely they call Empire, and when all is laid waste as a 'wildernes, that they call peace. This vnquenchable desire of theirs, *Hanniball* likewise both truly and wittily expressed; before whom, when *Antiochus* mustered a great army prepared against the *Romanes*, richly furnished with weapons inamiled, ensignes, saddles, bridles, and trappings, imbossed and imbrodered with gold and silver, being demaunded by the King, whether all that gallant shew were not sufficient for the *Romanes*, his answere was short but sharpe, taxing aswell the Cowardize of *Antiochus* his souldiers, as the covetousnes of the *Romanes*: *Plana satis esse credo Romanis hac etsi avarissimi sint*, yes truly I beleue heere is enough for the *Romanes* though they be most excessiuely couetous. But this honour of theirs afterwards increased infinitely, as appears by that of *Iuvenall*,

*Vberior nunquam vitiorum copia, nunquam
Maior avaritia patuit sinus.*

Iuven. Sat. 1.

Was never yet more plenteous store of vice,
Nor deeper gulfe lay ope of avarice.

And *Manilius*,

*Nullo votorum sine beati,
Victuros agimus semper, nec vinimus unquam.*

Lib. 4.

Never contented with our present state,
 We're still about to live, but live not till too late:
 Every man sayth he wishing for that he hath not, but making no reckoning of that he hath.

Nec quod habet numerat tantum quod non habet optat

Pliny, l. 33. c. 10

For particulars, *Pliny* tells vs, that when *Asinius Gallus* & *Martius Censorinus* were Consuls died *Cecilius Claudius*, who signified by his last will & testament, that albeit he had sustained exceeding great losse during the troubles of the civill warres, yet he should leave behind him at the thoure of his death, of slaues belonging to his retinew foure thousand one hundred & sixteene, in oxen three thousand and six hundred yoke, of other cattell two hundred fifty seaven thousand, and in ready coine, ^hthree score millions of *sesterces*, besides a very great summe he set out for defraying his funerall charges. And for *Marcus Crassus*, the same Authour in the same chapter affirms, that he was wont to say, that no man was to be accounted rich and worthy of that title, vnlesse he were able to despend by the yeare, asmuch in reueneue, as would maintaine a legion of souldiers. And verily, saith *Pliny*, his owne lands were esteemed worth two hundred millions of *sesterces*; and yet such was his avarice, that he could not content himselfe with that wealthy estate, but vpon an hungry desire to haue all the gold of the *Parthians*, would needs vndertake a voyage against them; in which expedition hee was taken prisoner by *Surinas*, Lieutenant Generall for the King of *Parthia*, who stroke off his head, and powred gold melted into his mouth to satisfie his hunger after it. But I most wonder at *Seneca* the Philosopher, who every where in his writings bitterly inveighs against these covetous desires, & yet within foure yeares space gathered he three thousand times three hundred thousand *sesterces*, which amounts in our coyne to 2343750 pounds, and in casting vp this summe, both the

Tacitus, *Annal.* 13. c. 10.

De ponderibus, 6. 19.

Translatour of *Tacitus* his *Annales*, and Master *Brerewood* precisely accords. And whatsoever faire pretence he make in his bookes of mortification and contempt of the world, yet certaine it is, that beside this masse of treasure, he had goodly farmes in the countrey, as appeares by his owne *Epistles*, and in the city spacious gardens, & princely sumptuous palaces, the one mentioned by *Iuvenall. Sat. 10.*

Seneca praeuicit hortos:

The gardens of *Seneca* the rich:

The other by *Martiall. lib. 4. Epigram. 40.*

Et docti Seneca ter numeranda domus:

Three houses of *Seneca* the learn'd.

SECT. 2.

*Of their wonderfull greedinesse of gold, manifested by their
great toyle and danger in working their mines, fully
and lively described by Pliny.*

BVt that which much more aggravates this vice of the *Romanes* is, that commonly they gathered their riches either by violent rapine, extortion, & oppression, or by cunning flights, & base practises, or lastly by the infinite toyle of such as therein they employed, not without the indangering of the liues of many thousands. I will begin with the last, and that I may the more cleerely and effectually expresse, I will deliver it in the words of *Pliny*, where he thus speaks of the earth, Lib. 12. c. 63.
 torne and rent in sunder for rich mettals and precious stones. The milvsages, saith he, which she abideth aboue and in her outward skin, may seeme in some sort tollerable, but we not satisfied therewith, pierce deeper and enter into her very bowells; wee search into the veines of gold & silver, we mine & digge for copper & lead mettals, and for to seeke out gemmes & some little stones, we strike pits deepe within the ground. Thus we plucke the very heart-strings out of her, and all to weare on our finger one gemme or pretious stone. To fulfill our pleasure & desire, how many handes are worne with digging & delving, that one joynt of our finger might shine againe. Surely, if there were any Devils beneath, ere this time verily these mines (for to feede covetousnes & riot) would haue brought them vp aboue ground. And againe in his proeme to his 33 booke, we descend, saith he, into her entralls, we goe downe as farre as to the seate & habitation of infernall spirits, and all to meete with rich treasure, as if the earth were not fruitfull enough, & beneficiall vnto vs in the vpper face thereof, where she permitteth vs to walke and tread vpon her. Now the infinite toyle, the fearefull and continuall danger of these workes, he notably describeth in the fourth chapter of the same booke. The third manner of searching of this mettall is, saith he, so painefull and toylefome, that it surpasseth the wonderfull worke of the *Gyants* in old time. For necessary it is in this enterprize and businesse to vndermine a great way by candle light, and to make hollow vautes vnder the mountaines, in which labour the *Pioners* worke by turnes, successiuely after the manner of a releife in a set watch, keeping every man his houres in iust measure, and in many a moneths space, they neuer see the sunne nor day-light. This kinde of worke & mines they call *Arrugia*; wherein it falleth out many times, that the earth aboue head chinketh, and all at once without giving any warning setleth & falleth, so as the poore *Pioners* are overwhelmed & buried quicke: yet say, they worke safe enough, and be not in jeopardy of their liues by the fall of the earth, yet be their other difficulties which impeach their worke: For other whiles they meete with rockes of flint and ragges, which they are driven to cleaue & pierce thorow with fire & vineger,

‘vineger, yet for feare of being stifled with the vapour arising from
 ‘thence, they are forced to giue over such fire-workes, & betake them-
 ‘selues oftentimes to great mattocks & pickaxes, yea and to other
 ‘engines of iron, weighing one hundred & fiftie pound a peece, where,
 ‘with they hew such rockes in peeces, & so sinke deeper & make way
 ‘before them. The earth and stones which with somuch adoe they
 ‘haue thus loosed, they are faine to carry from vnder their feete in
 ‘scuttles and baskets vpon their shoulders, which passe from hand to
 ‘hand evermore to the next fellow. Thus they moyle in the darke
 ‘both day & night in these infernall dungeons, and none of them see
 ‘the light of the day, but those that are last, & next vnto the pits mouth
 ‘or entry of the caue. Howbeit, be the rocke as ragged as it will, they
 ‘count not that their hardest worke: For there is a certaine earth re-
 ‘sembling a kind of tough clay, which they call white Lome; this be-
 ‘ing intermingled with gravell or gritty sand, is so hard baked toge-
 ‘ther, that there is no dealing with it; it so scorneth and checketh all
 ‘their ordinary tooles & labour about it, that it seemeth impenetrable.
 ‘What doe the poore labourers then? They set vpon it lustily with i-
 ‘ron wedges, they lay on load vncessantly with mighty beetles, & ve-
 ‘rily they thinke there is nothing in this world harder then this la-
 ‘bour, vnlesse it be this vnfatiable hunger after gold, which surpas-
 ‘seth all the hardnes & difficulty that is.

‘Now notwithstanding the great danger and toyle of those workes,
 ‘infinite was the number which the *Romanes* employed therein, as may
 ‘in part appeare by the same Authour in the same chap: Here sayth he,
 ‘commeth to my remembrance an *Act* of the *Censors* extant vpon re-
 ‘cord, as touching the gold mine of *Ictimulum* a towne in the territory
 ‘of *Verselles*, which act contained an inhibition, that the *Publicanes*, who
 ‘farmed that mine of the *Citie* should not keepe aboue five thousand *Pi-
 oners* together at worke there: By which restraint it should seeme, that
 ‘their vsuall practise was to keepe more, and this haue wee by *Polybius*
 ‘fully cleared, affirming that in the *Spanish* mines at *New Carthage*, no
 ‘lesse then forty thousand men were daily employed.

S E C T. 3.

*Their vnmercifull pilling and poling, robbing and
 spoiling the provinces, not sparing the ve-
 ry temples and things sacred.*

YEt had all this beene in some sort tollerable, had they not here-
 vnto added the pilling & poling, the robbing & spoiling of their pro-
 vincials; sometimes by open force & rapine, but commonly vn-
 der the colorable pretences of tributes or Fees. *Demades* was wont to
 say when he was advanced to any place of government; *ad auream mes-*
sem se venisse, that he was come to a golden harvest; and this was surely
 the conceite of the *Romane Presidents* when they went to their charges
 every one like another *Iason*, promised to himselfe the bringing backe
 of

of a golden fleece, these were in truth those *Harpyes*.

--- *Quarum decerpitur unguibus orbis,
Quæ pede glutineo quæ tetigere trahunt.*

Rutilius: Itiner.
1.

Whose claws spoyle all the world, whose glewie feet
Draw to themselves what ere they touch or meet.

That which *Cicero* charged *Verres* with, in the government of *Sicilie*, was doubtles the common practise of them all in like places; as in part appeares by the conclusion of *C. Gracchus* his speech to the people after his returne to *Rome* from the government of *Sardinia*, as *Gellius* relates it; the bagges, saith he, which I carried forth with me full of money, I brought backe emptie; whereas others returned home those barrels full of silver, which they sent forth filled with wine. They had officers vnder them for their collecting of their tributes, whom they named *Publicanes*, which word wee haue still retained in our *Gospells*; but so as it there appeares, they were an odious kind of people, by reason of their vnjust and vnmercifull exactions; whence some (though improperly in regard of the word, yet not impertinently in regard of their snarling and biting conditions) haue stiled them *Publicani, quasi publici canes*, and if these were *dogges*, surely the *Presidents* themselves were *wolues & lyons*, not leaving the bones till the morrow, as the Prophet *Zephany*, 3. 3. describes the *Princes & Iudges* of *Israel*. One of them while he was yet trembling at *S. Paulus* sermon touching *Righteousnesse, temperance, &c* the *iudgement* to come, yet such a corrupt habit had he gotten, that even then he groped him for a bribe, though a man most vnlikely to afford it, as well in regard of his doctrine and profession, as his poore estate. But some where haue I read of this vnhappy *Felix*, that hee was *inexplebilis avaritia gurgis*, an vnfillable gulfe of covetousnes. Such a one, I am sure, was *Sylla*, who raised out of the lesser *Asia* alone, twenty thousand talents yearely: Yet *Brutus & Cassius* went farther, forcing them to pay the tribute of tenne yeares within the space of two, and *Anthony* in one; by which computation they payd in one yeare two hundred thousand talents, a mighty summe. *L. Paulus* held one of their best citizens, pretending to make the *Epirotes* free, as were the *Macedonians* whom he had conquered, vnder that pretence, calling out tenne of the chiefe of every city, he advised them to bring forth their gold & silver, which done, he divided his cohorts among them, & gaue in charge to the *Tribunes & Centurions* what his pleasure was: In the morning his commaund was executed by the Townesmen, and at foure of the clocke signe was given to his souldiers for the sacking of the Townes. *Tantaque præda fuit, sayth Livie, ut in equitem quadringenti denarij, pedestibus ducem dividerentur*: So great was the spoyle, as there fell to the share of an horse-man foure hundred denarij, and of a foote-man two hundred. Nay, in *Italy* it selfe *Plemminius* Lieutenant to *Scipio Africanus* proceeded so farre vpon the *Locreans*, over whom he was set with a garison, that he abstained not from sacrilege, neither did he spoyle other Churches alone, but that of *Proserpina*, robbing & carrying away, intactos omni ætate thesauros, treasures till then untouched. These were strange outrages, that of *Galba* was indeede lesse outrageous but more

T t

base,

Lib. 8.

Sueton. c. 54.

base, he being *Proconsull* in Spaine vnder Nero, the *Taraconians* sent him for a present a Crowne of gold, affirming that it weighed fiftene pounds. Hee received it, & causing it to be weighed, found it to want three pound, which he exacted from them: *Postposito omni pudore*, sayth *Fulgosus*, laying aside all shame, as if it had beene a due debt. And to shew he was no changeling, even after his comming to the *Empire*, hee gaue with his owne hand to a certaine musician that pleased him, out of his owne purse 20 *Sesterces* about three shillings *English*, & to his steward at the making vp of his bookes, a reward from his table. This was base, but that of *Iulius Caesar* most dishonest, who in his first *Consulship* stole out of the *Capitoll* three thousand weight of gold, laying vp as much gilded copper instead thereof. He sacked in an hostile manner certaine townes of the *Portugals*, though they disobeyed not his commaunds, but freely & friendly opened their gates vnto him for his entrance. In France he robbed the *Oratories & Temples* of the Gods, stored with rich offerings & ornaments, & laid waste their *Cities*, *Sapius ob prædam quam ob delictum*, saith *Suetonius*, oftner for loue of booty then for any offence by them committed, and afterwards supplied the expence of his civill warres, his triumphes, his shewes to the people, *evidentissimis rapinis & sacrilegijs*, by most notorious pillaging & sacrilege. And no inarveill, since as witnesseth *Cicero* in the third booke of his Offices, he had alwayes that of *Euripides* in his mouth.

Si violandum est ius, imperij gratia,

Violandum est:

If right for ought a man may violate,

'Tis for a kingdome.

And I see not, but that he might as safely hold that justice is to be violated for treasure, by which *Empire* is to be gotten & maintained, as for *Empire* it selfe.

SECT. 4.

Of the base and most unconscionable practises of Tiberius and Caligula, nay even of Vespasian himselfe for the heaping up of treasure.

Tac. Annal. 15.
11.

Seneca Epist.
95.

NOW if this were the opinion & practise of *Iulius Caesar*, what should we expect from *Nero*, *Tiberius*, & *Caligula*, of whom the first wasted *Italy* by contributions and borrowing of money, ruined the provinces, and impoverished the confederates of the people of *Rome*, and the citties which were called free: Yea the Gods themselves were not privileged from being made a prey: But the temples in the city were robbed, & the gold carried away, which the people of *Rome* in all ages, either in triumphes or voves, in prosperity or feare had dedicated to the Gods: Yea in *Achaia & Asia* not onely consecrated gifts, but the images of the Gods were taken away, *Acratus* and *Secundus Carinates* being sent thither of purpose. The second being presented with a goodly fish, he sent it to be sold in the market, and being designed

signed here by *Cn. Lentulus* one of the *Augures*, and a man of great re- Suet. cap. 49
 newnes, neuer left him till thorow feare and anguish hee had brought
 him to his graue. Also to pleasure *Quirinus* who had bene *Censull*, a
 wonderfull rich man, but childlesse, in hope to be his heire, he condem-
 ned his wife *Lepida* a noble and worthy Lady divorced from her hus-
 band after twenty yeares marriage, and accused of contriuing his death
 by poyson long before. *Vennon* likewise King of *Parthia*, who being dri-
 ven out of his owne Kingdome, and betaking himselfe to the trust of
 the people of *Rome*, came to *Antiochia* with infinite treasure, he caused
 most perfidiously to be robbed both of it and his life, and of his life for
 it.

Verum ut hoc in eo horrenda fuerunt, ita quæ sequuntur dedecoris plena, as
 these things in him were horrible, so were those that followed most ab-
 ominable and shamefull, saith *Fulgosius*, in reference to *Caligula*, the suc-
 cessour to *Tiberius* aswell in vice as Empire. Some with threats he for-
 ced to name him their Heire, and if they recovered after the making of Sueton. c. 38. &
in sequentibus.
 their wils, he dispatched them by poyson, holding it ridiculous that
 they should long liue after their wils were made. For the bringing
 in of money he set vp stewes both of boyes & women in the palace it
 selfe, and sent some thorow the streetes to invite men thither for the in-
 creasing of the *Emperours* reuenues, and hauing by this and such like
 wretched meanes amassed huge summes of treasure, he to satiate his ap-
 petite *contractanda pecunia cupidine incensus*, being inflamed with a long-
 ing desire of touching money, would sometimes walke vpon heapes of
 gold, and sometimes as they lay spred abroad in a large roomie, rolle
 himselfe ouer them starke naked. *O ingentem nimiamque avaritiam quæ
 in tanto imperio tantum Principem excacatum in eam vilitatem abiectionemq;
 deduxisti, ut neque dedecus suum, neque imperii ignominiam agnosceret*, saith
Fulgosius, most transcendent & excessive covetousnes which blinded so
 great a Cōmander, & cast him into such extremity of basenes as to be-
 come a publike Pander & a poysoner for loue of mony, which no inge-
 nuous minded man though pressed with extreame necessity would pra-
 ctise though in private.

But this was in these *Monsters* no miracle, I more wonder at *Vespasian*,
 who had the reputation (perchaunce by reason of their villany) of a
 good *Emperour*, yet euen he was so impotently covetous, that hee not Suet. c. 18.
 onely called for the arreareages due in *Galbaes* time, but raised new tri-
 butes, & laid vpon the Provinces more grievous impositions, doubling
 them in some places, *Negotiationes vel privato pudendus propalam exercuit*,
 he publicquely practised such kinde of traffick; as euen a private man
 would shame to doe; taking vp commodities at a cheap hand, that af-
 terward he might vent them at dearer rates: neither did he spare to sell
 honours to such as sued for them, or absolutions to such as were accu-
 sed, whether they proued guiltlesse or guilty, hee was thought of set
 purpose to haue made choice of the most ravenous poling officers hee
 could any-where finde out, and to haue advanced them to the highest
 places, that being thereby growne rich, hee might condemne
 their persons, and confiscate their goods, and these men hee was com-

monly said to vse as sponges, *Quod quasi & siccos madefaceret, & exprimeret humentes*, because he both moistned them being dry, and wrung them out being moistned. Nay which was more base, he laid an imposition vpon *urine*, and being by his son *Titus* put in minde of the baseness of it, he tooke a peece of money receiued for that vse, and putting it to his sonnes nostrils, demaunded of him whether he felt any other sauour from it then from any other money, adding withall, *Bonus odor lucri ex re qualibet*, the smell of gaine is good from any thing whatsoever.

S E C T. 5.

That the whole Nation was deeply infected with the same vice.

Lib. 7. de Pro-
uoc. 11.

Lib. 36.

Lib. dec. 1. 13

Offic. 3.

Lib. 3. 39.

Iuven. Sa. 3.

And to speake a truth, the whole body of this people was so farre possessed with this dropsie, that *Salvianus* makes it their Nationall disease, *Avaritia inhumanitas proprium Romanorum malum*, inhumane covetousnesse is the disease proper to all the Romanes. And with him accords *Mishridates* in *Iustin*, *Non temerè se lupi uerberibus alios jactare, omnes enim habere lupoꝝ animos inexplebiles, sanguinis, imperij, diuitiarumque avidos esse & jejunos*, that they did not without reason boast themselves to be nourished from the dugg of a shee wolfe, inasmuch as they haue all of them insatiable mindes of wolues, greedily thirsting after Empire, bloud and riches. And this well appeared in two publique Acts of theirs, the one was, that a peece of Land being in controversie betweene the *Ardeatines* and the *Aricinians*, they both by joint consent referred themselves to the arbitration of the *Romanes*, binding themselves to stand to their award: but they adjudg'd it to themselves. The other was that the *Senate* hauing taken great summes of money of certaine tributary Cities to make them free, forced them afterward to pay their old tribute without restoring vnto them the money they had paid for their freedome; which saith *Cicero* was *turpe imperio*, a shame to their Empire; *Piratarum enim melior fuit fides quam Senatus*, for the faith of pirates was better then the faith of the Senate. This was most dishonest, yet I know not whether that which followes were not more dishonourable. Their greatest men tooke to farme their basest tributes before mentioned, & worse then those, yea and sued for them, *Non aliter quam militarem aliquam praefecturam aut civilem Magistratum*, they bee the words of *Euagrius*, none otherwise then it had beene some great Command in the warres, or some principall office in the City. And *Iuuenal* speaking of those who from small matters were raised to great fortunes thus describes them.

*Conducunt foricas, & cur non omnia: cum sint
Quales ex humili magna ad fastigia rerum
Extollit quoties voluit fortuna jocari.*

They draughts (and why not all things else?) doe hire,
Being such as fortune when she would be merrie,

To

To highest place doth raise from lowest mire.

What marvell then if *Seneca* complaine, *Hæc ipsa res tot magistratus tot ju-* *Epist. 116.*
dices detinet quæ Magistratus & Iudices facit pecunia. This selfe-same thing
 which keepe in so many Magistrates and Iudges, In their places,
 is it which makes both Magistrates and Iudges, to wit, money; *Mercato-*
resq; & venales invicem facti, quarimus non quale sit quid sed quanti, & be-
 ing become Merchants on all hands, we seeke not so much of what qua-
 lity things are, but of what price. And all kinde of offices being thus
 purchased with money, as the places of Iudicature were commonly
 bought, so was Iustice openly sold. *Omniū sermone percrebuit in his ju-*
dicijis quæ nunc sunt, pecuniosum hominem, quamvis sit nocens, neminem posse
damnari, saith *Cicero*. It is rise in euery mans mouth in these Courts of
 Iustice, which now are, that a monied man, though he bee guilty cannot
 be condemned: and againe, *nihil tam sanctum quod non violari, nihil tam*
munitum quod non expugnari pecunia possit: there is nothing so sacred
 which with money may not be violated, nothing so fenced which may
 not be razed. Nay *Catiline* could say of *Rome*, *o urbem venalem & maturæ*
perituram si emptorem inuenerit! O mercenary city and soone to bee ru-
 ined by sale if it might finde but a Chapman. *Satisf.*

Not without reason then haue some found in the word *ROMA*, *Ra-*
dix Omniū Malorum Avaritia, Covetousnesse is the roote of all mis- *1 Tim. 6. 10.*
 chiefe, taking the first letters of those wordes as they lye in their order
 for the making vp of that name. And not without proper signification *Cap. 39. v. 22.*
 did *Rome* take to her selfe the Eagle for her Ensigne, which as *Iob* speak- *29. 30.*
 eth, dwelleth and abideth on the rock, upon the cragge of the rocke & the strong
 place: from thence she seeketh the prey, and her eyes behold a farre off, her young
 ones also suck up blood, and where the slaine are, there is he. So as generally
 might be verified of them, what *Claudian* writes of *Ruffinus*.

*Plenus sevitia, lucrique cupidine fervens,
 Non Tartarsiacis illum satiaret arenis
 Tempestas pretiosa Tagi, non stagna rubentis
 Aurca Pactoli, totumque exhauserit Hermum
 Ardebit majore siti.*

Greedy of filthy gaine, and full of cruelty,
 Nor can Tartessian sands him of the pretious Tage,
 Or golden streames of red Pactolus satisfie,
 Might he all Hermus drink his thirst the more would rage.

Or *Strozza* of *Scaurus*.

*Scaurus habet villas, urbana palatia, nummos,
 Pinguiæque innumeris prædia bobus arat:
 Huic tamen assidue maior succrescit habendi
 Nunquam divitijs exsatiata fames.*

Scaurus hath farmes, coine, cities, palaces,
 With many an ox he fertile fields he plowes:
 Yet wealth his hunger neuer satisfies,
 But his desire to haue still greater growes.

C A P. 6.

Of the Romane Luxury in matter of Incontinency and Drunkenesse.

S E C T. 1.

A touch of the Romane Luxurie in generall,
and in particular of the sins of the flesh.

NOW as the Romane Covetousnes was insatiable, & their cruelty unquenchable: so was their Luxury most incredible; were it not recorded by their owne Writers.

iv. vii. Sat. 6

*Nunc patimur longa pacis mala, se vior armis
Luxuria incumbit, victumque ulciscitur orbem,
Nullum crimen abest facinusque libidinis ex quo
Paupertas Romana perit.*

Now suffer we the plagues and mischiefs of long peace;
Now is the conquer'd world reveng'd by luxurie,
Far worse then armes, and since Rome's poverty did cease,
There wanteth no attempt or crime of lecherie.

33. 1.

Pariterque & luxuria nata est, & Carthago sublata, saith Pliny, no sooner was Carthage vanquished by vs, but we by luxurie: and these two covetousnesse and luxurie mutually made way each for other:

Man. lib. 4.

Luxuriamque lucris emimus luxuque rapinas.

We draw on luxurie by vnjust gaine,
And rapine by luxurie is drawne on againe:

Eiusmodi tempora constat à Tacito in annalibus esse descripta quibus nulla unquam fuerunt turpissimis vitijis scdiora, neque aut virtutum steriliora, aut virtutibus inimiciora, as witnesseth Causabon in his preface to Polybius: It is evident that those times are by Tacitus described in his *Annals*, then which neuer were any more fruitfull in most shamefull and abominable vices, or of vertues more barren, or to vertue more opposite: The branches of the Romane luxurie were monstrous excesse in all kinde of uncleannesse & incontinency, in diet, in apparell, in retinew of servants, in buildings & furniture of their houses, in bathings & anoinings of their bodies, in prodigall gifts, and lastly, in setting forth their playes & Theatricall shewes. I am not ignorant that Meursius a Netherlander hath composed an entire booke purposely of this subject, intituling it, *De luxu Romanorum*, of the Romane Luxurie, and concluding it with this censure, *damno, damno luxum vestrum Romani, & in hac sententia concludo*, O ye Romanes, I damne I damne your Luxury, and with this sentence I conclude: yet is it certaine that hee hath omitted many materiall Collections which might haue beene added, and the most obserueable in him I shall not faile to make choice and vse of. First then for their excesse in the sinnes of the flesh it is evident that they acted more then is now commonly knowne to Christians, and I rather desire the foulennesse thereof should be eternally

nally buried in oblivion, then by exposing it to publique view defile my penne with it, and perchance teach whiles I reprehend. The *Apostle* in the first to the *Romanes* hath given vs a touch thereof; yet so as no doubt but hee concealed much that he knew, and many things by them were practised, which came not to his knowledge. Though this infection were so generally spread, & had taken so deepe root amongst them, that they made but a jest of the foulest sinnes in that kinde. They had certaine pastimes, which they tearmed *Ludos Florales*, in honour of *Flora*, a notorious strumpet. *Qui ludi tanto deuotius quanto turpius celebrari solent*, saith *S. Augustine* in his second booke de *Civitate Dei*, and 27 chapter; which games of theirs the more dishonestly, the more devoutly they were celebrated. In these the common queanes, which got their maintenance by that trade, ran vp & downe the streetes by daylight, & in the night with burning torches in their hands, having their whole bodies starke naked, and expressing the most beastly motions & gestures, and vttering the most filthy speeches & songes that could possibly be imagined. To these the *Piet* alludes.

Alexander ab Alexandro 6. 8:

*Turba quidem cur hos celebret meretricia ludos,
Non ex difficili cognita causa fuit.*

Ouid. Fastor. 5:

Why queanes these playes doe celebrate I trow,
'Tis not so difficult the cause to know.

Yet to these shamefull, or rather shamelesse pastimes were their youth admitted, thereby adding, as it were fire to tinder, nay their sagest *Senatours*, gravest *Matrones*, and severest *Magistrates* were well content to grace them with their presence, as it had bin some very commendable or profitable exercise: But these *Florall* playes were but once a yeare, their *enterludes* in the *Theater*, acted vpon the open stage were almost daily, yet so abominable, that the godly deuoute *Fathers* of the *Primitive Christian Church* can hardly write of them with patience, specially *Salvianus*, whose words to this purpose are very smart and piercing: *Talia sunt*, saith he, *qua illic sumi ut ea non solum dicere, sed etiam recordari aliquis sine pollutione non possit. Alia quippe crimina singulas sibi in nobis vendicant portiones, ut cogitationes sordidae animum, impudici aspectus oculos, auditus improbi aures, ita ut cum ex his vnum aliquid erraverit, reliqua possint carere peccatis, in Theatris vero nihil horum reatu vacat, quia & concupiscentijs animus & auditu aures, & aspectu oculi polluantur, quae quidem omnia tam flagitiosa sunt, ut explicare ea quispiam atque eloqui salvo ore non valeat. Quis enim integro verecundiae statu dicere queat illas rerum turpium imitationes. illas vocum ac verborum obscenitates, illas motuum turpitudines, illas gestuum seditates, quae quanti sint criminis vel hinc intelligi potest quod & relationem sui interdicunt.* His conclusion is, *Quae cum ita sint, ecce qualia aut omnes aut penè omnes Romani agunt.* Of such a nature they are which are there acted, that a man cannot speake of them, nor well remember them without some touch of pollution, Other offences challenge to themselves but a part of vs, as impure thoughts the mind, vnchast sights the eyes, wicked speeches the eares; so that when one of these is tainted, yet the rest may be cleere from pollution, but in the *Theatre* none of them is free from the guilt of infection, in asmuch as the

De Gubernat. Dial. 6.

the minde is there defiled with corrupt thoughts, the affections with naughty desires, the eares by hearing, and the eyes by seeing, all which are so lewd, that no man without blushing can so much as name them, much lesse fully describe them. For what modest man is there, who can recount those representations of beastly actions, those filthy speeches, & motions, & gestures, which how sinfull they are, we may from hence conjecture that they cannot well be related: which being so, behold what manner of things all, or at least-wise the greatest part of the *Romanes* practise. And this may wee adde to *Salvianus*, that the *Actors* of these *Comedies* were by the state it selfe highly regarded and richly rewarded, as if they had done some profitable peece of service for the *Common-wealth*. But this kinde of *luxurie*, as being loathsome in the very handling I briefly passe over, as men lightly skippe over quagmires and proceede to their luxury in diet, and first of their *excesse in drinking*.

S E C. 2.

Of their excesse in drinking.

Lib: 22:

THis we may partly guesse at, by that which *Ammianus Marcellinus* writes of their pots, *graviora gladijs pocula erant*, their pots were heavier then their swords: Among the rest, they had a kind of cups which *Horace* calls *ciboria*.

Carm. 12. od. 7.

— Oblivioso lavia massico

Ciboria imple.

Goe fill the biggest cups you may,
With liquor that driues care away.

Lib: 11. lib: 15:

Thought to be the leaves of the *Egyptian* beane, which are so broad, that *Dioscorides* for their largenesse compares them to a bonnet, *Theophrastus* to a *Thessalian* hat; & *Pliny* thus describes them vnder the name of *Colocassia*. The leaves of *Colocassia* are exceeding large and comparable to the broadest that any tree beareth, of these plaited and infolded one within another, the *Egyptians* make them cups of diverse formes & fashions, out of which they take no small pleasure to drinke, whereby the leaves of *Colocassia*, *Adrianus Iunius* conceiveth *Horace* his *Ciboria* to be described. Such a kinde of cup, it seemes, was that, which that mad fellow speakes of in *Plautus*, vpon casting the dice.

Lib: 1. Animad: cap: 10:

*Iactobasilicum propino magnum poculum**Ille ebibit.*

Plautus in Curculone.

I threw the principall chaunce, and therevpon begin an health in the greatest bowle, and hee instantly pledges me the whole. Now the principall chaunce was *Venus*.

Horace Carm: 12. od: 7:

— Quem Venus arbitram

Dices bibendi,

Whom *Venus* shall name
To be Judge of the game.

And this Lord of misrule in their comptations or drunken meetings,
was

cald *Modiperator*, or *Magister*; his office was to prescribe rules, and to see them executed, and there he commaunded as a *Soveraigne Monarch* in his kingdome.

Nec regna vini sortiere talis;

Horace Carm. l. 1, od. 4.

Nor shalt thou any more by chaunce of dice

Win *Bacchus* kingdome or the drinking price.

Their rules of drinking they borrowed, for the most part, from the *Grecians*, the most debosht drunken Nation, I thinke that ever was, in so much, as their very name is for that quality growne into a proverbe, both in *Latine & English*. Of these rules, one was to drinke downe the evening starre, and drinke vp the morning starre, *ad Diurnam stellam matutinam potantes*, saith *Plautus*. another commonly practised among them, was the drinking of so many healths as there were letters in their *Mistresses* name.

Pergrecari, a merry Greeke, in men.

Navia sex Cyathis, septem Iustina bibatur,

Martiall.

Quinque Lycas, Lyde quatuor, Ida tribus.

Six healths to *Navia* drinke, seaven to *Iustina*,

To *Lycas* five, to *Lyde* foure, and three to *Ida*.

And yet it should seeme by *Plutarch* in his *Symposiaks*, that they had a superstitious conceite of drinking foure healths, perchaunce because an even number.

Aut quinque bibe, aut tres, aut non quatuor:

Three drinke, if more,

Five, but not foure.

These drunken matches were in a manner the dayly trade of their *Poets*.

Nulla manere diu nec vivere carmina possunt,

Quae scribuntur aqua potoribus,

Who nought but water drinke, their rime

Cannot endure or liue long time.

Nunc est bibendum, nunc pede libero

Pulsanda tellus.

Horace Card. 1, od. 37.

Now let vs drinke out wit,

And daunce & frolicke it.

Neither were their very women free from this excesse. Nay *Seneca* assures vs, that in this practise they put downe the men themselues; *Non minus pervigilant, non minus potant & oleo & mero viros provocant; aquae in-vitis ingesta visceribus per os reddunt, & vinum omne vomitu remittuntur, aquae nitrem rodunt solatium stomachi astuantis.* They no lesse fit vp late in the night, they drinke no lesse then men themselues, nay they challenge men to the annointing of their bodies, and the swilling down of wine, regorging what they eate & drinke as well as they; neither doe they forbear to chaw vpon snow, as men do for the refreshing of their boyling stomackes.

Epist. 95.

SECT. 3.

The same amply confirmed by the testimony of Pliny.

THis vice of *excessive drinking* is by some thought to be the *Epidemicall*, proper disease of this age: But he that will be pleased patiently to peruse, & advisedly to consider this ensuing discourse, which I shall heere annexe out of *Pliny*, will I presume alter his opinion therein, not by excusing the present, but by not excusing the former ages, and the better learne to detest this beastly vice in both. Thus then writeth he, no lesse sharply then elegantly of this vice, and the great
Pliny L. 14. c. 12: 'excesse thereof in his time. If a man marke and consider well the 'course of our life, we are in no one thing more busie & curious, nor 'take greater paines then about wine, as if *Nature* had not given to man 'the liquor of water which of all other is the most wholesome drinke; 'and wherewithall other Creatures are well contented: But we thinking it not sufficient to take wine ourselues, giue it also to our horses, 'mules, & labouring beasts, and force them against nature to drinke it. 'Besides such paines, so much labour, so great cost & charges we are at 'to haue it, such delight & pleasure we take in it, that many of vs thinke 'they are borne to nothing else, and can skill of none other contentment in this 'life: Notwithstanding when all is done, it transporteth & carrieth away the right wit and mind of men, it causeth furie & rage, and induceth, nay it casteth headlong as many as are given therevnto into a 'thousand vices & misdemeanours, and yet forsooth to the end that we 'may take the more cups, and powre it downe the throate more lustily, 'we let it runne thorow a strainer for to abate & geld, as it were, the 'force thereof; yea and other devices there be to whet our appetite 'therevnto, and cause vs to quaffe more freely; nay to draw on their 'drinke men are not affraid to make *poysons*, while some take hemlocke 'before they sit downe, because they must drinke perforce then or else 'die for it; others the powder of the *Pumish* stone and such like stuffe, 'which I am abashed to rehearse, & teach those that be ignorant of such 'lewdnes. And yet we see those that be the stoutest & most redoubted 'drinkers, even those that take themselves most secured of danger, to lie 'sweating so long in the baines & brothell houses for to concocke their 'surfet of wine, that otherwhiles they are carried forth dead for their 'labour: You shall haue some againe, when they haue beene in the hot 'house not to stay so long as they may recover their beddes, no not so 'much as to put on their shirts, but presently in the place all naked, as 'they are puffing & labouring still for winde, catch vp great cans and 'huge tankards of wine (to shew what lusty and valiant *Champions* they 'be) set them one after another to their mouth, power the wine downe 'the throate without more adoe, that they might cast it vp againe and so 'take more in the place, vomiting and revomiting twice or thrice together that which they haue drunke, and still make quarrell to the pot, as 'if they had beene borne into this world for none other end but to spill
 and

and marre good wine, or as if there were no way else to spend & waste the same but thorow mans body. And to this purpose were taken vp at Rome these forraine exercises of vaulting and dauncing the *Moriske*, from hence came the tumbling of wraflers in the dust and mire together, for this they shew their broad breasts, bare vp the heads, and carry their necks farre back, in all which gesticularions, what doe they else but professe that they seeke meanes to procure thirst, & take occasion to drinke: But come now to their pots that they vse to quaffe and drinke out of: are there not grauen in them faire pourtraies thinke you of adulteries? as if drunkenness it selfe were not sufficient to kindle the heat of lust, & to teach them wantonnesse. Thus is wine drunke out of *libidinous cups*, and more then that, he that can quaffe best & play the drunkard most, shall haue the greatest reward. But what shall we say to those (would a man thinke it?) that hire a man to eat also as much as he can drinke, & vpon that condition covenant to yeeld him the price for his wine-drinking and not otherwise. You shall haue another that will inioyne himselfe to drinke euery denier that he hath wonne at dice. Now when they are come to that once, & be thoroughly whittled, then shall you haue them cast their wanton eyes vpon mens wiues, then fall they to court faire Dames and Ladies, and openly betray their folly euen before their jealous and sterne husbands, then I say the secrets of their heart are opened and displayed. Some you shall haue euen in the midst of their cups make their wills euen at the board where they sit, others againe cast out bloudy and deadly speeches at randome, & cannot hold but blurt out thole words which afterwards they are forced to eat againe, for thus many a man by a lavish tongue in his wine hath come by his death & had his throat cut. And verily the world is now grown to this passe, that whatsoeuer a man saith in his cups is held for sooth, as if *truth were the daughter of wine*. But say they escape these dangers, certes speed they neuer so well, the best of them all neuer seeth the Sunne rising, so drowzie and sleepe they are in bed euery morning, neither liue they to be old men, but die in the strength of their youth. Hence cometh it that some of them looke pale with a paire of flaggie cheekes, others haue bleared and sore eyes, and there be of them that shake so with their hands that they cannot hold a full cup, but shed and powre it downe the floore. Generally they all dreame fearefully, which is the very beginning of their hell in this life) or else haue restlessse nights. And finally if they chance to sleepe (for a due guerdon and reward of their drunkenness) they are deluded with imaginary conceits of *Venus* delights, defiled with filthy abominable pollutions: & thus both sleeping & waking they sin with pleasure. Well what becomes the morrow after? they belch sowre, their breath stinketh of the barrell, and telleth them what they did ouer night, otherwise they forget what euer they did or said: they remember no more, then if their memory were vtterly extinct. And yet our jolly drunkards giue out and say that they alone enjoy this life, and rob other men of it: But who seeth not that ordinarily they loose not onely the yesterday past, but the morrow to come? Of all Nati-

'ons the *Parthians* would haue the glory for this goodly vertue of wine
 'bibbing: & among the *Greekes* *Alcibiades* indeed deserved the best
 'game for this worthy feate. But here with vs at *Rome*, *Neuellius Tor-*
 'quatus, a *Millanois* wan the name from all *Romanes* and *Italians* both.
 'This *Lombard* had gone thorow all honourable degrees of dignity in
 'Rome, he had beene *Pretor*; and attained to the place of a *Proconsull*. In
 'all these offices of state he wonnie no great name: but for drinking in
 'the presence of *Tiberius* 3 gallons of wine at one draught & before hee
 'tooke his breath againe, he was dubbed *Knight* by the surname of *Tri-*
 'congus, as one would say, the 3 gallon *Knight*. And the Emperour sterne,
 'seuere and cruell otherwise though he was, now in his old age, (for in
 'his youthfull dayes hee was giuen ouermuch to drinking of wine)
 'would delight to behold this worthy & renowned *Knight* with great
 'wonder and admiration. For the like rare gift & commendable qua-
 'lity men thinke verily that *C. Piso* first rose, and afterwards was advan-
 'ced to the *Provoostship* of the *City of Rome* by the said *Tiberius*: and
 'namely for that in his court being now Emperour he sate two daies &
 'two nights drinking continually, & neuer stirred foot from the board.
 'And verily *Drusus Caesar* (by report) in nothing more resembled his
 'Father *Tiberius* than in taking his drinke. But to returne againe to
 'noble *Torquatus*, herein consisted his excellencie, that he did it accor-
 'ding to art (for this you must take withall, there is an *Art of drinking*,
 'grounded vpon certaine rules and precepts) *Torquatus* (I say) dranke
 'he neuer so much, was not knowne at any time to falter in his tongue,
 'neuer eased himselfe by vomiting, neuer let it goe the other way vn-
 'der board: how late soeuer he sate vp at the wine ouer night, he would
 'be sure to relieue the morning watch & sentinel. He drunk most of any
 'man at one entire draught before the pot went frō his head: & for smal-
 'ler draughts besides, he went beyond all other in number, his winde he
 'neuer tooke whilst the cup was at his mouth, but justly observed the
 'rule of drinking with one breath: hee was not knowne to spit for all
 'this: & to conclude, he would not leaue a drop behinde in the cup,
 'not so much as would dash against the pavement, and make the least
 'sound to be heard, a speciall point & precise law to prevent the deceit
 'of those that drinke for a wager. A singular glory no doubt in him &
 'a rare felicity. *Tergilla* challenged *M. Cicero* the younger, son to that
 'M. *Cicero* the famous Oratour, & reproached him to his face, that or-
 'dinarily he dranke 2 gallons at once, and that one time about the rest
 'when he was drunke he flung a pot at *M. Agrippa* his head. And truly
 'this is one of the fruites and feates of drunkennesse. But blame not
 'young *Cicero* if in this point yet he desired to surmount him that slew
 'his father, *M. Antonius* I meane, for hee before that time strained
 'himselfe, and stroue to win the best game in this feate, making profes-
 'sion thereof, as may appeare by a booke which he compiled and set
 'forth with this title, *Of his owne drunkennesse*: wherein hee was not a-
 'shamed to avow and iustifie his excesse and enormities that way, and
 'thereby approued (as I take it) vnder pretence and colour of his drun-
 'kennesse all those out-rages of his, all those miseries and calamities
 that

that he brought vpon the whole world. This Treatise he vomited & spued out a little before the battle of *Actium*, wherein he was defeated. Whereby it may appeare very plainly, that as hee was drunken before with the blood of the *Citizens*: so still he was the more bloud-thirsty: For this is a property which necessarily followeth this vice, that the more a man drinketh, the more he may, and is alwayes dry. And heerein spake to good purpose a certaine Embassadour of the *Scythians*, saying, that the *Parthians* the more they drunke the thirstier they were.

SECT. 4.

In particular this excessse of the Romans in drinking is confirmed by the practise of Anthony, specially at his being with *Cleopatra*, as also by the practise of *Clodius* sonne to

Elope the Tragedian in drinking of dissolued pearle.

NOW because *Pliny* hath instanced in *Anthony* as one of the most notorious drunkards among the *ROMANS*, not onely for the practise but for the defence thereof, notwithstanding his eminent place and great commaund, it shall not bee amisse a little farther to enquire into some particulars touching his great excessse therein. It is a most shamefull one which *Cicero* chargeth him with: *Sed hac quaro- bustior improbitatis sunt omittamus; loquamur potius de iniquissimi genere leuitatis Tu istis fancibus, istis lateribus, ista gladiatoria totius corporis firmitate, tantum vini in Hippia nuptiis exhauseras, ut tibi necesse esset in Populi Romani conspectu vomere postridie. O rem non modo visu factam, sed etiam auditu! si inter cœnam in tuis immanibus illis poculis, hoc tibi accidisset, quis non turpe diceret? in cœtu verò populi negotium publicum gerens, magister Equitum, cui ructare turpe esset, is uomens frustis esculentis vinum redolentibus, gremium suum & totum tribunal implevit.* But those villanies which require more strength let vs omit, & speake rather of his wicked kind of lightnesse. Thou with those chaps of thine, with those sides, with that ruffian-like strength of thy whole body at the wedding of *Hippia* didst take in so much wine, that the next day thou must needs vomit in the open view of the people of *Rome*, a filthy act not onely to be seene but to be heard, if at supper-time in the midst of those thy monstrous pots the same had fallen out, who would not haue cryed out shame on thee? but now the Master of the Horse being about a publike businesse in an assembly of the people where it had beene a shame for such a man to belch, vomiting out gobbets of flesh smelling strongly, therewith filled both his owne bosome and the whole court of *Iustice*.

This was indeed very foule in it selfe though but once done, euen without the *Oratours* Rhetoricall aggravation: but his dayly practise of excessiue drinking during his abode with *Cleopatra* was lesse excusable, because more frequent; touching which *Pliny* relates two memorable stories, though in different kindes, the one was this.

Plin. l. 1. c. 3.

Here by the way (saith he) I cannot chooſe but remeber the device of *Queene Cleopatra*, full of fine wit, and as wicked and mischievous withall. For at what time *Anthony* prepared the expedition and journey of *Adriana* against *Augustus*, and stood in ſome doubt & jealousie of the ſaid *Quintus*, for all the faire ſhew that ſhe made of gratifying him, and doing him all pleaſure, he was at his taſter, and would neither eate nor drinke at her table without aſſay made. *Cleopatra* ſeeing how timorous he was, and minding yet to make good ſport and game at his needleſſe feare and fooliſh curioſity, cauſed a Chaplet to be made for *M. Antonius*, having before dipped all the tips and edges of the flowres that went to it in a ſtrong and ranke poiſon, and being thus prepared, ſet it vpon the head of the ſaid *Anthony*. Now when they had ſitten at meat a good while, and drunke themſelves merry, the *Queene* began to make a motion & challenge to *Anthony* for to drinke each of them their chaplets; and withall began vnto him in a cup of wine ſeaſoned and ſpiced as it were with thoſe flowres which ſhe wore her owne ſelfe, O the ſhrewd and vnhappy wit of a woman when ſhee is ſo diſpoſed! who would euer haue miſdoubted any danger of hidden miſchiefe heerein? Well, *M. Anthony* yeelded to pledge her: offgoeth his owne garland, and with the flowres minced ſmall, dreſſeth his owne cup. Now when he was about to ſet it to his head, *Cleopatra* preſently put her hand betweene, and ſtayed him from drinking, and withall vttered theſe words: My deare heart and beſt beloued *Anthony*, now ſee what ſhe is whom thou ſo much doſt dread & ſtand in feare of, that for thy ſecurity there muſt waite at thy cup and trencher extraordinary taſters, a ſtrange and new faſhion ywis, and a curioſity more nice then needfull. loe how I am not to ſeek of meanes, and oportunities to compaſſe thy death, if I could finde in my heart to liue without thee, which ſaid, ſhe called for a priſoner immediatly out of the gaole, whom ſhe cauſed to drinke off the wine which *Anthony* had prepared for himſelfe: no ſooner was the goblet from his lips againe, but the poore wretch died preſently in the place.

The other ſtory he thus relates: Two onely pearles there were together, the faireſt & richeſt that euer haue beene knowne in the world, and thoſe poſſeſſed at one time by *Cleopatra* the laſt *Queene* of *Egypt*, which came into her hands by the meanes of the great Kings of the *East*, and were left vnto her by deſcent. This *Princeſſe* when *Marcus Antonius* had ſtrained himſelfe to doe her all the pleaſure he poſſibly could & had feaſted her day by day moſt ſumptuouſly and ſpared for no coſt: in the height of her pride and wanton brauery (as being a noble *Curtizan* and a *Queene* withall) began to debaſe the expence and provision of *Anthony*, and made no reckoning of all his coſtly fare. When hee thereat demaunded againe how it was poſſible to goe beyond this magnificence of his, ſhe answered againe, that ſhe would ſpend vpon him in one ſupper 100 thouſand *Sextertij*. *Anthony* who would needes know how that might be (for he thought it was impoſſible) laid a great wager with her about it, and ſhee bound it again and made it good. The morrow after when this was to be tryed, and the wager either to be wonne

or lost, *Cleopatra* made *Anthony* a supper (because she would not make default, and let the day appointed passe) which was sumptuous & royall enough, howbeit there was no extraordinary service seene vpon the board: Whereat *Antonius* laughed her to scorne, and by way of mockery, required to see a bill with the account of the particulars. Shee againe sayd, that whatsoever had beene served vp already, was but the overplus aboue the rate and proportion in question, affirming still, that shee would yet in that supper make vp the full summe that shee was seased at: yea her selfe alone would eate aboue that reckoning, and her owne supper should cost six hundred thousand *Sester-tij*: and with that, commaunded the second service to be brought in. The Seruitours that waited at her trencher (as they had in charge before) set before her onely one crewet of sharpe vineger, the strength whereof is able to dissolue pearles. Now shee had at her eares hanging those two most preious pearles, the singular and onely jewels in the world, and even *Natures* wonder. As *Anthony* looked wistly vpon her, and expected what she would doe, shee tooke one of them from her eare, steeped it in the vineger, and so soone as it was liquefied, dranke it off. And as she was about to doe the like by the other: *L. Plancius* the iudge of that wager, laid fast hold vpon it with his hand, and pronounced withall, that *Anthony* had lost the wager: whereat the man fell into a passion of anger. There was an end of one pearle. But the fame of the fellow thereof may goe therewith. For after that this braue *Queene*, the winner of so great a wager, was taken prisoner and deprived of her royall estate, that other pearle was cut in twaine, that in memoriall of that one halfe supper of theirs, it should remaine vnto posterity, hanging at both the eares of *Venus* at *Rome* in the temple *Pantheon*.

And yet, saith the same *Pliny*, as prodigall as these were, they shall not goe away with the prize in this kinde, but shall loose the name of the chiefe & principall in superfluity of expence. For long before their time, *Clodius* the sonne of *Æsop* the *Tragadian Poet*, the only heire of his father who died exceeding wealthy, practised the semblable in pearles of great price: so that *Anthony* need not be over proud of his *triumvirate*, seeing that he hath to match him in all his magnificence one little better then a *stage-player*: Who vpon no wager at all laid (& that was more princely and done like a *King*) but only in a bravery, and to know what tast pearles had, mortified them in vineger and drunke them vp. And finding them to content his palate wonderous well, because he would not haue all the pleasure by himselfe, and know the goodnesse thereof alone, he gaue to every guest at his table one pearle a peece to drinke in like manner.

The madnesse of *Clodius*, *Horace* thus describes.

Filius Æsopi detractam ex aure Metellæ

(*Scilicet vi decies solidum exforberet*) *aceto*

Diluit ingentem baccam, qui sanior ac se

Illud idem in rapidum flumen iaceretne cloacam.

The sonne of *Æsop* from *Metellæ* eare,

(That he at once ten thousand sols might drinke)

Pluckt

*Cenamparatis
p. Illucibilem
Macrobius
Sat. 3. 17.*

*Monstruosa
magnitudo
Macrobius, Sat.
3. 17.*

Serm. 1.

Pluckt off, and it dissolv'd in vinegar,
As wise as if h'had throw'n't into a sinke.

SECT. 5.

Of excessive drinkers among the Romans in regard of the quantity of the liquor, and how both their Princes and people were all generally tainted with this vice.

Ep. 63. ad Cornu-
tuberciales suos.

THese were *luxurious drinkers* in regard of the *pretiousnes* of the liquor, such as I think this age hath not heard of, & God forbid it should. Now for *excesse in quantity* of wine at one draught or one sitting, *Lyssius* hath written a large *Epistle*, wherein he hath made a collection of many examples, borrowed from the ancient *Historians* to that purpose, the title of it is, *de potoribus & Edonibus*, of excessive drinkers and eaters, and beginning with the first of these he thus makes his entrance. *Quos ubi & quando non est invenire? in veteri & nostro aeo, in noto & novo orbe videas, & Plinij dicto, nulla in parte mundi cessare ebrietatem.* Which kind of men where and when shall you not finde? you may see them aswell in the old as in our age, both in the knowne and new world, and to vse *Plynies* speech, no part of the world is free from them. To let goe the *Gracians*, and those *Romanes* already named, out of *Spartianus* he tels vs of one *Firmus*, who vnder *Aurelian* was *Deputy* of *Egypt*; this man being challenged by *Barbarus* a famous drinker, *Situlas duas plenas mero duxit*, he tooke off two buckets full of wine. *Bonofus* was such another who lived about the same time, of whom the same *Emperour*, as witnesseth the same *Authour*, was wont to say, *non ut vivat natus est, sed ut bibat*, he was borne not to live but to drinke: & being hang'd for some misdemeanour, they jeasted on him, *amphoram pendere non hominem*, that a barrell or tankard hung there, not a man: But that which *Capitolinus* reports of the *Emperour Maximinus* is almost incredible: *Bibisse saepe in die vini Capitolinam amphoram*, that he often dranke in one day an *Amphora* of the *Capitoll*, an *Amphora* containing of our measure nine gallons, counting a gallon and a pinte to the *Congius*, whereof the *Amphora* containes eight, *Trepidarem hac scribere*, saith *Lyssius*, *sed bonus & prisca fidei Author adserit, quam ego non fugillem*: I should feare to write these things, but that I vouch it from an *Authour* of good credit, which I durst not impeach or question. Yet one instance beyond this againe he brings out of *Vopiscus*, in the life of *Aurelian* of one *Phagon*, who dranke out in one day *plus orca*, what measure this *Orca* held, I cannot well determine, neither could *Lyssius* himselfe, yet thus much he confidently affirmes of it, *Scio vas vinarium fuisse & amphora quidem majus, sed quanto mihi latet*, I know for certaine that it was a vessell of wine, and that bigger then the *Amphora*, but how much I know not.

Cap. 42.

Now that which most of all infected the state with this beastly vice, was, that the *Emperours* themselves were deeply infected with it, both heartily affecting it themselves, and highly rewarding it in others. *Tiberius Nero propter nimiam vini aviditatem*, saith *Suetonius*, by reason of his

his excessive drinking, was nick-named *Biberius Mero*; and besides, *Piso*, whom *Pliny* told vs before, he advanced to the Provostship of the city for that quality; he likewise for the same promoted *Flaccus Pomponius* to the presidentship of the Province of *Syria*, stiling them in his letters patents, *Iucundissimos & omnium horarum amicos*, his most pleasant companions & friends for all seasons: But that which exceeded the rest, and indeede reason it selfe, was that *ignotissimum Quæstura candidatum nobilissimis anteposuit ob epotam in convivio propinante se vini amphoram*, that he preferred a base fellow, who was a sutor for the Treasurershippe, before the most noble & worthy that stood in competition with him, only for the taking off of an *Amphora* of wine at a feast which himselfe had began. Now who would not strive to excell and exceed in this lewd practice, when it was in such request & esteeme with the greatest *Commanders*: the multitude soone conforming themselves to their manners, specially in naughtines, and being therevnto encouraged by commendation & rewards. And how farre this unmanly vice had infected the Commons, may appeare by that of *Macrobius*, who affirms, that at that time when *Lex Fannia* was made against drunkennes, *eo res redierat ut pleriq; ex plebe Romana vino madidi in comitium venirent, & ebrij de Reipub: salute consulerent*; to such a passe were things brought, that the greatest part of the common people of *Rome* came loaden with wine into the Counsell-house, and being drunke, consulted of the safety of the state.

SECT. 6.

Of the costlinesse and curious workemanshippe of the vessels out of which they dranke, which was likewise a meanes to draw them on to excessive drinking.

NOW as I began this discourse of drunkennesse with the greatnes, so will I end it with the costlinesse & curious workemanship of the vessels out of which they dranke, which was likewise a meanes to draw them on to excessive drinking. The world (saith *Pliny*) is given to such inconstancie, as touching silver plate, that a wonder it is to see the nature of men, how variable they be in the fashion and making of such vessell: For no workemanship will please them long. One while we must haue our plate out of *Furnius* his shop, another while we will bee furnished from *Clodius*: And againe in a new fit, none will content vs but of *Gratius* his making (for our cupbords of plate & tables, forsooth, must beare the name of such & such goldsmiths shops.) Moreover, when the toy takes vs in the head, all our delight is in chased and embossed plate; or else so carved, engraven, and deep cut in, as it is rough againe in the hand, wrought in imagerie or flower worke, as if the painter had drawne them. These celatures in their drinking cups were so fram'd, that they might put them on or take them off at pleasure, & were therefore called *Emblemata*: Such was that, whereof the *Satirist* speakes.

--- *Stantem extra pocula caprum.*

X x

A 1: *Journal: SATY.*

-- A goat standing out from the cup,
Two of this kinde wrought by the hand of *Menor*, cost *Lucius Crassus*
Pliny 133. & 11. the Oratour one hundred thousand *Sesterces*. Sometimes were they
made of *Onix* stones drawne out of the mountaines of *Arabia*, some-
Idem 36. 7. times of mother of pearle, or some rare pretious shels.

Iuven. Satyr. 6. Cum perfusa miro spumant unguenta Falerno,
Cum bibitur concha.

Whē their *Falernian* wines mingled with oyntments crop,
And when they drinke in shels.
And all these kinde they richly inameld with pearles and pretious
Lib. 33. 11. stones; we drinke, saith *Pliny*, in rooes of pearle, and garnish our pots
with emeralls; it delights vs to hold the *Indies* in our hands as a provo-
cation to drunkenness, and gold is now become but an *accessorie*. And
for this reason had they some at their feasts set to watch their drinking
vessell.

Iuven. Satyr. 5. -- Custos affixus ibidem

Qui numeret gemmas unguesque observet acutos.
Fast by some one is set to watch & tell the plate,
Least any be purloind by some lime fingered mate.

Neither were they content to garnish their cups with pearle and preti-
ous stone, but made them of entire gemmes, they thought not themselves
In Panegyrico dainety enough, saith *Pacatus*, nisi luxuria intervertisset annum, nisi hiber-
ne poculis rosa innataissent, nisi aestivam in gemmis capacibus glaciem falerna
fregissent, vnlesse luxury had chaunged the season of the yeare, vnlesse
winter roses swam vpon the top of their pots, vnlesse their pleasant
wines dissolved the summer yce in a large gemme. And such a one was

that which *Tully* mentions; *Erat etiam vas vinarium ex una gemma pra-*
6. in Perem *grandi trulla excavata, cum manubrio aureo*: There was likewise a drink-
ing cuppe for wine made of one entire gemme or pretious stone, with a
great hollow bowle & an handle of gold. They had also drinking ves-
sells of *Murrin* & *Crystall* of wonderfull great prices. *Video isthic Cristal-*
lina quorum accendit fragilitas pretium, omnium enim rerum voluptas apud
imperitos ipso, quo fugare debet, periculo crescit; Video Murrina pocula, parum
scilicet luxuria magni fuerit, nisi quod vomant capacibus gemmis inter se pro-

De beneficijs, l. pinarent: I there see, saith *Seneca*, their *Crystall* glasses, whose very brit-
7. & 9. tlenes inhaunces their price: For among the vulgar, their delight in
things is increased by the very daunger, which should rather induce
them to shun it. I likewise see their *Murrin* cups, their luxurie being
not held sufficient, vnlesse they may in large gemmes drinke that which
soone after they vomit vp againe. The price of some of these, *Pliny*

takes the paines particularly to relate: *Crescit indies eius rei luxus Mur-*
37. 11. *rino octoginta Sestertiis empto, capaci plane ad sextarios tres calice*: The ex-
cessiue luxury hereof increaseth daily, a *Murrin* cuppe of three quarts
being sold for foure score thousand *Sesterces*; one of these bought for
three hundred thousand, *Petronius*, who had beene *Consull*, brake in pee-
ces a little before his death out of a spite to *Nero*, ut mensam eius exhered-
daret, that he might disinherit his table thereof. Another of *Crystall*,
mentioned by the same Authour, I may not forget; *alius hic furor*, heere
is

is another kinde of madnesse, one *Cristall* bowle being bought by the mistress of a family, and thence not ouer rich neither, cost her one hundred & fifty thousand Sesterces. Herevnto might not vnfitly be added the beastly formes of many of their cups,

Vitreo bibit ille Priapo,
Saith *Iuvenall*; and *Pliny* to like purpose; *in poculis libidines calare iuvat & per obscenitates bibere.* But I passe from their drunkennesse to their gluttony.

CAP. 7.

Of the excessive gluttony of the Romanes.

SECT. 1.

Of their costly tables, their huge platters, the quality, order, and number of their waiters; and also of their Arts

and Schooles of Carving:

Touching their excesse in gluttony, it is an Ocean both boundles and bottomles, whether we consider the rarity or the variety of those dishes which at their solemne feasts they presented: But before I come to the furnishing of their tables, it shall not be amisse to say somewhat touching the tables themselues, vpon which they placed, and some monstrous platters in which they served in their provision, and the number & order of their waiting servants. They had tables of silver & some of gold.

Sustentatque tuas aurea mensa dapes.

Tables of gold thy dainties doe sustaine.

But their most pretious which they had in greatest request were of Citron, as appears by the same Poet in another Epigram: These, as witnesseth *Petronius Arbitr*, they fetched from Africa.

Ecce Aphris eruta terris

Citrea mensa

Tables of Citron brought from Africa.

With whom *Pliny* the rein accordeth, who in his naturall history hath a discourse proper to this purpose. The *Moore*s, saith he, that border vpon the mountaine *Atlas*, are stored with abundance of Citron trees, from whence cometh that excessive expence & superfluity about Citron tables made thereof: And our dames at home by way of re-venge twit vs their husbands therewith, when we would seeme to find fault with the costly pearles which they weare: There is at this day to be seene a board belonging sometimes to *Tullius Cicero*, which cost him tenne Thousand Sesterces; a strange matter, considering he was no rich man; but more wonderfull, if we call to mind the severity of that age wherein he lived. Much speech there is besides of *Asinius Gallus* his table, sold for an eleven thousand Sesterces: Moreouer there are two other which King *Iuba* sold, the one was prized at fiftene

X x 2

thousand

Martial 13. E-
pigr. 31.

Lib. 4. Epig.
89.
In Satyrice.

Lib. 13. c. 15.

De beneficiis, l.
7. c. 9.
the tax of a
Senatour was
then duodecims
Sestertium,
twelve hun-
dred thousand
Sestertii, Suet:
Aug. 41.
De Pallio c. 5:

thousand Sesterces, and the other held little vnder; a round summe, & the price of a good faire Lordship: which incredible prizes are notwithstanding confirmed by *Seneca*, who farther tels vs, they were valued according to their knottinesse: *video istis mensas et aestimatum lignum censu Senatoris, eo pretiosius quo illud in plures nodos arboris infelicitas torfit*: I see there their tables, and a peece of wood valued at a Senatours renew, somuch the more pretious, as the vnhappy tree is wrested into diuerse knots. To which passages of *Seneca* & *Pliny*, *Tertullian* seemes to allude, for having produced the instances of *Tully* & *Asinius Gallus* mentioned by *Pliny*, though with some addition to the prices, he presently addes: *Hem quantis facultatibus aestimare ligneas maculas*, at what high rates did they value these spots in wood. Besides, these tables they supported with Yuorie feet.

Martial: l. 2. E.
Epig. 43.

*Tu libicos Indis suspendis dentibus orbes,
Fulcitur testa fagina mensa mihi.*

Thy Lybian tables Indian teeth doe reare:

My Beechen bord an earthen caske doth beare.

And these yuorie feete were artificially carved into the shape of Lyons or the like, which was so common, that without these, their greatest dainties could not relish to their pallates,

Juvenal, Satyr.
11,

Nil Rhombus nil dama sapit, putere videntur

Vnguenta atq; rosa, latos nisi sustinet orbes

Grande ebur: & magno sublimis pardus hiatu:

Nor buck nor Turbet tast, sweet ointments yeeld no sent,

And roses stinke, vnlesse huge gaping yvorie Pards

Bearing aloft their large round tables giue content.

Yet such was the store which one man possessed of these, that it exceeded some hundreds.

Martial: l. 7.
Epig. 47.

Cum mensas habeat fere trecentas,

Pro mensis habet Annius ministros.

An hundred tables *Annius* hath thrice told,

And waiters at his tables manifold.

Lipf: l. 1 manu-
duct: ad Stoi-
cam Philos. ca.
18.
Lib. 33: c. 11:

And *Dion* reports of *Seneca*, that notwithstanding his severe and Stoicall profession, hee was stored with foure hundred of those Citron tables.

^b Lib. 35. c. 12.
Decius Sester-
tium
according to
Budens: but if
you reade ac-
cording to
Hot *manus*,
ducentis it is
twenty times
as much more

Touching their platters or chargers, no longer since, saith *Pliny*, then in the dayes of *Claudius* the Emperour, *Drusillanus* a slaue of his surname *Rotundus*, the Seneschall or Treasurer vnder him in high Spaine, had a silver charger of five hundred pound weight; for the working whereof, there was a forge framed aforehand of set purpose, and the same was accompanied & attended with eight more of a smaller size, weighing fifty pound a peece: Now I would gladly know if it might please you, saith *Pliny*, how many of his fellowes, such slaues I meane as him selfe, there must be to carry the said vessell and serue it vp to the table, or what guests they might be who were to be served with such huge plate: But this is nothing to that Charger of *Vitellius*, who whiles he was Emperour caused one to be made & finished that cost a million of Sesterces; for the making whereof, there was a furnace built of purpose

pose in the field; alluding to this monstrous platter. *Mucianus* in his second *Consulship*, when he ripped vp in a publique speech the whole life of *Vitellius* now dead, vpbraided the memoriall of him in these very tearmes, calling his excess that way, *Patinarum paludes*, platters as broad as pooles or ponds: And verily, sayth he, that platter of *Vitellius* came nothing behind another, which *Cassius Severus* reproached *Asprenas* withall, whom hee accused bitterly, and said, that the poison of that one platter had killed one hundred & thirty persons, who had tasted thereof. Matchable to these, was the famous platter of *Esope* the *Tragedian*, saue that it was more notorious for the daintinesse of the provision which he served in it, then for the massines of the dish it selfe.

Their waiters were sometimes naked wenches. *Tiberius* (sayth *Suetonius*) sent to *Sextius Claudius*, that he would come & sup with him, vpon condition, that he should change nothing of his wonted fashion, *vtque nudis puellis ministrantibus cœnaretur*; a message worthy of him, who as the same *Author* reports in the same place, erected a new office, *à voluptatibus*, only to devise new pastimes & pleasures. But *Seneca* describes the order & number of their waiters more particularly: They had waiting on them, saith he, *puerorum infelicitum greges*, whole troopes of vnfortunate *Ganymedes*, they had *exoletorum agmina*, armies of *Exoletes* growne to mens estate, these they ranged into severall bands according to their nations & complexions, they of the same band were all of a smoothnes alike, or had the same length of downy mosse in their chin; nay speciall care was had, that their haire might be sutable, as in length, so in colour and kind: *ne quis cui rectior est coma crispulis misceatur*, that none whose haire grew long & straight, should be raked with the curlepates. He farther tells vs of the infinite number of their Cookes and Bakers, and such like officers; *Per quos signo dato ad inferendam canam discurrunt*, by whom the wayters run presently vpon the signe given for the carrying in of supper: his conclusion is *Dij boni quantum hominum venter exercet*, good God, what a number of men doth one belly set a worke; and in another place, *Convivia mehercule horum non posuerim inter vacantis tempora, cum videam quam solliciti argentum ordinent, quam diligenter exoletorum suorum tunicas succingant, quam suspensi sint quomodo aper à coquo casus exeat, quanta celeritate signo dato glabri ad ministeria decurrunt: quanta arte scindantur aues in frustra non enormia, quam curiose infelices pueruli ebriorum sputa detergant.* Truly for my part, I should not put their feasts among their vacant or leasure times, when I see how solicitous they are about the ordering of their plate, how diligently they tucke vp the coates of their *Exoletes*, how carefull they are in what manner the Bore come out of the Cookes hands and bee served in, how suddainely the smooth-chinne *Catamites* runne to the dresser vpon the sounnd given, with what singular art their birdes are cut vp into competent portions, how studiously and curiously their vnhappy boyes wipe out the spuing and spitting of their drunken Masters.

And to this their artificiall carving and ordering their dishes on the table doth the *Satyrist* allude, where he intimates *Schools* and *Masters*

of that Art, who taught their Schollers by dishes fashioned in wood after what manner, and with what gesture of the body they should cut them vp.

Inv. 1.4. Sat. 11.

*Sed nec strator erit, cui cedere debeat omnis
Pergula, discipulus Tripheri doctoris, apud quem
Summe cum magno lepus, atque aper, & pygargus,
Et Scythica volucres, & phanicopterus ingens,
Et Getulus oryx, hebeti lautissima ferro
Caditur, & tota sonat vltima cæna Subura.*

The carvers at my board disciples neuer were
To Doctour Trypherus, with whom none may compare;
Sowes milkie teats, the hare, the boare, white buttockt roe,
Pheasant, Getulian goat, huge Phenicopter too,
All dainties with blunt knife he carves as is most meet,
And th' Elmen supper sounds through all Subura street.

SECT. 2.

*That after-ages sometimes reformed the abuse of former times:
of the great number and chargeable hire of their Cookes;
of Apicius his wastefulnes in belly-cheere, that
such wastefulnesse was common
among them.*

Lib. 4. de Affe.

Lib. 33. c. 3.

NOW for their provision, I may say with *Budæus*, *Majora sunt ista omnino nostræ ætatis captu*, it was beyond the reach and conceit of our age, so as *Pliny* heerein hath proued a true Prophet, *nos fecimus quæ posteri fabulosa arbitrentur*, wee haue done those things which posterity will not beleue, but account fabulous. In the handling heereof it shall not be impertinent first to obserue that after-ages sometimes reformed the abuse of former times. Thus *Latinus Pacatus* in his *Panegyricke* commends *Theodosius* for his sobriety and frugality in regard of his Predecessors, in as much as there was then no need *ad penum Regiam flagitare remotorum littorum piscem, peregrini aeris volucrem, alieni temporis florem*, to take vp and purway for the Emperours vse and provision a fish of a remote coast, a bird of a strange ayre, or a flowre of a contrary season: Then goes hee on to describe the excessiue Luxury of former ages in respect of the present.

Saturnall. 1.3.
c. 13.

Cap. 17.

In like manner *Macrobius* in a conference at a supper betwixt *Horus* and *Cecinna*, makes *Horus* to declaime against the Luxury of his owne times, but *Cecinna* answers him by proouing that Antiquity was much more faulty that way. Among other instances and reasons alleadged by him, this is one; that *Peacockes* egges were formerly sold for five pence a peece, which then were nothing worth to be sold: and againe, that anciently so many Lawes were made against it, as *Lex Orchia*, *fannia*, *didia*, *Licina*, *Cornelia*, and others, and then concludes, *nisi pessimis effusissimisque moribus viveretur, profecto opus tot legibus ferendis non fuisset, vetus verbum est, Leges bonæ ex malis moribus procreantur*: Except men had

had then liued in a most inordinate and licentious manner, they had neuer needed the making of so many lawes; it being an old saying, that good Lawes are occasioned by euill manners.

Another argument for their *excessiue gluttony* in former times might be taken from the number and excessiue hire of their *Cookes* and their wonderfull expences in their *Kitchens* and at their *Tables*. For the number of their *Cookes*, *Aspice Culinas nostras*, saith *Seneca*, & *concur santes in-*

ter tot ignes coquos nostros; Looke into our *Kitchens*, and marke the number of our *Cookes* running vp and downe among so many fires. Epist. 115.

And in another *Epistle*, *innumerabiles esse morbos non miraberis, coquos numera,* 95.

In Rhetorum ac Philosophorum scholis solitudo est: At quam celebres culinae sunt: quanta circa nepotum focos iuuentus premit. Do you wonder that our diseases are innumerable? number our *Cooks* if you can: The scholes of *Rhetoricians* & *Philosophers* are empty: but how are our *Kitchens* frequented? what multitudes of youth presse about the chimneys of vnthrifts? And for their hire, they were wont to complaine, saith *Pliny*, Lib. 9. 17.

that the hire of a *Cooke* was as much as the price of an horse, whereas now a dayes we can hardly get them for the price of three horses: *nul-*

lusque jam prope mortalis aestimatur pluri, quam qui peritissime censum Domini mergit; and scarce any man is in greater request, then he that can most artificially waste his Masters substance. And what infinite wast they made this way, the onely story of *Apicius* a famous belly-god may suffice to shew: who hauing spent a million of *Sesterces* in his *Kitchen* Trium bonum, not tium pho- um as f. me read it.

& sent going besides many great gifts of *Princes*, and a mighty renew of the *Capitol* in riotous feasting and banqueting, being deepe in debt, he began at last, though sore against his will, to looke into his reckonings, & take an account of his estate, & found that all being cast vp, he had yet left vnto himselfe cleare one hundred thousand *Sesterces*, and thereypon *velut in ultima fame victurus, veneno vitam finivit*, as if hee should haue bene forced poore man to liue in a hunger-starved fashion Plin. 9. 17.

he poysoned himselfe: *Quanta luxuria est cui sestertium centies egestas fuit*, how great was that *Luxurie* to which one hundred thousand *Sesterces* seemed poverty? This notable vanity & folly of *Apicius*, the Seneca de Consolatione ad Albiuam c. 10.

Epigrammatist most deservedly scoffes at.

*Dederas Apici bis trecenties ventri,
Sed adhuc supererat centies tibi laxum,
Hoc tu gravatus ne famem & sitim ferres.
Summa venenum potione duxisti,
Nil est Apici tibi gulosius factum.*

*Martial. l. 3.
Epigr. 22.*

It seemes it should be read ser trecenties.

Apicius thou didst on thy gut bestow
Six hundred thousand: yet when this was spent
One hundred thousand stil remaind, which thou
Fearing to suffer thirst and famishment
In poyson'd potion drankst: *Apicius*

Of all thy facts this was most gluttonous.

And no marveile *Apicius* should runne so farre vpon the score and consume such a masse of treasure by this meanes, since it was vsuall to lavish out and deuoure whole patrimonies at a sitting,

had yet: Vna comedunt patrimonia mensa.
Juven. Sat. 1. Quid est cæna sumptuosa flagitiosius, & equestrem censum consumente, & tri-
seneca Ep. 95. cies tamen Sestertio adyctiales cæna frugalissimis Viris confisterunt? What
 is more lewde, saith *Seneca*, then a sumptuous supper wasting a Knights
 revenewes: yet it stands the most frugall commonly, if it be solemne, in
 three hundred thousand Sestertces. And he that shall but look into their
 bills of fare, and take a particular view of the number of their Courses at a
 feast, & of their dishes at a Course, & of the prizes of their dishes, toge-
 ther with their long & often sittings, will rather wonder that they spent
 so little, then that they brought going so much.

SECT. 3.

Of their long and often sitting and vsuall practise of vom-
iting euen among their women, as also of the number
of their courses at a sitting, together with
the rarity and costlinesse of their
severall services.

Cap. 13. **F**Or their long sittings *Suetonius* reports of *Tiberius*, that he spent a
 whole night & two dayes out-right in nothing else but eating &
 drinking, *Noctem continuumq, biduum epulando, potandoque consump-*
Cap. 27. sit: And of *Nero*, *Epulas è media die ad mediam noctem protraherat*, he held
Cap. 12. out his feasts from noone day till midnight. And of *Vitellius* for often
 sittings, that he feasted vsuallly three times, sometimes foure times a day,
 every sitting being valued at foure hundred thousand Sestertces, *facile*
omnibus sufficiens vomitandi consuetudine, being easily able to goe thorow
 them all by a continuall custome of vomiting: which it seemes was a-
 mong them a common practise: *Vomunt ut edant, edunt ut vomant: epu-*
Seneca de Con- solatione ad Albinum c. 9. las, quas toto orbe conquirunt, nec concoquere dignantur: they vomit that
 they may eate, and eate againe that they may vomit, and those delicates
 which they hunt for thorow the world, they vouchsafe not so much as
 to concoct, nay the very women practised it, *æq, inuitis ingesta visceribus*
Seneca epist. 95. per os reddunt, & vinum omne vomitu remittunt, as well as men they eate
 against their stomaches that which they soon returne by their mouths,
 and all their wine they quickly send backe by vomiting: And from
 hence (as I conceiue) did they vsuallly rise from their great feasts so co-
 lourlesse and indispos'd,

Hor. Sat. 1. 1.

-----Vides, ut pallidus omnis
Cæna desurgat dubia? quin corpus onustum
Hesternis vitijs, animum quoque prægravat una,
Atque affigit humo diuina particulam aura.
 Seest thou how pale they from their doubtfull supper rise?
 The body furthermore surcharg'd with riotise
 Of yesterday, weighs downe the soule, and in the mire
 Of this base earth doth plunge the sparke of heav'nly fire.

The number of their Courses at a sitting were vsuallly seauen, and that
 sometimes when they sate privately,

Quis

--- Quis fercula septem

LIVIN. SAT. 1.

Secreto cenavit avus?

Which of our Auncesters vpon
Seuen services did sup alone?

But that monster *Heliogabalus* had serued in at one feast two and twenty severall courses, *Exhibuit aliquando & tale convivium ut haberet viginti duo fercula ingentium epularum*; he once made such a feast that hee had serued in, two and twenty Courses, all of the choicest fare.

For their variety of dishes we may partly guesse at them by that advertisement supper (as *Suetonius* calls it) which was made *Vitellius* by his brother, in qua duo millia lectissimorum piscium, septem avium apposita traduntur, in which are said to have beene serued in two thousand of the choicest fish, and seuen thousand fowle.

CAP. 13.

Now for the delicacie and prices of their dishes, it certainly exceeded their variety and number, they were farre fetcht and deare bought *Quicquid mare aut terra, aut etiam caelo gigneretur, ad satiandam ingluviem suam natum existimans faucibus ac dentibus suis subdidit*, saith *Macrobius* of *Anthony*, he devoured with his chaps and teeth whatsoeuer the Sea or Earth or Aire brought forth, as if all had beene borne only to satiffie his luxury. And *Salust* of *Metellus Proconsull* in Spaine, *Epula vero exquisitissima, neque per omnem mudo provinciam, sed trans maria ex Mauritania volucrum & ferarum incognita antea plura genera*. His feasts were most exquisite not onely of all the dainties which were to bee had in those parts, but many kindes of birdes and beasts before vnknowne in that Countrey were brought from beyond the Seas and out of *Mauritania*.

SAUT. 3. & 17

Quis ganeonum aut laronum possit vel ausit imitari? Quis nostrum hodie aves aut feras trans mare cena causa conquirat: Which of our thriflesse Belly-gods can or dare imitate him? which of vs now a dayes sends for birds or beasts beyond the Seas to make a Supper? Yet was this practise among them no rare matter, as may appeare by that of *Petronius Arbitr*.

LIPSIUS.

*Ingeniosa gula est siculo scaurus equore mersus
Ad mensam vivus deducitur, inde Lucrinis
Eruta littoribus vendunt conchylia canis
Vt renovent per damna famem; jam phasidos vnda
Orbata est avibus, mutoque in littore tantum
Sola desertis aspirant frondibus aura.*

The throat is witty, thence the Guilthead that doth cliue
Sicilian sea is brought vnto the board aliue.

Shelfish they sell that in the lake of Lucrin grew

To sup on, by their losse their hunger to renew.

The bankes of Phasis now are dumbe, the birds are gone,

And on forsaken boughs now breathes the wind alone.

And least we should thinke that he speakes Poetically and hyperbolically, the graue *Seneca* in his sober and sad manner goes beyond it. *Non est necesse omne perscrutari profundum, nec strage animalium ventrem onerare, nec conchylia ultimi maris ex ignoto littore eruere, Dij istos Deaque perdant quorum luxuria tam invidiosi imperij fines transcendit, ultra phasin capi volunt*

Decomolat. ad
Albinam c: 9

Y y

quod

quod ambitiosam popinam instruat, nec piget à Parthis à quibus nondum panas repetivimus, aves petere, undiq; convehunt omnia vota fastidienti gula quod dissolutus delicijs stomachus vix admittat ab ultimo portatur Oceano. There is no necessity of searching the deepe, nor of filling our bellies with the slaughter of beasts, nor of dragging shell-fish of the most remote seas & the unknowne shore. The Gods & Goddeses plague them, whose luxury cannot bound it selfe within the lists of so large & so much envied an Empire. It must be taken beyond the river *Phasis*, which should serve the provision of their ambitious kitchin; neither are they ashamed to borrow birdes from the *Parthians*, vpon whom they haue not yet taken revenge, from all places they hunt after that which they long for to satisfie their yawning appetite, nay they fetch that from the farthest part of the Ocean, which their stomacke weakened with delicacies, will hardly admit. And a while after, *ô miserabiles quorum palatum nisi ad pretiosos cibos non excitantur, pretiosos autem non eximius sapor aut aliqua faucium dulcedo, sed raritas & difficultas parandi facit.* O wretched men, whose pallates are not stirred but with pretious meates, specially when that which makes them pretious is not any singular relish or excellent, fauour they haue, but onely their scarcitie and difficulty of procuring them.

And heerein *Latinus Pacatus* in his *Panygeri* ke accords well with *Seneca*, if he goe not a straine beyond him; *Horum gula angustus erat orbis noster, namq; appositae dapes non sapore sed sumptu estimantes, illis demum cibis acquiescebant, quos extremus Oriens aut positus extra Romanum Colchus Imperium, aut famosa naufragijs maria misissent.* This our world was too narrow for their throates: for not valuing their Cates by their tast but by their cost, they rested content only with that provision which they got from the vtermost parts of the East, or *Colchus* seated beyond the *Romane Empire*, or seas infamous with shipwrackes.

Iuvenal, Satyr:
II.

--- *Magis illa placent quae pluris emuntur.*

That pleaseth most
Which dearest cost.

SECT. 4.

Of the sumptuous provision of two platters furnished out, the one by Vitellius, the other by Æsop the Tragædian, as also of the horrible excesse of Caligula and Heliogabalus.

Suet. c. 13.

THese dainties wee may partly guesse at by the furnirure of two famous platters, the one of *Vitellius*, which for the huge bignesse thereof, he was wont to call *Minerva's buckler*, in this he blended together the liuers of guiltheades, the braines of fescants and peacocks, the tongues of Phœnicopters, & the melts of Lampres brought from the *Spanish* & *Carpathian* Seas, by the Masters of shippes and Gallies. The other of *Æsop the Tragædian*, which he furnished out with the rarest singing birds, or such as imitated mans voyce; they cost him
fix

Valer. l. 92: 15
Senec. Ep: 96

six thousand Sesterces a peece, and the whole platter six hundred thousand: *Nihil alia inductus voluptate nisi ut in his imitationem hominis manderet*, induced hereunto by none other pleasure, sayth *Pliny*, but that thereby he might eate the imitation of mankind, or perhaps *imitatione hominem*, mankind by imitation.

To these may be added the horrible excesse of *Caligula* & *Heliogabalus*, the former of which, *videtur natura edidisse ut ostenderet quid summa vitia in summa fortuna possent*, whom nature seemes to haue brought forth, to shew what effects the greatest vices joyned with the greatest fortune could produce. This man, saith *Suetonius*, *nepotinis sumptibus omnium prodigiorum ingenia superavit*, in thriftles expences exceeded the wits of all the prodigalls that ever were, *commentus portentosissima genera ciborum atq; cenarum*, inventing most monstrous kindes of meares & suppers, the most orient pearles that were to be gotten, he dissolved in vinegar and swallowed downe, and set before his guests bread & victuals of gold, *aut frugi hominem esse oportere dictitans, aut Casarem*, commonly saying, that a man neede bee thrifty or *Cesar*, yet notwithstanding, saith *Seneca*, being assisted with the inventions of all his companions, he could hardly finde the meanes to spend the tribute of the *Provinces* at one supper. Which I wonder *Seneca* should affirme, considering he practised the dissolving & swallowing of pearles.

Now for *Heliogabalus*, *Lampridius* thus begins his story. *Vitam Heliogabali Antonini impurissimam nunquam in literas misissem, ne quis fuisse Romanorum Principem sciret, nisi ante Caligulas, & Neronas, & Vitellios hoc idem habuisset Imperium*: The most beastly life of *Heliogabalus Antoninus* I would neuer haue committed vnto writing, that it might not haue bin knowne, that ever there was such an Emperour of the *Romanes*, vnlesse *Caligula*, & *Nero*, & *Vitellius* had before fate in the same throne. Of him then, besides his other most abominable filthinesse, he reports for his excesse in diet, that at one supper he caused to be served in the heads of six hundred *Ostriches*, only for the eating of their braines, being neere the sea, he neuer tasted fish but in places farthest distant from the sea, all his diet was vpon fish: And in the In-land he fed the countrey clownes with the melts of lampres & pikes. To be briefe, *cenas & Vitellij & Apicij vici*, he exceeded the suppers both of *Vitellius* & *Apicius*.

S E C T. 5.

Of the excessive luxurie of more ancient times.

W H A T should I speake of more ancient times, of the Dictator *Cesar*, who borrowed of *Hirrius* six thousand lampres by weight, for the furnishing out of a triumphall supper, and by weight to be repaid againe, and if such were his store of lampres, what shall we conceiue of his other provision. Of *Fabius Gurges*, so called for devouring his patrimonie thorow his throate. Of *Metellus Pius*, who made suppers *ultra Romanorum ac mortalium etiam morem*, not only beyond the custome of the *Romanes*, but of mankind. Of *Metellus*

Pontifex, of whom *Macrobius* having specified the dainties served in at his table in all kindes, concludes, *Vbi iam luxuria tunc accusaretur quando tot rebus facta fuit cena Pontificum?* who should then accuse luxurie when the table of the high Priest was furnished with such varietie of rarities? Of *Hortensius*, who vsually watered, if I may so speake, his plane trees with wine, in somuch, that one day being to plead in a cause, wherein *Cicero* was likewise retained, he sollicited him to chaunge turnes with him, that so he might returne the sooner to his country farme, to powre wine on his planes with his owne hand; and so curious he was about his fish-ponds, that the same *Cicero* some where calls *Phillip* & him, *Piscenarios*, pond-men or fish-mongers, & so charie withall of his fish, that sooner should you get by his good will, *ex equili rhedarias mulas quam ex piscina barbatum mullum*, his coach mules out of his stable then one barble out of his ponde: yet was a mule sold sometimes for the price of an house.

Varro de re rustica. 3. 17.

Martial. l. 3. Epigr. 2.

— *Pluris mula est quam domus empti tibi.*

More for a mule then for a house thou pai'st.

Of *Afinius Celer*, who laid downe for one mullet six thousand Sesterces, as *Tertullian*, seaven thousand, as *Macrobius*, eight thousand, as *Pliny*, *In qua re luxuriam illius seculi eo magis licet aestimare*, saith *Macrobius*, *quod Plinius secundus temporibus suis negat facile mullum reperiunt qui duas pondo libras excederet, at nunc & maioris ponderis passim videmus, & pretia hac insana nescimus*: wherein we may the sooner guesse at the luxury of that age, in asmuch as *Plinius Secundus* affirms that in his time, 'twas hard to finde a mullet of aboute two pound weight, whereas now wee haue them every where of a greater quantity, and yet are not acquainted with those madde prices. Of *Lucullus* a great states-man, whom *Tully* & *Pompey* meeting by chaunce in the market place, out of a desire they had to know what his daily faire might be, invited themselues to suppe with him that night, but vpon condition, he should giue no warning thereof, for that they desired not to put him to charge: He began at first to put them off with excuses for that time, wishing them rather to agree on the next day; but they importuning him for the present, he demaunded of them, whether or no they would then suffer him to giue order in what roome they should sup; that they permitted: wherevpon he presently dispatches away a message in their hearing, that he would that night suppe in *Apollo*; within a while they follow after, and finde all things ready in a pompous and princely manner, but knew not the true reason, all the cunning lying in the word *Apollo*: For he had so disposed of his roomes, that being distinguished by names, their provision & charge when he sate in them was accordingly allotted to the; by which meanes his steward and cooke, as soone as they heard the roome named, knew presently what to provide. Now among the rest, that which bore the name of *Apollo* was chiefeft, the summe allotted therevnto, being, as witnesseth *Plutarch*, *Quinquaginta millia drachmarum*, which *Budeus* casts vp to 5000 Crownes, and addes withall, *hujusmodi multa à Plutarcho referuntur fidem omnino excedentia, si ex presenti seculo aestimentur*: Many such things are reported by *Plutarch*, which if they

Tertul. de Palat. Macri Satyr. 3. 16: Pl. 9: 17:

Lib. 4:

they should be valued by the scantling of our present times, would seeme altogether incredible. Of *Sergius Aurata* or *Orata*, who borrowed his name from a fish so called, because he loued it most; the first he was that adjudged the price to the *Lucrine* oysters for tast. Of *Licinius Crassus*, who, as witnesseth *Cicero*, being held a graue & stayd man, and most eminent among the citizens of the best ranke & note, mourned in blacke for a *Lamprey* which died in a pond adjoyning to his house, as it had beene for his daughter; and therevpon was afterward commonly called *Licinius Murena*. Or lastly, of *Octavius*, Admirall of the Navy, who finding that the *Scarus* was not to be had in the Italian Seas, dispersed an incredible multitude of them, being brought thither in shippes, betweene *Hostia* & *Campania*, *miroq; ac novo exemplo pisces in mari, tanquam in terra fruges aliquas seminavit*; by a strange and new example sowed fishes in the sea, as it had beene corne in the field: And the same man, *tanquam summa in hoc utilitatis publica reteretur*, as if herein had consisted the well-fare and chiefe happines of the state for five yeares employed his utmost endeavours, that if among other fishes any fisher-man by chaunce lighted vpon a *Scarus*, hee should againe restore him to the sea safe & sound. Belike this was the same *Octavius*, of whom *Seneca* relates this pleasant stroy: *Mullum ingentis forma, (quare autem non pondus adicio & aliorum gulam irritum & quatuor pondo & ad Selibram fuisse aiebant.) Tiberius Caesar missum sibi cum in macellum deferri & venire iussisset, amici inquit omnia me fallunt, nisi istum mullum aut Apicius emerit aut Publius Octavius. Ultra spem illi: coniectura processit, licitati sunt, vicit Octavius & ingentem consequutus est inter suos gloriam, quum quinq; millibus HS emisset piscem quem Caesar vendiderat, ne Apicius quidem emerat.* *Tiber. Cas* being presented with a goodly mullet of a vast quantity (but why doe I not adde his weight, that so I may provoke the appetite of others? he was sayd to weigh foure pounds & halfe) sent it presently to the market there to be sold; and my friends, quoth he, I am much mistaken, if either *Apicius* or *Publius Octavius* buy him not: It fell out beyond expectation; they both cheapned it, but *Octavius* carried it away, and thereby got him wonderfull applause among his companions, that he had with five thousand sesterces bought a fish which the Emperour sold, and *Apicius* durst not buy. For mine owne part I cannot tell, whether I should more wonder at the base parcimony of *Tiberius*, or the riotous prodigality of *Octavius*, that the one being an Emperour should send a fish which was given him for a present, to the market to be sold; or the other, being but a private man, should buy it at such a rate, Yet it should seeme by the *Satyrists*, this price was not so rare, but others outvie d it.

Macrob: Satur.
3.15.

Idem: 3.16:

Epist. 95:

Juvenal, Satyr:
4.

--- *Mullum sex millibus emit,*

Aequantem sane paribus sestertia libris.

He for a mullet did six thousand pay,

Which equall pounds did with those thousands weigh.

By which proportion it seemes, they equalled a thousand Sesterces to a pound of fish.

S E C T. 6.

Of their wonderfull nicenesse in the strangenesse, weight, and
newnesse of their fishes, as also of diverse other their
strange curiosities about them, and of the
vastnesse of their fishponds, and great
store of fishes in them.

ANd no marveile since those fishes among them were in greatest
request which were brought from remote Seas, their own being
in a manner drawne dry,

Iuven. Satyr. 5.

*Mullus erit domina quem misit Corsica, vel quem
Tauromenetana rupes quando omne peractum est,
Et jam defecit nostrum mare.*

That's th'only Mullet which from Corsica is sent,
Or from Sicilian rocks, for all our Sea is spent,
And altogether failes.

And of the Lamprey to like purpose in the same Satyre.

*Virroni murena datur qua maxima venit
Gurgite de Siculo.*

A Lamprey one on Virro did bestow,

The greatest that Sicilian gulfe did know.

Of their weight they were so curious and observant, that they had them
weighed many times at their very tables in the presence of their guests,
many standing by and noting it in their table bookes, as witnesseth *Am-
mianus Marcellinus*. *Poscuntur etiam in convivis aliquoties trutina et apposi-
ti pisces & volucres ponderentur, & glives quorum magnitudo sapius delicata non
sine tedio presentium ut antehac in usitata laudatur assidue, maxime cum hac
eadem numerantes notarii prope triginta adsistant, cum thecis & pugillaribus.*
The ballances are sometimes sent for in the midst of their feasts, that
the fishes which are set before them, & the birds, & the reare-mice may
be weighed, whose excessiue greatnes not without tediousnesse to some
present, as being a thing heretofore unvsuall, is dayly magnified and ex-
tolled, specially when almost thirty *Notaries* standing by, set downe
the exact weight in their table-bookes. To which custome the *Poet*
alludes.

Hor. l. 2, Sat. 2.

--Laudas insane trelibrem

Mullum.

A Mullet thou doest praise

Mad man that three pound waighs.

And as the weight much commended their fish & inhanced their price,
so did the newnesse & freshnesse thereof: they being come to such a
nicenesse & delicacy at last that *parum videtur recens mullus nisi qui in
convivia manu moreretur*, that mullet seemed not new enough which di-
ed not in the guests hand. To this purpose they brought them aliue in
glassen bottles filled with water, into the roomes where they sate: in
*cubile natant pisces, & sub ipsa mensa capitur, qui statim transferatur in men-
sam,*

*Sen. nat. quest.
3. 17.*

sam, our fishes swimme in our chambers, and that very fish is taken vp
 vnder our board which is instantly serued in, to our board. They took a
 marvellous delight to see their mullets change colour whiles they were
 expiring, *Mullum expirantem versicolore quadam & numerosa varietate spe-*
ctari proceres gula narrant: The headmen and peeres of *Luxury* affirme
 that the mullet when he lies a dying shewes himselfe in many and those
 very various and changeable colours. But *Seneca* hereupon cannot hold
 but desires leaue to leaue his matter a while, and to lash these gluttons.
Permitte mihi quaestione seposita castigare luxuriam: and then goes on. *Quo* cap. 18.
pervenire delicia? & pro putrido jam piscis affertur qui non hodie eductus, ho-
die occisus est; nescio de re magna tibi credere, ipse oportet mihi credam huc af-
feratur, coram me animam agat; ad hunc fastum pervenere ventres delicato-
rum, ut gustare non possint piscem nisi quem in ipso convivio natantem, palpi-
tantemque viderint, To what passe is our daintinesse now come? it is
 held for a stinking fish which is not that very day drawne out of the
 water & kild: I cannot trust thee in a matter of so great moment, bring
 him hither that he may expire in my presence: to such an highth are
 our belly-gods come, that they cannot taste the fish vnlesse they see
 him in the very feast swimming and panting. And to this end, saith
 he, *cursum aduehitur & gerulis cum anhelitu & clamore properantibus datur*
via, he is brought in in a posting speed, and way is giuen to the Porters
 making haste with panting and out-cries. His conclusion is, *non tempe-*
ro mihi quin utar interdum temerariis verbis, & proprietatis modum exce-
dam: non sunt ad popinam dentibus & ventre, & ore contenti, oculis quoque gu-
losi sunt. I cannot refraine but that sometimes I must vse vnadvised and
 improper words, they are not content to play the gluttons with their
 jawes and belly, and mouth, but they must doe it with their eyes too.
 And *Meursius* herevpon inferres, *Qua malum ha delicia? vix credamus* cap. 14.
nisi ab ipsis authoribus haberemus, quorum fidem hic negare sit piaculum.
 What a mischief, what a nicenesse is this? we should not beleue it, but
 that we haue it from those authors whose credit once to question were
 a kinde of impiety. Yet that *Sammonicus Severus* writes to *Severus* the *Macrob. Sat. 3.*
 Emperour touching the serving in of the *Acipenser* or *Sturgeon* is mee
 thinkes a degree beyond all that hath beene yet spoken, it therein ap-
 pearing that indeed they made their belly their God. *Dignatione vestra* Philip. 3. 19.
cum intersum convivio sacro animadverto hunc piscem à coronatis ministris à
Tibicine introferri. When your sacred Majesty is pleased to admit me to
 your feast, I obserue that this fish is euer serued in with musicke: the
 wayters that beare him wearing garlands or chaplets on their heads.
 Wherevpon *Macrobius* makes this Comment, *Quasi quadam non delicia-*
rum sed numinis pompa, as it had beene not for delight, but for devotion
 to some divine power.

Since then they were thus curious in the choice of their fish, wee
 need not much marveile at him in *Iuvenal*, who

---Circais nata forent an

Iuven. Sat. 4

Lucrinum ad saxum Rutipino ve edita fundo
Ostrea, callebat primo deprendere morsu
Et semel aspectu litus dicebat Echini.

No

No sooner did he taste an Oister, but he knew
Whether it from Circes towne, or Lucrin lake they drew,
Or from Richborow deepe; and Lobsters also he,
What shore them bred can tell when first he doth them see.

Lib. 4. epig. 30. But rather that of *Martiall* touching the Lampreyes in *Domitians* fish-
ponds at *Baie*.

Piscator fuge ne nocens recedas
Sacris piscibus ha natantur unde,
Qui norunt Dominum, manumq; lambunt
Illam qua nihil est in orbe majus.
Quid quod nomen habent & ad Magistri
Vocem quisq; sui venit citatus.

Angler wouldst thou be guiltlesse: then forbear,
For they are sacred fishes which swimme heere,
Who know their Sovereigne and will lick his hand,
Then which none's greater in the worlds command:
Nay more th' haue names, and when they called are,
Do to their severall owners call repaire.

Lib. 10. 70. Which latter part is confirmed by *Pliny*, *Spectantur & in piscinis Caesaris*
genera piscium ad nomen venire, quosdamq; singulos. In the Emperours fish-
ponds are seene a kinde of fishes which come at the calling of them by
their names, and that particular and single ones. And of *Antonia* the
Lib. 9. 35. wife of *Drusus* he reports, that at *Baulos* she hung Jewels as it had beene
eare-rings in the gilds of a Lamprey which she loued; and that *Horren-*
sus the Oratour was seene to shed teares for the death of one whom he
deately affected.

These kinde of fish-ponds for the keeping of Lampreyes besides the
Emperour diverse private men had, and that so large as is almost incre-
dible what is reported of them, were it not written by Authors of good
credit. The same *Hirrius* whom we mentioned before, receiued for
the yearely rents of his buildings raised about his fish-ponds, as witnes-
seth *Varro*, twelue thousand Sesterces; All which hee disbursed
De verusica 317. againe in the feeding of his fishes: his farme he sold, and specially in
regard of his fish-ponds for foure hundred thousand Sesterces. And
Ibid. c. 2. *Cato* (as writeth the same Author, being Guardian to *Lucullus*, sold out
of his fishponds so much fish as hee receiued for it fourty thousand Se-
sterces. But *Columella* making report heereof out of *Varro*, whether
Lib. 8. c. 16. vpon a mistake or no I know not, makes the summe ten times as much:
his words are, *attamen isdem temporibus quibus hanc memorabat Varro lu-*
xuriam maxima laudabatur severitas Catonis, qui nihilominus & ipse tutor
Luculli grandi ere sestertium quadringentorum millium piscinas pupilli sui
venditabat. In those very times in which *Varro* mentions this Luxury,
the severity of *Cato* was highly commended; yet he being guardian to
Lucullus, sold his Wards fishponds for a great summe of foure hundred
thousand Sesterces; the difference is great betweene *Varro* and *Colu-*
mella, but it should seeme, the one speakes of the fish alone, and the o-
ther of the fishponds with it. Howsoever the summe was doubtlesse
very great, which argued their great store of fish, and yet their prices
being

being so great withall, it must needs argue that their *Luxury* was *universal*, and greater then either their prices or store.

SECT. 7.

Of their excessive gluttony in foule as well as in fish,
together with their luxurious appurtenances
to their solemne feasts, as also that their
gluttony rose with their Empire,
and againe fell with it.

NOW as their *Luxurie* shewed it selfe chiefly in their fish, so likewise did it in birds, though not happily so much, yet foule enough to discover their insatiable appetites: *Gellius* to this purpose alleageth a notable passage out of a set speech of *Favorinus*, an ancient Orator, which he vsed in reproach of their luxurious suppers, when he perswaded the *Licinian* Law for the cutting off of superfluous charge that way, which is the more remarkeable, because in those times. *Præfæcti popinæ atq; luxuria negant cœnam lautam esse, nisi quum libentissime edis, tum auferatur, & alia esca melior atq; amplior succenturietur. is nunc flos cœnæ habetur inter istos, quibus sumptus & fastidium pro facietis procedit: qui negant ullam avem præter ficedulam totam comesse oportere: ceterarum avium atq; altilium, nisi tantum apponatur ut à cluniculis inferiori parte saturi fiant, convivium putant inopia sordere: superiorem partem avium atq; altilium qui edint eos palatum non habere.* The masters of the Art of Cookerie and *Luxurie* deny it to be a rich supper, vnlesse that meate which you feed vpon with a good stomack be taken off, and more dainty and full dishes be mustered in place thereof. That is now held the flowre of delicacie, when in steed of merriment, costlinesse euen to loathing is substituted: they deny that any bird is to be eaten whole but onely the *gnat-snapper, & except such a quantity of other birds and fatted foule be serued in, and set on, as a man may glut himselfe only with the hinder part of them, they hold it but a poore feast: and such as taste the fore-part, they censure as hauing no palate. The fowle which they specially hunted after and most delighted in, were *Phœnicopters*, *Peacocks*, *Thrushes* and *Pigeons*. For the first of these I know not what kinde of bird it was, but *Martial* thus describes it.

15. B.

Ficedula.

Dat mihi penna rubens nomen sed lingua gulosis

Lib. 13. Epig. 71

Nostra sapit, Quid si garrula lingua foret?

Red wings gaue me my name, my tongue's a dainty cate,

To gluttons: would be more if that my tongue could prate.

Their *peacocks* grew in greatest request in *Varroes* time, *De pavonibus* nostra memoria greges habere capti, & vanire magno, ex ijs *Ausidius* supra sexagena millia nummum in anno dicatur capere: Flocks of *peacocks* began to be kept in our time, and to be held at high rates, *Ausidius* is sayd to receiue yearely for these birds sixty thousand *Sesterces*; their bodies being commonly sold for fifty, and their egges for five pence a peece.

Lib. 3. s. 6.

What reckoning they made of their *thrushes* in part appears by that
 of *Martiall*.

Inter aves turdus si quid me iudice certum est

Inter quadrupedes mattea prima lepus.

'Mongst birds the thrush, 'mongst beasts the hare,
 In my conceite the choicest are.

Lib: 3. cap: 2:

Of *thrushes* they had marvellous great abundance, and yet were they very deare; both which, we haue testified by *Varro* vpon his owne knowledge. In this farme alone, saith he, which is ordained for an *Ornithon* or the keeping of birdes, *Quinq; millia scio venisse turdorum denarijs ternis ut sexaginta millia ea pars reddiderit eo anno villa;* I know to haue beene sold five thousand thrushes for three pence a peece, so as that commodity alone brought in that yeare three score thousand *Sesterces*. And no marveill, since the places in which these were kept, were, as writeth the same *Authour*, as large as the whole *manner house* it selfe. Now for *Pigeons*, a paire were commonly sold for two hundred *Sesterces*, if they were faire, for a thousand. And *Lucius Accius* hauing it seemes some excellent breed, would not sell them vnder foure hundred pence the paire; and this in *Varro's* age, which was more se-

Lib: 3. u: 7.

Lib: 8. cap: 8:

vere. But afterwards in *Columella's* time they were held at foure thousand *Sesterces*, his words are worth the noting, *Presijs earum domini complent arcam, sicut eximius Author Marcus Varro nobis affirmat, qui prodidit, etiam superioribus suis temporibus paria singula [Columbarum] millibus singulis Sestertiorum solita vanire, nam nostri pudet seculi, (si credere volumus,) inueniri qui quaternis millibus nummum binas aves mercantur.*

The owners of them fill their chests with the money which they receive for them; as that renowned *Authour Marcus Varro* affirms, who witnesseth that even in his times, which were more severe, a paire of pigeons were vsually sold for a thousand *Sesterces*: For, of the age in which we liue, I cannot speake without blushing, some being found therein (if it be not a matter beyond beleife) who haue laid downe for two of those birds foure thousand *sesterces*. Yet were they not content with these store-houses at home, but mustered in the provinces abroad whole cohorts of fowlers & hunters to bring them in provision; as *Latinus Pacatius* hath elegantly expressed it *Vt taceam infami sepe delectu scriptos in provincijs aucupes ductasq; sub signis venatorum cohortes militasse conuinis.* Not to speake of their infamous leauying of fowlers mustered within the Provinces, and whole bands of hunters marching vnder severall colours; the end of whose warres, was, to make worke for their feasts: In which, their curiositie likewise about their very bread was such, that the number of them was not the least, saith *Gellius* in his 15 booke, cap. 19. To whom that of *M. Varro* in his Satyre, *ne quisquam* might not vnfitly be applied, *si quantum opera sumisisti ut tuus pistor bonum faceret panem eius duodecimam philosophia dedisses, bonus iam pridem esses factus, nunc illum qui norant volunt emere millibus centum, se qui novit nemo centusii.* If thou hadst bestowed but the twelfth part of that paines in the studie of Philosophie, which thou hast that thy Baker might make thee good bread, thou thy selfe mightest long since haue

beene

beene made good; whereas now they that know him, will be content to lay down for him five hundred pounds; but for thee, such as know thee scarce one hundred pence.

Now if I should herevnto adde the *appurtenances* to these feasts, as their infinite variety of *sauces*, whereof *Seneca*, *inventa sunt mille conditura quibus aviditas excitaretur*, a thousand kinde of *sauces* are found out for the stirring vp of the appetite; their bathings & annointings before their feasts, their perfumes & sweet odours in diuerse kinds at their feasts; *Cræo sparsa humus*, the very floore was strowed over with saffron: the changing of their apparell, as also the rooſe of the roome where they ſate, with ſome new device in it at the bringing in of every ſeuerall courſe. And laſtly, of their damnable practice after their feaſt ended, not fit to be named among *Chriſtians*, I ſhould tire both my ſelfe, & the Reader, and ſome of theſe I ſhall perchaunce haue fitter occaſion to ſpeake of, when I come to treat of their *luxury* in *buildings* and in *apparell*.

And though it be true in the condition of the ſtate, as in the courſe of private men.

Nemo repente fit turpiſſimus.

No man ever arrived to the height of villany at firſt daſh, yet when their *Empire* was at the height, their riches & fulneſſe bred ſuch exceſſive *luxurie*, as is ſcarcely matchable in all reſpects in any nation at any time: But doubtles as farre beyond all that latter ages haue afforded as was the vaſt extent of their dominions. Neere about the ſecond *Punike* warre they were come to that paſſe, that *Cato* the Cenſor openly complained, *nō poſſe ſalvā eſſe urbem in qua piſcis pluſ quam boſ veniret*, that it could not goe well with that city, in which a fiſh was ſold for more then an oxe. But in *Tiberius* his time it was come to another paſſe, when one fiſh was valued at the price of aboute tenne oxen, *Tres mullos triginta millibus nummum vaniſſe graviter conqueſtus eſt*, ſaith *Suetonius* of that Emperour: He greivouſly complained that three mullets were ſold for thirty thouſand *Sesterces*, which is two thouſand *Sesterces* vpon a fiſh beyond any yet ſpoken of; which I wonder was forgotten by *Pliny* in that place where he purpoſely mentions the exceſſive prices of fiſhes. But as their *Empire* declined ſo did their *luxury*, as we haue heard before out of *Macrobius* and *Latinus Pacatus*, by which it appeares that *Vices* haue their riſing, their raining, and their falling, as all other things haue: As their fewell increaſeth, ſo doe their flammes; but that once failing they are ſoone extinguiſhed.

SECT. 8.

SECT. 8.

That their riot did not only shew it selfe in the delicious choyce of their fare, but in their voracity and gurmmandizing, in regard of the quantity some of them devoured at a meale.

N Either did their excessive *luxurie* shew it selfe only in the delicious choyce of their fare, but there were among them, who likewise strangely exceeded in voracity & gurmmandizing, in regard of the quantity and weight thereof. *Maximinius* the Emperour devoured many times in one day *quadráginta libras carnis*, *ut autem Cordus dicit, etiam sexaginta*: forty pounds of flesh, or as *Cordus* hath it, Sixty. *Clodius Albinus* another Emperour, did eat somuch, *quantum ratio humana non patitur*, as humane reason cannot well comprehend it: *Nam & quingentas fici passarias quas Græci Callistruthias vocant jejunum comedis* *Cordus dicit, & centum Persica Campana, & melones ostiensis decem, & vuarum Lavicarum pondo viginti, & ficedulas centum, & ostrea quadráginta*: In the morning fasting, he dispatched five hundred dried figges, as writeth *Cordus*, & an hundred peaches of *Campania*, and tenne melones of *Ostia*, and twenty pound weight of grapes of *Lavica*, besides an hundred * gnat-gnappers, & forty oysters.

* A bird like a nightingall, feeding on figges.

Vopiscus in Aureliano:

Dij talem terris avertite pestem,
God from such monsters vs defend.
But *Phago*, in whom *Aurelian* tooke singular delight for his wonderfull eating, surpassed in my mind both the former, ridding at one meale in the Emperours presence, *aprum integrum, centum panes, vervocem & porcellum*, a whole boare, an hundred loaves, a weaver, & a young pig: and it should seeme, that this serving in of whole bores was a thing not unvsuall, even when they fate alone & in private.

Juven: Satyr: 1:

Quis feret istas
Luxuria sordes? quanta est gula qua sibi totos
Ponit apros, animal propter convivium natum.
This filthy luxury who can endure? how great
Is that same gut, which would whole bores (a beast
Ordained for feasts) to be before him set.
And the other *Satyr*ist to like purpose

Horat: 1: Sat:
3.

Ravcidum aprum antiqui laudabant, non quia nasus
Illis nullus erat: sed, credo, hac mente, quod hospes
Tardius adveniens, vitiatum commodius, quam
Integrum edax dominus consumeret.

Our Ancestours well lik't a rancid boare, not that
They had no nose, but (as I thinke) if guests came late,
'Twas thought much fitter they should eat a tainted one,
Then the feasts founder should devour one all alone.

Mark Anthony, saith *Plutarch*, having but twelue guests provided eight boares, one set to the fire after another, that whensoever he came in, sooner

sooner or latter, one at least might come in prime. Nay *Caranus*, saith *Athenaus*, set before every guest a boare in a severall dish.

Now I haue beene long, I confesse, in this point, but their infinite vanity & extreame madnesse therein hath made me so; the rather for that this excesse is commonly brought as a reason of the generall decrease of mankind now a dayes, as well in strength & stature, as age & duration: And though it be true, that we exceed this way too much, wasting that in superfluous and riotous pampering of our bodies, which would be farre better bestowed on such as want necessities; yet it is as true, that they as farre exceeded vs this way, as we come short of them in riches & dominion: And yet I doubt, much of that which hath beene spoken, will hardly be beleeued, though I haue alleadged their owne Authours, and for the most part in their owne words, thereby to adde the greater weight, and procure the greater credit therevnto. *Nam vetera nunc ferè hoc fatum habent, ut etsi vera, vix videantur, an sui magnitudine, an nostra declinatione*, sayth a great *Antiquarie*, speaking of this very thing: These ancient records are for the most part subject to this destiny, that although they be true, yet they seeme not so, either thorow their owne excesse, or our comming so farre short of them: But I hope I shall prepare a way to an easier beleife of that which is past, by that which is now to follow, touching their *luxurie* in building & apparrell, and other prodigall expences every way futable to their *luxurie* in diet, if not exceeding it.

*Lyfius, Epist.
selett. 63.*

C A P. 8.

of the Romanes excessive luxurie in building.

SECT. I.

*Of their excesse in the great variety of their farre
* fetcht and deare bought marble.*

THe chiefeft materialls of building, in which the *Romanes* most generally exceeded, was the great variety of their farre fetcht & deere bought *Marble*: of which *Pliny*, as being himselfe an eyewitnesse speakes so feelingly, and yet withall so wittily, that he best deserves to be heard: Though I professe to make choyce of his words, as they lie heere & there, and fute best with the present purpose. It now remaines, (saith he) to write of the nature of stones, that is to say, the principall point of all enormous abuses, and the very height of wastfull superfluities. For all things else which we haue handled heretofore even to this booke, may seeme in some sort to haue beene made for man, But as for *Mountaines*, *Nature* hath framed them for her owne selfe, partly to strengthen, as it were certaine ioints within the veines & bowels of the earth, partly to tame the violence of great rivers, and to breake the force of surging waues & inundations of the sea. And yet notwithstanding for our wanton pleasures, and nothing else wee

cut & hew, we loade and carry away those huge hills and inaccessible rockes, which otherwise to passe only over, was thought a wonder. Our Ancestours in time past, reputed it a miracle, & in a manner prodigious, that first *Hanniball* and afterwards the *Cimbrians* surmounted the *Alpes*. But now even the same mountaines we pierce through with pickaxe & mattocke, for to get out thereof an hundred sortes of marble, we cleave the Capes and Promontories, we lay them open for the sea to let it in; downe we goe with their heads, as if we would lay the whole world even, and make all levell. The mighty mountaines, set as limits to bound the frontiers of diverse countreyes, and to separate one nation from another, those we transport and carry from their native seate: Ships we build of purpose for to fraught with marble: the cliffes & toppes of high hills they carry to and fro amid the waues & billowes of the sea. Now let every man thinke with himselfe what excessive prices of these stones he shall heare anon, and what monstrous peeces and masses he seeth drawne & carried both by land and sea, & then let him consider withall how much more faire & happy a life many a man should have without all this, and how many cannot chooseth but die for it, whensoever they goe about to doe, or if I should speake more truly, to suffer this enterprife. Also for what use else or pleasure rather, but only that they might lie in beds & chambers of stones, that forsooth are spotted, as if they never regarded how the darkenesse of the night bereaveth the one halfe of each mans life of those delights & joyes.

S E C T. 2.

Of their excessive sumptuousnesse in their temporary or transiunt buildings, made only for pastime to last but for a short time.

Now their buildings were either private or publique: and the publique again, either meerly for pleasure or for use: such were their places for civill assemblies, their bridges, their *Aqueducts*, their draughts ynder ground, their market places & high wayes; & these, though respectiue to their severall ends they were very sumptuous, yet because they were for publique use, I will not touch, but will only insift vpon their excessive superfluity, cast away vpon those which were only for publique pleasure, or the vaine delight of private men. Among those that were destined to none other end, but game & pastime, their *Theaters* & *Amphitheaters* first present themselves to our view, and among these, the renowned Theater of *Scaurus*. This *Scaurus*, saith *Pliny*, when he was *Edile*, caused a wonderfull peece of worke to be made, and exceeding all that ever haue beene known wrought by mans hand, not only those that haue beene erected for a moneth, or such a thing, but even those that haue beene destined for perpetuity, and a Theatre it was: The stage had three lofts one aboue another, wherein were 360 columnes of marble, the base or nethermost part of the stage was all of Marble

Marble, the middle of glasse (an excessiue superfluity, neuer heard of before or after) as for the vppermost, the boards, planks & floores were gilded; the columnes beneath were 40 foot high wanting twaine: and betweene these columnes there stood of statues & images in brasse to the number of 3000. The Theater it selfe was able to receiue 80000 persons to sit well and at ease. Astouching the other furniture of this Theater of Scaurus in rich hangings which were cloth of gold, painted tables the most exquisite that could bee found, Players apparell, and other stuffe meet to adorne the stage, there was such abundance thereof, that there being carried back to his house of pleasure at Tusculum the surplusage thereof, (ouer and aboue the daintiest part whereof hee had dayly vie at Rome) his servants and slaues there, vpon indignation for this waste and monstrous superfluities of their Master, set the said countrey house on fire, and burnt as much as came to an hundred millions of Sesterces. Yet was this magnificent peece of building, by the testimony of the same Pliny but *Temporarium Theatrum*, a Theater set vp but for a short time: And in another place, *vix vno mense futurum in usu*, Lib. 36 c. 2. scarce to indure for a moneth.

Such a kinde of worke was Caligula his bridge, *novum & inauditum spectaculi genus*, a new and vnheard of kinde of shew: It reached from Puttoll to Bauly three miles and a quarter: Hee built it vpon ships in a few dayes, and in emulation of Xerxes, ouer this hee marched with the Senate and the Souldierie in a triumphant manner, and in the view of the people, vpon this hee feasted and passed the night in dalliance and gaming: but like Ionas his gourd, it was suddenly vp, and suddenly downe, *Immensum opus perpendenti, sed cui laudem vanitas detrahit; nam quo sine structum nisi ut destrueretur?* a marveilous great worke indeed, but such as the vanity thereof depriued it of commendation, for to what end was it raised but to be demolished: thus sported he, saith Seneca, with the power of the Empire, and all in imitation *furiosi & externi*, & *infelicititer superbi regis*, of a forraine, frentique, and vnluckie proud King. Of like nature were those buildings set vp by the commaund of Caracalla, (whom we may not vnjustly or vnjustly call another Caligula) *Vbi unus hyematurus erat aut etiam putabatur hyematurus, cogebantur amphitheatra & circos struere, et ea ipsa mox diruenda*, wherefoeuer hee wintred, or but intended to winter, they were constrained to erect Amphitheaters and Cirkes for publique games, and those within a while to bee taken downe againe: So as vpon the matter they were put to that excessiue charge onely for the imaginary vse of one man.

Sueton. c. 19

Lypsius.

Me brevis vita cap. 18:

Dis.

SECT. 3.

S E C. 3.

Of their infinite expence in their permanent Amphitheaters, and the appurtenances belonging thereunto, namely their Curtaines and Arena.

Amianus.

BVt I passe by these transeunt buildings, and come to their permanent, among which the Amphitheater began by *Vespasian*, but finished and dedicated by *Titus* was one of the most famous, *Cujus summitatem agrè visio humana conscendit*, the height whereof was such, that the eye of man could hardly reach it. It was reared saith *Cassiodorus*, *divitiarum profuso flumine*, with rivers of treasure powred out, it contained onely vpon the steps or degrees sufficient, and easie seates for eighty seuen thousand, so as the vacant places besides might well containe ten or twenty thousand more. *Martiall* preferres it before all the rare great workes of *Rome*.

*Omnis Casareo cedit labor Amphitheatro,
Vnum pro cunctis fama loquatur opus.*

To *Casars* Amphitheater all other workes must vaile,
To sound this one aboue them all Fames trump shall neuer faile.
And in another place hee bestowes vpon it the title of Venerable.

*Hic ubi conspicui venerabilis Amphitheatri,
Erigitur moles stagna Neronis erant.*

In that place where sometimes stood cruell *Nero's* ponds,
That venerable preece th' Amphitheater stands.

Instit. lib. 6.

Sermone 81.

Now as the masse of treasure was infinite which they cast away in the raising of these buildings, only to make the people sport, so was it incredible what they spent in the furnishing of them, and setting foorth their games therein: *Quid dicendum est de ijs qui populari levitate ducti, vel magnis urbibus spectatas opes exhibendis muneribus impendunt* saith *Lactantius*: what shall we say of them who being led with popular applause, spend in exhibiting sword-fights, treasure enough for the building or maintaining of great Cities? And *Ambrose* to like purpose, *Magistratus in Theatris, mimis, athletis, gladiatoribus, alijsq; hujusmodi generibus hominum totum patrimonium suum largitur & prodigit, ut unius hora favorem vulgi acquirat*. The Magistrate vpon Theatricall games, jeasters, wraстlers, swordplayers, & such kind of men, lavishes out his whole patrimony, and that onely to purchase the applause of the people for an houre: And surely wee may well conceiue and beleue as much whether we consider their frequency, or their appurtenances: for the former of which *Augustus* alone is said to haue set foorth publique games in his owne name for himselfe foure and twenty seuerall times: And for other Magistrates who either were absent or wanted meanes to goe thorow with it three and twenty. Nay *Titus* at the dedication of his Amphitheater held them for an hundred dayes together. Now for the appurtenances I may say,

Suetonius.

--- *Materiam superabat opus.*

The

The workmanship did farre the stufte exceed.

They were beyond the strangeness of their buildings, their whole furniture was sometimes of silver, as that of *Iulius Caesar*, and *C. Antonius*, Plin. l. 33. c. 3. sometimes of gold, thus *Nero* for the ostentation of his greatness to *Terridates* King of *Armenia* couered ouer not the stage only, but the whole Theater with golde. All the instruments then vied and furniture there of were likewise gilded, and the vaile or curtaine which hung ouer them to keepe them from the heat of the Sunne was all of purple, imbroadered with stappes of gold, *ex quo & dios ille aureus appellatus*, from whence that was euer after called, the golden day. To these kinde of curtains which were doubtlesse of very great charge; being coloured and shadowing so spacious a place doth *Lucretius* allude,

Et vulgo faciunt id lutea rufaq; vela,

Et ferrugina cum magnis intentis theatris

Per malos vulgata trabesq; tremensia pendent

Namq; ibi concessum Caveai subter & omnem

Scenai spectem, patrum, matrumq; Deorumq;

Infantiumq; coeuntq; suo fluitare colore.

So doe those curtains yellow, russet, red,

When o're the Theaters streacht out and spred,

On masts and beames they trembling hang: for then

The scaffolds vnderneath, and all the Scene

Of Gods, of Fathers, and of Matrons graue

They with their colours die, and cause to waue.

Hereunto may be added the *Arena*; the place below in which their games were exhibited; so called, for that it was strowed ouer with sand for the drinking in of the blood which was spilt vpon it, and officers they had purposely for this businesse, who in the Lawes and Writings of the Christian Doctours are tearmed *Arenarij*, Sanders, who as they first strowed it ouer, so betweene whiles during the same sitting, they renewed it againe, as appeares by those verses of *Martial*, where hee speaks of a Lyon suddenly iraged who slew two of those Sanders,

Nam duo de tenera iuuenilia corpora turba,

Sanguineam rastru qua renovabat humum;

Sævus & infelix furiali dente peremit,

Martia non vidit majus Arena nefas.

Two youthfull bodies of that company,

Which did with rakes the bloudie ground renew;

With furious tooth the savage Lyon slew,

A fouler deed the sand did neuer see.

This place *Nero* in stead of sand caused to be strowed ouer with dust of gold, himselfe being to try a match of Chariot-driving therein: and so did *Caius Caligula*, *Edidit & Circenses quosdam præcipuos minio & Chryso-* Suetonius l. 18 *colla confrato Circo*, he set forth certaine notable games in the *Circus*, being strowed ouer with vermilion and dust of gold.

SECT. 4.

Of their incredible expence in the hiring and arming, and dieting of their sword-players, in the hunting, bringing home, feeding, and keeping of their wilde beasts, in other admirable shewes to the astonishment of the beholders, in refreshing the spectators with precious and pleasant perfumes, and the like, & lastly in casting their largesse among the people, neither was this the practise of the Emperors only, but of private men.

BUt the greatest expence of all was the multitude of Fencers who were all hired for great prizes (and great reason, their liues being exposed to evident hazard) besides the arming and dieting of them before they entred, and if they exhibited beasts, it is almost past credit, the relations that are made by Historians touching their number. The Emperour *Probus* commaunded to be let loose at once, a thousand Ostriches, a thousand staggess, a thousand wilde boares, and a thousand fallow deere, besides wilde goates, wilde sheepe, and other beasts, all which he gaue over to the mercy, or rather the rage of the people, euery one to catch what he could, the *Circus* being set all ouer with tall and mighty trees, which by the Souldiers were taken vp by the rootes as they grew in the woodes, and there planted with greene turfe about them, and fastned with beames and yrons. The next day bee let in to the same place *centum iubatos leones*, one hundred maned or crested Lyons, which with roaring filled the ayre as it had beene with thunder, one hundred Leopards of *Lybia*, one hundred of *Syria*, one hundred Lyonesses, and three hundred beares. Now if wee should cast vp the expence he was at for the hunting, for the bringing home, for the feeding and keeping of all these, it is not for an ordinary reach to comprehend: yet stood he not alone in this kinde. *Gordianus* exhibited in one day an hundred wilde beasts of *Lybia*, and in another, one thousand beares, as *Capitolinus* in his life witnesseth.

And they strived as it should seeme who should outvie one another in rarity of shewes, & riotousnesse of expence, euen *Titus* himselfe, who in their stories is named, *Delicia generis humani*, the delight or delicacy of mankind, marveilously exceeded this way. He set forth the whole tragedie of *Orpheus*, so that creeping rockes and running woods were exhibited in the *Arena*, as *Attilia* hath well expressed it.

Quicquid in Orpheo Rhodope spectasse theatro

Dicitur exhibuit Caesar Arena tibi.

Repperunt scopulis mirandaq; sylua cucurrit,

Quale fuisse nemus creditur Hesperidum.

What *Rhodope* in *Orpheus* Theater did see

Th' Amphitheater that exhibits vnto thee

O *Caesar*: Rockes doe creep, and woods doe moue apace,

The

The Orchard such they say of *Atlas* daughters was; Nay there were that together with *Land-Beasts* brought in *Sea-Monsters*, as the *Sea-calfe* and the *Sea-horse*, which *Calphurnius* at the games of *Carinus* testifies that himselſe beheld,

*Nec solum nobis sylvestria cernere monstra
Contigit, Equoreos ego cum certantibus urſis
Spectavi vitulos & equorum nomine dignum
Sed deforme pecus.*

Hippopotamus.

Nor onely did I see wood Monsters there,
But *Sea-calves* also rugging with the beare,
And that mis-shapen vglie beast withall,
Which we not without cause the *Sea-horse* call.

And that which was more strange, they brought in the *Sea it selfe*, and therein ships, representing the forme of a sea-fight. But *Heliogabalus* went beyond all conceit: *Fertur in Eurapiis vino plenis naves Circenses exhibuisse*, they be the words of *Lampridius*, he is said to haue exhibited shippes in the *Circus*, sayling and contending in wine. It was in *Hortensius* a great folly and vanity to water his plane trees with wine, but for shippes to sayle and contend in wine was a most monstrous superlatiue madnesse.

Now amid all these sights, it was ordinary to refresh the spectators with pleasant perfumes from gummess, or sweete water, or oyntments, or balsamum, or saffron mixed with wine, or somewhat in that kinde, which they conveyed in close pipes through the whole *Amphisheater*; and the fight ended, they commonly cast a largesse among the people, wrapping vp the names of those things in little pellers, which they intended to giue, and every one as he could catch them, brought them to the *Masters* of the games, who delivered them the thing it selfe specified in their peller. Such gifts *Titus* cast abroad by the space of an hundred dayes (as witnesseth *Dion*) for so long his games lasted, and many of them were of good value, as appeares by the testimony of the same *Authour*, not only meate, and drinke, and apparell, but vessells of silver and gold, horses, cattell, slaues, and the like, but it is wonderfull what *Nero* did in this kinde, to the forenamed hee added curious pictures, pearles, and pretious stone, yea *naves insulas, agros, ships, houses, farms*: *O res vix Suetonio fidiſſimo testi credendas*, things hardly to be credited, though delivered by *Suetonius* a most faithfull Historian.

Neither was this the practise of *Emperours* only, but even of private men. *Cicero* testifies of *Milo*, that in these kind of games he wasted three patrimonies; and *Vopiscus* with some indignation relates the like of *Messalla*, *Legat hunc locum Iunius Messalla, quem ego liberè culpae audeo, ille enim patrimonium suum Scenicis dedit, heredibus abnegavit*: Let *Iunius Messalla* reade this place, whom I dare freely accuse, for that he hath cast away his patrimony vpon stage-players, and defrauded his heires thereof; and then reckoning many particulars of his wastfull riot that way, at length he thus concludes, *Et hac quidem idcirco in literas misi, ut futuros editores pudor tangeret, ne patrimonia sua proscriptis legitimis heredibus mimis & balatronicis deputarent*: These things haue I therefore com-

mitted to writing, that such as heereafter set forth these kind of games, might blush to conferre their patrimony vpon jesters and base raskalls, excluding their lawfull heires.

SECT. 5.

Of their superfluous expence, as in the number and largenes, so likewise in the beauty and ornament of Bathes; which were likewise of little other vse then for pleasure.

BVt leaving their Theaters & Amphitheaters which were onely for pleasure, let vs take a view of their Bathes, which were likewise of little other vse, at least-wise as they vsed them, as appeares by that of *Artemidorus*, *Balneum nihil aliud suo ævo fuisse quam transitum ad cenam*, that a bath in his time was nothing else but a passage to supper, so as they which often tooke repast, washed as often; it being noted of *Commodus* the Emperour, that he washed seaven or eight times in a day. And among the *Christians*, *Sisinius* a Bishop was censured as intemperate for washing twise in a day: Yet a wonder it is to consider, to what an infinite height these kind of buildings for Bathings amounted, aswell in regard of their number & largenesse, as their beauty & ornament. *Agrippa*, as witnesseth *Pliny*, during his *Edilship*, built for publique and free vse one hundred & seaventie, and the same *Aushour* there addes, that at *Rome* in his time their number was infinite: and for their largenesse, some of them, sayth *Olimpiodorus*, were *ingenti*, & *Cassiodorus* *mirabili magnitudine*, of an huge & wonderfull bignesse: *Ammianus* is more particular, *Lavacra in modum Provinciarum extructa*, Bathes built in the manner of Provinces; the *Antoninian*, or rather *Dioclesian Bathes* alone, were so capacious, as they contained for the vse of washing, *Sellas mille sexcentas, easq; è marmore polito factas*, one thousand six hundred severall seates, and those all of polished marble.

Lib: 36.

Lib: 16:

Olimpiodorus in
Excerptis.

Neither was the ornament & beauty of these bathing places vnfutable to their number and largenesse; which *Seneca* in his eighty sixt *Epistle* hath most elegantly exprest, and withall bitterly censured, where speaking of the meanness of the Bath which *Scipio Africanus* vsed, while he lived in banishment, where *Seneca* wrote that *Epistle*, he thus goes on: *At nunc quis est qui sic lavari sustineat, pauper sibi videtur ac sordidus nisi parietes magnis & pretiosis orbibus præfulserint, nisi Alexandrina marmora numidicis crustis distincta sint, nisi illis undiq; operosa & in pictura modum variata circumlitis prætexatur, nisi vitro condatur Camera, nisi Thasius lapis quondam rarum in aliquo spectaculum templo, piscinas nostras circumdederit, nisi aquam argentea epistomia fuderint, & adhuc plebeias fistulas loquor: Quid cum ad Balnea libertinorum pervenero quantum statuarum? quantum Columnarum & nihil sustentium, sed in ornamentum positarum & impense causæ: eo deliciarum venimus ut nisi gemmas calcare nolumus:* But who is there now, who would be content to wash as he did, he seemes to himselfe poore & base, whose walls doe not shine with great and pretious circles,

circles, vnlesse betweene the marble of *Alexandria*, be inlaid the shavings of that of *Numidia*, vnlesse they haue a border round about it with diuerse colours in manner of pictures, vnlesse their arched rooffe be covered over with glasse, vnlesse the *Thasian* stone, heretofore a rare sight in some Temple, compasse our ponds; vnlesse silver cockes powre vs forth water; & as yet haue I spoken but of the ordinary & common pipes, how much beyond all this are the Bathes of freed men? how many statues, how many pillars haue you there, for none other vse, but only for ornament & expence: we are now come to that delicacie, that we can tread vpon nothing but jewels. By which liuely description a man should thinke, he rather spake of the pallaces of some great Princes, then of their common *Bathing* roomes, ordained for none other vse, then the washing off of the swee & filth of their bodies. Yet with *Seneca* in some parts of his description *Statius* accords.

*Nili ibi plebeium nunquam Temesea notabis
Æra, sed argento falix propellitur unda
Argentoq; cadit, labræsq; nitentibus instat,
Delicias mirata suas.*

In balneo E-
trusci.

There's nothing vulgar, there's no *Temesean* brasse,
But happy waters there through silver conduits passe,
From silver fall, and into glistering cisterns runne,
(Admiring their delights) with expedition,

Thereby signifying, that not only the pipes, thorow which the water ranne, and the cockes & conduites, out of which it ranne, but the cisterns too, into which it fell were all of pure silver. And touching the glasse, he touches that too.

*Effulgent Camera, vario fastigia vitro,
In species animosq; nitent.*

The arched roofes doe shine & glister gloriously,
Of diuerse glasse compos'd, both to the mind & eye.

Pliny goes farther, and tells vs, that not only the sides of the cisterns, in Lib. 33. 22: which they bathed were of silver, but the seats & footing or the bottome, so as they could hardly stand for sliding vpon it, *ut eadem materia & probris seruiat & cibus*, so as the same matter, saith he, is made to serue both at our tables, and for base vnworthy offices.

SECT. 6.

Of the endlesse masses of treasure which they powred out in the erecting & adorning of Temples, for the worship of those images which they forged to themselves, or at leastwise knew well enough were no Gods.

BEfore wee enter into their private houses, it shall not bee amisse in passing from their Bathes by the way, to cast a glance vpon their Temples & Statues. Had their temples beene consecrated to the honour & service of the true God, I should haue highly commended their great expence in the building & beautifying of them, as a worke

1 Cor. 10. 20.

Natiua Impe-
rii:

of piety and devotion: But being dedicated to *Idolls & Devills*, & such as themselves, at leastwise the wiser sort amongst them, either laughed at, or beleev'd not, the excessive charge which that way they were at, was not onely excessive *vanity & folly*, but most prophane & impious both *superstition & superstinty*. The number of their Temples onely in the city of *Rome*, was foure hundred twenty foure, the greatest part of which was no doubt very magnificent, shining with gold, and jeat, and marble, as appears by that of *Rutilius*.

*Confunduntq; vagos delubra micantia visus
Ipsos crediderim sic habitare Deos.*

And glistering temples wandring eyes confound,
So dwell the Gods I thinke on heavenly ground.

And these chiefly, as I conceive doth *Claudian* intend speaking of *Rome*.

*--- Quæ luce metalli,
Æmula vicinis fastigia conferit astris.*

Who with her mettalls light doth shine,
And with the neighbour starres her tops confine.

De Templo.

But most elegantly and fully hath *Arnobius* expressed it: *Sint ergo hæc licet ex molibus marmoreis structa, laquearibus aut renideant aureis, splendent hic gemmae, & sydereos evomant variata intermissione fulgores, terra sunt hæc omnia & ex facie vilioris materia concreta*: Though they be built with piles of marble, and their vantes shine with gold; though they glister with pretious stone, which dart forth & sparkle abroad beames like the starres in a various distance, yet all these things are but earth, made of the dregges of the basest matter.

Dio, 55.

Amongst them all, that of the *Capitoll* was most eminent & stately, it tooke its name, as witnesseth *Arnobius*, à *Capite Toli*, from the head of a man so named, which at the laying of the foundation was digged vp: It was foure times ruined, and three times againe reedified: It was first built by the *Tarquines*, Secondly by *Sylla*, but dedicated by *Lutatius Catulus*; in which *Augustus* bestowed vpon the seate of *Iupiter* *Sedecem millia pondo auri & quingenties Sestertium in gemmis*, sixteene thousand weight of gold, and five hundred times an hundred thousand *Sesterces* in jewels: Thirdly by *Vespasian*; fourthly & lastly, by *Domitian*. The height whereof was such, that *Silius* brings in *Iupiter*, thus prophcing of *Domitians* rayling it.

*Aurea Tarpeia ponet Capitolia rupe,
Et junget nostro templorum culmina cælo.*

He on Tarpeian rocke shall place the golden Capitole,
And shall advance his Temples top as high as heavenly pole.

In Apologico.

With whom *Tertullian* fully agrees in sense, and almost in words: *Nam etsi à Numa concepta religio est, nondum tamen aut simulachris aut templis res divina apud Romanos constabat, & nulla Capitolia cælo certantia, sed temeraria de Cespite altaria*: Though religion were first brought in by *Numa*, yet then had the *Romanes* neither images nor temples for divine service, no *Capitoll* contending with heaven for height, but altars were set vp of the turfe that came next to hand. And no doubt but the length & breadth

breadth were every way answerable to the height; the excessive charge that *Domitian* was at in the building thereof, *Martiall* after his flattering manner hath wittily described, telling him, that thereby hee had so farre obliged *Iupiter* & all the Gods, that if they should empty their coffers and make sale of all they had, they could never make him sufficient recompence, but would be forced to turne bankrupts.

Lib. 9: Ep. 4.

Quantum iam superis Caesar catalog, dedisti,

Si repetes, & si Creditor esse velis.

Grandis in Aethere licet actio fiat Olympo,

Coganturq; Dei vendere quicquid habent.

Conturbabit Atlas, & non erit una rota

Decidas tecum qua pater ipse deklin.

Pro Capitolinis quid enim tibi solvere templis

Quid pro Tarpeia frondis honore potest: &c.

Expectes & sustineas Anguste necesse est,

Tibi quod solvat non habet Arca Tonitru.

If *Caesar*, what on Gods & heaven thou hast bestow'd,

Thou shouldst as Creditor call in, and all that's ow'd,

Though in the Etheriall skies portales of all were made,

And all the Gods were forc't to sell what ere they had,

Atlas would bankrupt prove, and to the prince of heaven

Not one ounce would remaine to make all reckonings even.

For for the Capitols great temples how can he,

Or for Tarpeian oakes & laurels satisfie: &c.

Thou must, o *Caesar*, needes a while forbear & stay,

For why, *Iones* coffers yet have not wherewith to pay.

V

By which it appeares what account they made of the Gods, to whom they dedicated these Temples: Nay *Domitian* himselfe the founder of the Capitoll, is so bold with them, as if they had indeed beene his debtors, or at least-wise his companions to stile himselfe in his edicts, *Domitianus & Deus noster sic fieri iubet*, our Lord & God so commaunds, unde institutum posthuc ut nec scripto quidem nec sermone cuiusquam appellaretur aliter: And from thence forth was it ordained, that no man should

Sueton. c. 13.

give him other title either in writing or speech. Now for the riches & ornament of the Capitoll, we may in part giue a guesse at it by this, that there was spent only vpon the gilding of it *supra duodecem milia talentorum*, aboue twelue thousand tallents: It was gilded all over, not the inner roose only, but the vtter covering which was of braisse or copper, but the doores were layd over with thicke plates of gold, which remained till *Honorius* his raigne, and then in a dearth of coyne, *Stilicho* mandasse perhibetur (saith *Zozimus*) ut fores in Capitolio Romano quae auro magni ponderis erant obductae laminis ijs spoliarentur: Cum autem qui hoc facere iussi erant, id agerent, in parte forium scriptum reppererant, [infelici Regi servantur:] Quod eventus docuit: nam *Stilicho* paulo post infelicitur perijt. *Stilicho* is said to haue given commaund, that the doores of the Capitoll, which were laid over with masse gold, should be robbed of those plates, and when they who had it in charge put it in execution,

they found ingraven vpon a part of the doore these wordes, [They are reserved

reserved

reserved for an unfortunate King] which the event proved to be true, for *Sisilche* within a while after perished unfortunately.

Next to the Capitoll was the *Pantheon*, the Temple of honour, of Fortune, of the City, strange Idolls, and that of Peace inferiour to none. It was built by *Vespasian*, three hundred foote in length it was, and in breadth two hundredth, so as *Herodian* deservedly calls it, *Maximum & pulcherimum omnium in urbe operum*, the greatest and fairest of all the workes in the city: Wherevnto he addes, *ditissimum, ornamentis auri & argenti excultum*, the most sumptuous in ornaments of gold & silver: of which *Iosephus* thus writes, *Omnia in hoc templum collata & disposita sunt ob quæ homines videndi cupiditate antea per totum orbem vagabantur*. Vpon this temple were bestowed all the rarities which men before traveled thorow the world to see. And *Pliny*, *ex omnibus quæ retuli clarissima quæq; in urbe, jam sunt dicata à Vespasiano Principe in templo Pacis*, of all the choyce peeces that I have spoken of, the most excellent are laid vp and dedicated by *Vespasian* the Emperour in the temple of Peace: Thus they made Idolls to themselves, which the simplest of them could not but discern were no Gods, and then without measure or reason, powred out infinite masses of treasure in the serving & worshipping of them.

Lib. 7. Extid.

Lib. 34. 8.

SECT. 7.

Of their wonderfull vanity in erecting infinite numbers of statues, and those very chargeable, & that to themselves.

YET in this was some pretence of Religion, but in their Statues they worshipped themselves, vainly imagining thereby to æternize their names. *Quidam æternitati se commendari posse per statuas æstimantes eas ardentè affectant, atq; auro curant imbractari*, saith *Ammianus Marcellinus*, some hoping to recommend themselves to eternity by statues, infinitely affect them, causing them to be overlaid with gold. This itching humour of theirs, *pene pacem urbi populum dedit, quàm naturæ brought forth*, meaning that the number of their statues, did in a manner equall their citizens: And no marveile, they being *sine numero*, without number, in somuch as they filled every corner, pestered their streetes and straightned their wayes, which gaue occasion to that *Edict* of *Claudius*, whereby private men were inhibited the erecting of statues to themselves, but by leave first obtained from the Senate, such only excepted as had done some publique service.

Lib. 16:

Cassiodorus. l. 7.

Victor:

Dislib. ultimo.

Cap. 13:

For the prize of the stuffe whereof they were made, the most common and basest of them were of Marble, the rest of yvorie, & silver, and gold, and those solide & massie, *Statuas sibi in Capitolio non nisi aureas argenteasq; poni permisit, ac ponderis certi*, they be the wordes of *Satonius* touching *Domitian*, he forbad any statues to be erected to him in the Capitoll, saue only of gold & silver, & those of a certaine weight, which weight perchaunce those verses of *Statius* expresse,

Da Capitolinis æternum sedibus aurum,

Quo niteant sacri centeno pondere vultus.

Grant to the Capitoll eternall gold, wherein

Those sacred faces of one hundred weight may shine.

But that of *Commodus* fare exceeded this weight, *Statuam mille librarum auream habuit*; he had a Statue erected to him of a thousand pound weight. Now as they were at this great charge in the making and erecting of their Statues: So were they likewise in the guarding of them. They were kept with no lesse caution, then they were set vp with care & cost: And to this purpose maintained they an Officer of great honour who had the title of *Comes Romanus* giuen him. This man with his soldiers walked thorow the streets of the citie in the night to see good order: but chiefly to provide that no wrōg should be offered to the Statues; thus prodigally carefull they were of their owne shadows, and as prodigally carelesse of the liues of others: so as I cannot easily determine whether their cruelty were greater in the one, or their folly in the other.

S E C T. 8.

*Their prodigall sumptuousnesse in their private buildings,
in regard of their largenesse and height of their
houses, as also in regard of their marble
pillars, walls, roofes, beames, & pavement full of Art and cost.*

NOW for their dwelling houses and private buildings. *Claudian* speaking of Rome thus sets them out in generall.

*Qua nihil in terris complectitur altius aether
Cujus nec spatium visus, nec corda decorem,
Nec laudem vox vlla capit.*

On earth nought higher doe the Heavens embrace:
Her largenesse sight, her beauty hearts, her praise
Tongue comprehends not---

It was the vaunt of *Augustus*, *marmoream se relinquere quam lateritiam accepisset*; that he left the City of marble having found it of brick: but *S. Hieroms* complaint, *Vivimus quasi altero die morituri, & edificamus quasi semper in hoc seculo victuri*, we so feed as if we were to die to morrow, & so build as if we were here to liue for euer. The largenesse of their houses was strange, and such as a man would wonder what vse they could haue of it: The wordes of *Valerius* are to this purpose very pertinent, where speaking of *Quintius Cincinnatus*, to whom the Dictatorship was offered, though he plowed but foure acres of land, with some indignation he addes, *anguste se habitare nunc putat cuius domus tantum patet quantum Cincinnati rura patuerunt*; he thinks he is straightned in his dwelling, whose house is no larger then were all *Cincinnatus* his grounds. Some of *Neroes* slaves had Kitchens that tooke vp aboue two acres of ground; and the Lands of those who laid the ground of their Empire were of lesse extent then the Cellars of some that came after: To that by this proportion their houses came almost to the greatnes of Cities,

Seneca de Benef.
7.10.

domos atq; villas cognoveris in urbium modum exadificatas, they be the words of *Salust*. wee may vnderstand their houses & farmes to bee built in the manner of Cities. Nay they went beyond them: *adificia privata laxitatem urbium magnarum vincenia*, private mens houses exceeded the largeness of great Cities. And of these sometimes they joyned two or three together, as *Catiline* in his Oration to his Souldiers vpbraides his enemies; and in this sense it seemes is *Martial* to be vnderstood.

Lib. 4. epig. 40.

Et docti Seneca ter numeranda domus.

And learned *Seneca's* thrice to be numbred house.

Neither was the height of their houses disproportionable to the largeness.

Adificant auro sedesq; ad sydera mittunt.

They build with gold and raise their seats vnto the starres.

There were of them who built to the height of their chiefest Temples that of *Hercules* and *Fortune*, nay exceeded the *Capitoll* it selfe.

Iuven. Sat. 14

*Adificator erat Centronius, & modo curvo
Littore Caieta summa nunc Tyberis arce.
Nunc Prænestinis in montibus alta parabat
Culina villarum, Gracis longeq; petitis
Marmoribus, Vincens Fortuna atq; Herculis adem.
Vt spado vincebat Capitolia nostra Posides.*

Centronius was a builder, sometimes on Crooked *Caietas* shore, sometimes vpon *Tibur's* high top raising his palaces, And on *Prænestine* hils fetching from *Greece* And farre away his marbles, to controll (As th'Eunuch *Posid* did our *Capitol*)

The Church of *Fortune* and of *Hercules*.

Yet to this height they farther added somewhat by planting gardens & orchards & groves vpon their house toppes: therein like *Antipodes* running a contrary course to nature, as *Seneca* truly and justly taxes them.

Epist. 122.

Non vivunt contra naturam qui pomaria in summis turribus serunt, quorum sylva in tectis domorum ac fastigijs nutant, inde ortis radicibus quo improba cacumina egissent? Doe they not liue contrary to the rules of Nature, who make themselues orchards vpon their highest towres, whose woods shake vpon the tops of their houses, their roots there springing vp where the top should haue reached?

Neither was the riches and ornament vnsutable either to the largeness or height of their building. Thither they called to their great expence the most skilfull *Architects* from *Greece* and *Asia*, and all the parts of the knowne world, *Quibus ingenium & audacia erat, etiam qua natura denegavisset, per artem tentare*, whose wit and daring was such, that by art they attempted to effect that, which Nature seemed to deny. Among the rest of their ornaments, their infinite number of marveilous high pillars, and those of diverse sorts of the choisest kinds of marble was not the least. The height of some of them was 38 foot, and to their height

Tacit. Annal.
15. 10.

Plin. 36. 2.

Seneca. ep. 115.

was their beauty and greatnes euery way answerable. *Pueros reperti in littore*

littore calculi leues, & aliquid habentes varietatis delectant, nos ingentium macula columnarum siue ex Aegyptijs arenis, siue ex Africa solitudinibus ad- uentum ponticum aliquam uel capax populi conationem ferunt. Children are delighted with pebble stones or shells of diuerse colours taken vp from the shore, and we with diuerse spots of huge marble pillars, drawne higher from the sands of Egypt, and the deserts of Africa, for the supporting of a gallery or some spacious dining roome. Their number was likewise very great.

Pendent innumeris fastigia mixta columnis. Whose rooffe doth rest on pillars numberlesse.

Sometimes an hundred of them stood together
At tua centenis incumbunt tecta columnis. Thy rooffe vpon an hundred pillars stayes;

Sometimes as many more, as in the house built by Gordianus in the Pre-
nestine way, ducentas columnas uno peristilo habens, having in one entry or gallery two hundred pillars, distinguished by fifties from diuerse coun-
tryes, and all of an equall height. And if wee desire to know the price of some one of these, *Crassus uelut decem columnas centum milibus num-*
mum emi, I bought ten pillars for one hundred thousand Sesterces. And as their pillars were of solide marble, so their walls were artificially
crusted ouer with peeces of diuerse colours. *Miramur parietes tenui mar-*
more inductos, cum sciamus quale sit quod absconditur, oculis nostris imponi-
mus. We stand wondring at the walls laid ouer with thinnie crusts of
marble, though we know well enough what lyes vnder them, wee are
content to colen our owne eyes. To this Lucan alludes,

Nec summis crustata domus, scilicetq; nitebat
Marmoribus.

Nor was the house with crusts of marble lin'd,
Nor with hewen stones of precious marble stin'd.

And Fabianus Papyrius, *In hos igitur exitus varius ille secutor lapidis, ut tenni*
fronte parietem tegat: To this purpose is that diuersly coloured stone
sawed into diuerse peeces, that with a thinnie surface it may couer the
wall. The first inventor or setter vp of this device was Mamurra, as
witnesseth Pliny out of Cornelius Nepos,

But their beames exceeds these wals being all gilded ouer.

Auratae ne trabes an mauros undiq; postes
Mirer?

But whereat should I wonder most,
The golden beames or yvorie post?

Non tanarijs domus est mihi fulta columnis;
Nec Camera auratas inter eburna trabes.

Nor is my house on Spartan pillars plac'd,
Nor yvory rooffe with gilded beames is grac'd.

And they were laid ouer either with thick gilding or plates of gold.

Crassumq; trabes absconderat aurum.
Thick gold did hide the beames.

As were likewise their roofes.

Crasso laquearia fulta metallo.
Thick metall lin'd the roofes.

Statius in Epi-
thalamia St. 12

Marial. 5. 136

Capitolinus in
Gordiano 3.

Valerius 9. 12

Seneca Ep. 116

Seneca Contro-
uers. 2. 1.

Lib. 36. c. 6.

Statius in Ti-
burtino Manij
Vopijci.

Propertius.

Lucan.

Statius.

This their best Authors euery where testifie and censure. *Quid peruenit hac atria columnata? quid varia ista colorationes? quid aurata lacunaria?* to what vse are their entries set with rowes of pillars of diuerse colours? to what end are their roofes guilded? they be the words of *Masurius* in *Stobaeus*. The rooffe of the *Capitol*, saith *Pliny*, was not guilded till the razing of *Carthage*. *Qua nunc & in privatis domibus auro teguntur*, which now a daies euen in private mens houses are covered with gold; Nay he goes farther and tels vs, that this practise passed from the roofes and beames, to their chambers and walls; *Qui & ipsi iam tanquam vasa inaurantur*, which are now guilded as well as our drinking vessels. With whom *S. Hierome* accords, *Auro parietes, auro lacunaria, auro fulgent capitula columnarum*, with gold their walls, with gold their roofes, with gold the heads of their pillars shine. And heerein they had diuerse shapes artificially exprest, as it appeares by *Statius*, and pretious stones heere & there glistering among.

In *Thurinus*,

Vide artes veterumq; manus varijsq; metalla
Viva modis, labor est auri memorare figuras;
Aut ebur, aut dignas digitis contingere gemmas;
 Their ancient workes their liuing mettals
 Of sundry sorts did see, a labour 'twere
 To tell the shapes of gold, the yvory,
 The pretious stones on fingers fit to weare.

Senec. ep. 90

But that which I thinke was more costly then gold, was their admirable variety and change of roofes, with drawing one face, and exhibiting another at their pleasure. *Ver satilia Carnationum lacunaria ita vagamentant, ut subinde alia facies atq; alia succedat;* & toties recta quoties fercula mutantur. They so fram'd the moueable roofes of their dining roomes that one face succeddes another, which they vary as often as they serue in a new course. And it should seeme by *Rutilius* that in these they sometime represented groues with birds singing in them.

Quid loquar inclusas inter lacunaria sylvas
Ver mulaqua vario carmine ludis avis.

They pleasant groues within their roofes doe shut,
 Where birds doe chant and vary many a note.

Senec. ep. 115.

And from these sometimes they cast downe flowres in such abundance that they buried men vnder them. *Oppressit in triclinijs versatilibus parasitos suos violis & floribus, sic ut animam aliqui efflauerint, cum eripi ad summam non possent*, saith *Lampridius* of *Helio-gabalus*, He so ouer-loaded his jesters in his dining roomes that had changeable roofes, with violets and other flowres, that some of them died vpon the place, being brought to that passe as at last they could not be rescued. Nay so curious they were, that the very floore which they trode vpon must answer the rooffe, *Impenditur cura ut lacunaribus pavimentorum respondeat*

De Tranq. c. 1.

nitot, a speciall care must be had, that the shining of the floore must bee answerable to the rooffe. And in another place, *domus etiam qua calcatur pretiosa, diuitijs per omnes angulos dissipatis* pretious things are spred there euen where men tread, riches being scattered thorow euery corner of the house. And this excessive curiosity *Statius* glances at.

Dum

Dum vagor aspectu vultusq; per omnia duco,
Calcabam nec opinus opes; Nam splendor ab alto
Desinus, & nitidum referentes aera testa
Monstravere solum, varias ubi picta per artes
Gaudet huius, suberantque novis Asarota figuris.
 Whilst to and fro my wandring eyes I tread,
 All things, vnwares on riches did I tread,
 Downe from above came light, the roofe the aire
 Reflecting on the soyle, shewed what lay there;
 The artificiall pavemene seem'd to smile,
 And figures new were pictur'd on the tile.

S E C T. 9.

The profuse expences of Domitian and Nero in
their buildings, as also of Caligula
in his madde workes.

NOW as the greatest part of these was ordinary even in private mens houses, so we may well conceiue that the palaces of the Emperours farre exceeded them. I will instance only in two, those of *Domitian & Nero*. Touching the former, *Plutarch* treating of the sumptuous furniture of the *Capitoll*, thus writes. *Quod si quis hunc Capitoli magnificum instructum mixtur, idem si Domitiani in aula vnam porticum vel basilicam, vel balneum, vel pellicum dictam viderit, exclamet cum epicharmo.*

Non liberalis aut benignus tu claes,
Profusione gaudes.

Not bountifull nor liberall
 Art thou, but plainely prodigall.

If any wonder at this magnificent structure of the *Capitoll*, the same man if in *Domitians* palace he should behold but one gallery, or hall, or bath, or parlour for his Concubines, he would presently cry out with *Epicharmus*, &c. where he makes all the glory of the *Capitoll*, which we haue in part opened before, to bee but as a trifle or toy, in comparison of *Domitians* owne house.

The other was that of *Nero*, which himselfe named *domum auream*, a golden house, and *Suetonius* in his life thus describes it. *Vestibulum eius fuit, in quo Colossus centum viginti pedum staret ipsius effigie, tanta laxitas ut porticus triplices milliarias haberet. Item stagnum maris instar, circumseptum edificijs ad urbium speciem. Rura insuper arvum atq; vinetis & pascuis sylvisq; varia cum multitudine omnis generis pecudum ac ferarum, in ceteris partibus cuncta auro lita distincta gemmis vniouumq; conchis erant. Canationes laqueate tabulis eburneis versatilibus ut flores, & fistulatis ut vnguenta desuper spargerentur, praecipua Canationum rotunda qua perpetuo diebus ac noctibus vice mundi circumageretur. Eiusmodi domum cum absolutam dedicaret, hactenus comprobavit, ut se diceret quasi hominem tandem habitare capissi.* In the porch was set a *Colossus* shaped like himselfe of one

cap. 31.

A gentem vapim
 at Cuanatio So-
 lem.
 Iuvenal. Sat. 7.

hundred and twenty foote high, the spaciousnes of the house was such, that it had in it three galleries; each of them a mile long, a standing poole like a sea, beset with buildings in the manner of a citie; fields, in which were areable grounds, pastures, vineyards, and woods, with a various multitude of tame & wilde beasts of all kinds. In the other parts thereof, all things were covered with gold, and distinguished with pretious stones or mother of pearle. The supping roomes were roofed with yvorie planks, that were moueable for the casting downe of flowers, and had pipes in them for the sprinkling of oynments. The roofof the principall supping roome was round, which like the heaven perpetually day & night wheeled about. This house when he had thus finished and dedicated, hee so farre forth approved of it, that hee said, *hee had began to dwell like a man.*

See Tacitus of
this house,
Annal. 13. c. 10.

Suet. c. 37.

Contraria p[er]
ces aequora sen-
tiant iactis in
alium molibus:
Floras,

I had thought nothing could be added to this extreame madnesse of Nero & Domitian, which made me resolve here to conclude this chapter; but I know not whether that Caligula, though perchance in somewhat a different kinde exceed them both. *Fabricavit & de Cedris liburnicas gemmatis puppibus versicoloribus velis magna thermarum, & porticum, & tricliniorum lacitate, magnaq; etiam vitium & pomiferarum arborum varietate: quibus discumbens de die inter choros ac Symphonias littora Campaniae peragraret. In extructionibus Prætoriorum atque villarum omni ratione posthabita, ut il tam efficere concupiscebatur quam quod posse efficere negaretur, & iacta itaque moles infesto ac profundo mari excisa, rupes durissimæ Siliæ, & Campi montibus aq; gere aq; uati, & complana: a fossuris montium inq; incredibili quidem celeritate, cum mora culpa capere lueretur.* He buile of Cedar, barges or gallifois, their sternes being set with pearle and pretious stone, carrying sayles of diverse colours, having in them bathes, galleries, and parlours of great largenesse, with great varietie of vines and trees bearing fruite, lying along in these amid his musicke of voyces and instruments, he was carried vp & downe vpon the coast of Campania. In the building of his countrey or mannour houses, setting aside all reason, hee desired nothing somuch to be done, as that which was denied could be done: so as that he would lay huge mighty piles in the deepe sea, to stop the course of it, he would cut thorow rockes of the hardest flint, equall the Champian to the mountaines, and leuell the toppes of high hills; and all this he did with speed incredible, the least delay being presently punished with death.

SECT. 10.

That the Romanes luxurious excesse in their household-stuffe and the ornaments of their houses, was surable to that of their buildings.

WEE may adde as an appendix to their luxury in buildings, that in their household-stuffe; and the ornaments of their houses; their excesse in their tables, and dishes, and cups I haue already touched, as being appurtenances of their luxury in diet, passing by

by these then we may take a survey of the rest. And first of their beds: These were either *Tricliniares* or *Cubiculares*, such as they vsed for diet, or lodging, in their supping roomes, or their chambers. These by degrees came to be of silver, then were they gilded, & lastly of pure massy gold: which *Carvilius Pollio* first brought in vse: And *Suetonius* reports of *Iulius Caesar*, in aureo lecto veste purpuria decubuisse, that hee layd him downe in a bed of gold with a purple covering. And *Gellius* of more ancient times out of *Favorinus Stratus*, auro, argento, purpura, amplior aliquot hominibus quam Dijs immortalibus adornatur: a bed for some men is furnished more magnificently with gold, & silver, & purple, then for the Gods immortall. These they likewise perfumed with rich & pretious odours, which the *Epigrammatist* deservedly laughs at.

Quid thorus à Nilo? quid Sindone tectus olenti?

Martial 2. 16.

Ostendit stultas quid nisi morbus opes.

What meanes thy bed from Nile, & quilt perfumed so?

What doth thy sicknes but thy foolish riches show?

Next their beds wee may set their *Chariots*, which were in a manner running beds, as their beds were a kind of standing chariots. These *Heliogabalus* had not only of gold, but set with pearle and pretious stone. And such a one belike was that whereof *Martiall* speakes,

Aurea quod fundi pretio carruca paratur.

Martial 3. 62.

That for a mannours price thou boughtst a golden coach.

So as that which the Poet fained of the *Chariot* of the *Sunne*, might indeed be verified of theirs:

Aureus axis erat, temo aureum, aurea summa,

Ouid Met 2:

Curvatura rota, radiorum argenteus ordo.

The axel-tree was gold. the beame, the wheele,

The spokes of silver were —

Their harness belonging to these was likewise very costly, & the Caparizons of their horses & mules imbroidered with gold & silver. Of these *Nero* when he journied had never lesse then a thousand; his mules being shod with silver, and his muleters richly apparelled: but *Poppaea* his wife therein exceeded him, causing the choicest of her travelling beasts to be shod with gold: Yet *Heliogabalus* went a straine farther, and put it to a baser vse; as he made water in *Myrrinis* & *Onichinis*, in *Murrin* vessels and of the *Onix* stone, so made he his stoole-pans of gold: Which *Pliny* out of *Messala* likewise reports of *Anthony*, in contumeliam naturæ vilitatem auro fecit opus proscriptio dignum, to the reproach of nature he vsed gold to the basest offices, a worke even worthy proscripti-
on. And the same doth *Martiall* vpbraide *Bassa* with:

Ventris onus misero nec te pudet excipis auro,

Lib 1: 37:

Bassa.

Thy bellies load thou doest exonerate,

O *Basse*, in gold, yet shamest not thereat.

Their caldrons, their seething pots, their gridirons, & frying-pans were vsually of silver, as witnesseth *Vlpian*, & *Pliny*, vasa coquinaria ex argento fieri queritur; *Calvus* the *Oratour* complaines; that our very kitching vessels are all of plate. The same *Pliny* affirms, that the price of a candlestick

14. 35.

delticke was the salarie or stipend of a *Tribune*, which was fifty thousand Sesterces: Nay a little hatchet or axe, if we may credit *Martiall*, was sold for foure hundred thousand.

*Cum fieret tristis solvendis auctio nummis,
Hæc quadringentis millibus empta fuit.*

When sale was made that debts might be defraide,
Foure hundred thousand for this was well paid.

Ph35:11:

Now for ornament of their houses, they bought them pictures of excessive prices: the counterfeit taken from a table made by *Pausias*, wherein was represented his mistress *Glycera* with a chaplet of flowers in her hand, curiously plaited and twisted; *Lucius Lucullus* bought of *Dyonisius* a Painter of *Athens*, and it cost him two talents of silver. *Cydias* in a table, represented the *Argonautes*, for which *Hortensius* the Orator was content to pay one hundred forty foure thousand Sesterces. And what difference is there heerein betweene vs and children, sayth *Seneca*, who value counterfeit rings, and jewels, and bracelets at high prizes, *nisi quod nos circa tabulas & statuas insanimus charius inepti*, saue that wee dote about statues and pictures, playing the foole at a deerer rate.

Ep. 115.

But as they were luxurious in the price, so were they likewise in the worke it selfe, which many times was lascivious & beastly.

Propertius.

*Quæ manus obscenas depinxit prima tabellas,
Et posuit casta turpia visa domo
Illa puellarum ingenuos corrumpit ocellos
Nequitiaq; suæ noluit esse rudes.*

The hand that first lascivious picture drew,
And filthy sights in houses chaste did shew
He maids chaste eyes did first corrupt, and he
Would haue them traind vp in their lechery.

Sueton. 43.

Thus did *Tyberius* adorne his chambers; *Cubicula plarifariam disposita tabellis ac sigillis lascivissimarum picturarum ac figurarum adornavit*. So did

Idem in vita
Horatii.

Hor. Speculato cubiculo scorta dicitur habuisse disposita, &c. They had likewise for ornament the shells of Tortoises artificially wrought, & in-

Seneca de beneficiis 7.9.

gentibus emptas, bought at wonderfull high rates. But I leaue their houses, together with the stuffe & ornament thereof, and come to their apparell and ornament of their bodies, in which they exceeded as much or more then in their houses.

CAP. 9.

CAP. 9.

Of the Romanes exesſiue Luxury in their
drefſing and apparell.

SECT. 1.

How effeminate they were in regard of their bodies,
ſpecially about their haire.

THeir effeminate ſoftnes and nicenes in regard of their bodies; Seneca hath well both obſerued and cenſured: *Adhuc quisquid eſt boni moris extinguiſimus leuitate & politura corporum, muliebres munditias antecęſimus, colores meretricios matronis quidem non induendos viri ſumimus, tenero & molli ingreſſu ſuſpendimus gradum, non ambulamus, ſed repimus: whatſoeuer is yet left of good faſhion we extinguiſh it by the decking and trimming of our bodies, we haue exceeded the neatneſſe of women, euen wee men weare light and whoriſh colours, not becomming matrons, we faſhion our gate to a wanton & mincing pace, we doe not walke but creepe. And of the ſame hee grieuouſly complaines in the proeme to the firſt booke of his Controverſies: *Capillum frangere, & ad muliebres munditias vocem extenuare, molliſie corporum certare cum feminis, & immunditijs ſe excolere munditijs noſtrorum adoleſcentium ſpecimen eſt:* it is now held the accomplished gallentry of our youth to friſſe their haire like women, to ſpeak with an affected ſmalnes of voice, and in tendernes of body to match them, & to bedeck themſelues with moſt vndeſcent trimmings. But their extreame curioſity in plaiting and folding their haire, he in another place moſt liuely deſcribes, and as ſharply, but juſtly reprooues: *Quomodo irascentur, ſi tonſor paulo negligetior fuit tanquam virum tonderet? quomodo excandescunt ſi quid ex iuba ſua decifum eſt? ſi quid extra ordinem iacuit, niſi omnia in annulos ſuos reciderint? Quis eſt iſtorum qui non malit Remp. turbari, quàm comam? Qui non ſollicitior ſit de capitis ſui decore, quàm de ſalute? qui non comptior eſſe malit, quàm bonſtior?* How doe they chafe if the barbour be neuer ſo little negligent, as if he were trimming a man? How doe they take on if any thing be lopped off of their feakes or fore-toppe? if any thing lye out of order, if euery thing fall not euen into their rings or curles, which of theſe would not rather chooſe that the ſtate whereof he is a member ſhould be in combustion then his haire ſhould bee diſplatted? who is not much more ſollicitous of the grace of his head then of his health? who maketh not more account to be fine then honeſt? Euen *Inlius Caſar* himſelfe was this way too too nice, *Circa corporis curam moroſior, vt non ſolum tonderetur diligenter, ac radetur, ſed & velleretur etiam, vt quidem exprobrauerunt:* He was too ſtudious about the care of his body, ſo as he was not onely curiouſly cut, but ſhauen, may had his haire pluckt off with pincers, which ſome vpbraided him with. No marveil then if *Nero* exceeded this way: *Circa cultum habitumq; adeo pudendus,* ſo ſhamefull was hee in the drefſing of himſelfe, that he alwayes wore his haire after the Greeke*

fashion plaited behind. These plaitings they likewise besmeered with oyntments and perfumes,

Juven. Sat. 4

Et matutino sudaus crispinus amomo

Quantum vix redolent duo funera.

And Crispin sweating with his oyntments and perfume,
Two funerals scarce smell so much I dare presume.

And for the face they vsed so much slibbet-sauce, such dawbing and painting, that a man could not well tell,

Juven. Sat. 6

---facies dicatur an vlcus.

May it a face or els a botch be call'de

Cap. 12.

Suetonius reports it of *Otho*, that he shaved every day, and rubbed his face ouer with moistned bread; *idq; instruisse à prima lanugine, ne barbatus unquam esset*, and that this he practised from the time of his first appearance of the haire on his chinne, that he might neuer haue a beard. Neither were these things onely practised by them, but Schooles they had to teach them, and open shoppes to sell what they had in this kinde.

Senec. ep. 91.

SECT. 2.

Of the pressing, plaiting, store, die, and prize of their garments, as also of their rings and jewels of inestimable value.

NOW as they were thus effeminate and curious about their Bodies, so were they likewise about the apparelling of them, Their garments were artificially pressed, *ponderibus ac mille tormentis splendore cogentibus*, with waightes and a thousand rackings and tortures to make them shine the brighter.

Senec. de tranquill. c. 1.

Martial. 5. 46.

Sic tua suppositis perlucet prala lacernis.

So doe thy presses shine with garments vnder-laid.

And as they were thus artificially pressed, so were they most curiously plaited, as appeares by this, that *Hortensius* hauing one day with much adoe composed himselfe to the looking-glasse, he commenced a suit against his fellow in office, for that meeting him by chaunce in a narrow way, he had disordered the plaits of his Robe, & *capitale putauit quod in huiusmodi suo locum ruga mutasset*, he held it a capitall matter that a fold vpon his shoulder was displaced. And therefore *Tertullian* alluding heereunto accompts it among the commodities of his cloake, that it needed no Artificer, *quis prae die rugas ab exordio formet*, who the day before he wore it, should set in due forme & order the plaits thereof: & a while after, *etiam cum reponitur nulli cippo in crastinum demandatur*: whe it is laid aside, it is not comitted to the stocks till the morrow. Of these they had such variety and store, that *Nero* was neuer seene twise in the same garment, & when a *Praetor* intending to set forth the most sumptuous & magnificent shewes he could devise, came to *Lucullus* to borrow of him some store of short clokes, his answer was, that he would take a time to see if he had so many as the *Praetor* desired, and the next day sending

Macrobi. Sat. 3. 13.

De Pallio c. 5

Suetonius c. 30.

to know what number would serue the turne, it being told him an hundred, *ducentas accipere iussit*, he bid them take two hundred. But *Horace* speaketh of a farre greater number, no lesse then five thousand.

Plutarchus in Lucullo.

Epig. 6.

Chlamydes Lucullus ut aiunt
Si posset centum scena prabere rogatus,
Qui possum tot: ait tamen & queram, & quot habeo
Mittam. Post paulo scribis sibi millia quinque
Esse domi chlamydum, partem vel tolleret omnes,

Lucullus asked once, if he could lend
 Vnto the stage one hundred cloakes, replied
 How can I man, so many? yet Ile send
 As many as I haue when I haue tried,
 Soone after writes, five thousand cloaks I haue,
 Take all, or part, as many as you craue.

Sic micat innumeris arcula synthesisibus
Atq; unam vestire tribum tua Candida possint
Apula non uno qua grege terra tulit.

*Martial, lib. 2
 epig. 46.*

The chest with supper garments infinite,
 Shines in like manner, and thy fleeces white
 From more then one flock in Apulia shorne
 By one whole tribe suffice well to be worne.

When they went to the publique Bathes, they had of these so many brought after them as might well suffice a dozen men; At their publique feasts they chaunged often only for ostentation to shew their variety, at least so often as severall courses were served in:

Vndecies una surrexisti Zoile cena
Et mutata tibi est Synthesis vndecies.

*Martial, lib. 5.
 epig. 81.*

Eleuen times at one supper thou
 O Zoilus didst arise:

As many times thou didst I trow
 Thy mantle change likewise.

Neither was the price vsutable to their store, they dared to lay downe for a cloake ten thousand Sesterces.

Epig. l. 4. ep. 61.

Millibus decem dixti
Emptas lacernas munus esse Pompilla.
Pompilla gaue thee thou didst boast,
 A cloake that might ten thousand cost.

And in another Epigram,

Emit lacernas millibus decem Bassus.

3. 10.

Ten thousand Bassus for a cloake did pay.

Now that which principally hoised vp the price of the garments to this immoderat hight, was the rich dye which they borrowed fro shelfish *Quibus eadem mater luxuria paria parè etiam margaritis pretia fecit*, which our Luxury, saith *Pliny*, hath brought to prizes almost equall to those of pearles. A pound of violet purple in the time of *Augustus*, as witneseth *Cornelius Nepos*, who liued and wrote during his raigne, was sold for an hundred pence, in steed whereof the Tyrian double dye grew in vse, which could not be bought for a thousand.

Lib. 9. c. 35.

Lib. 9. c. 39.

Lib. 11. 23.

Their lightnesse farther appeared in the light apparell which they wore; This is the making of that fine say, whereof silke cloath is made, saith *Pliny*) which men also are not abashed to put on and vse, because in summer time they would goe light and thin. And so farre doe men draw back now a dayes from carrying a good corslet and armour on their backs, that they thinke their ordinary apparell doth over-loade them. And these transparent garments the *Satyrists* thus deservedly inveighs against.

Sed quid

*Non facient alij cum tu multitia sumas
Cretice, & hanc vestem populo mirante perores
In Proculus & Pollineas? Est macha Labulla,
Damnetur si vis, etiam Carfinia: talem
Non sumet damnata togam. Sed Iulius ardet,
Aestuo, Nudus agas, minus est insania turpis.
En habitum quo te leges ac iura ferentem
Vulneribus crudis populus modo victor, & illud
Montanum positus audiret vulgus aratris.
Quid non proclames in corpore iudicis ista
Si videas: quæro an deceant multitia vestem?
Acer & indomitus, libertatisq; magister
Cretice pelluces?*

What will not others doe, since *Creticus* doth vse
Light garments, and therein *Pollineas* doth accuse
And *Proculus*, while as the vulgar sort therefore
Both game and wonder makes. *Labulla* plays the whore
Condemne her if thou wilt, condemne *Carfinia* too,
Yet will she not condemn'd weare such a gowne I trow.
But *Iuly* scaldeth, and I fry. Plead naked then,
Lesse shame 'tis to be mad. Behold the weed wherein
The conquering people yet fresh bleeding from the warre
And hardie mountainer leauing both plough and share
May heare thee talke of law and right, didst thou but see
A judge in such attire, what out-cries would there bee?
Would lawne a witnesse fit? Thou *Creticus* so sad,
So fierce, so free, art in transparent garments clad.

Plin. 33. 1.

Heereunto they added rings and jewels of inestimable value at the battle of *Canna* the *Carthaginians* gathered frõ the fingers of the slaughtered *Romans* who died in that battle three *modii*, which by *Hannibal* were sent to *Carthage* as a token of the greatnes of his victory. *Nonnius* the Senatour, being proscribed by *Anthony*, betooke himselfe to flight, and of all his goods carried with him onely one ring, wherein was set an opall. *Quem certum est, sestertius viginti millibus aestimatum*, which it is certaine was valued at twenty thousand sesterces. Rings they wore vpon euery finger,

Marial. 5. 63.

Per cuius digitos curris levis annulus omnes,
On whose each finger was a gold ring set.

Nay for euery joint they had a ring, and that set with a pretious stone,
Ex-

exornamus annulis digitos, & in omni articulo gemma disponitur, we garnish our fingers with rings, & vpon euery ioynt shines a pretious stone, saith *Seneca*; & *Pliny* some will haue the little finger loaden with three rings; nay now adayes, the middle finger onely excepted, all the rest are charged with them, atq; *etiam privatim articuli minoribus alijs*, yea and every ioint by themselves must haue some lesser rings & gemmalls to fit them. And if as all this had bin too litle, they wore vpon one ioint pretious stones.

Sardonichas, Smaragdos, Adamantas, Iaspidas vno.

Martial 5. 11:

Vcrsat in articulo Stella Severe meus.

Sardonix, Smaragd, Iasper, Diamond,

My Stella weares on one ioint of his hand.

Parum scilicet fuerit in gulas condi maria, nisi manibus, auribus, capite, totoq; corpore a faeminis iuxta virisq; gestarentur: forsooth it was too little that the seas were made for our gluttony, vnlesse we also wore them vpon our hands, in our eares, vpon our heads, and over our body, saith *Pliny*, speaking of the great abundance of pearle and purple, that was worne aswell by men as women. To this luxury of theirs in the vse of rings may not vnfitly be added, that the rings which they wore in summer, in winter they layd aside, and insteed of them vsed others, distinguishing them into summer and winter rings. *Luxuria* (saith *Probus*) *invenerat alios annulos aestivos alios vere hyemales*. And *Iuvenal*, Sat. 1.

--- *Cum verna Canopi*

Crispinus Tyrias humero revocante lacernas,

Ventiles aestivum digitis sudantibus aurum,

Nec sufferre queat majoris pondera gemmae.

--- When an Egyptian slaue

Crispin, a Tyrian cloake shall on his shoulders haue,

And summer gold-ring on his sweating fingers weare,

Nor can endure the weight of greater gemme to beare.

SECT. 3.

The great excesse and immodesty of their women in the same kinde.

NOW if their men were heerein thus effoeminate, wee may well conceiue their women exceeded more: *Video sericas vestes, si vestes vocanda sunt, in quibus nihil est quo defendi aut corpus, aut deniq; pudor possit*. *Quibus sumptis, mulier parum liquido nudam se non esse jurabit*. *Hac ingenti summa ab ignotis etiam ad commercium gentibus accersuntur, ut Matrona nostra, ne adulteris quidem, plus sui in cubiculo quam in publico ostendunt*. I see their silken clothes, if they may be called clothes, where-with neither their bodies nor shame are covered; which a woman wearing, cannot safely sweare that she is not naked: Yet are these at huge prizes, fet from Nations with whom we haue no traffique, that our women may expose no leise to the publique view, when they come abroad, then they doe to their Paramours in the bed. This immodesty of the women is thus also taxed by *Horace*.

Cois tibi pene videre est

Vt nudam.

In her lawne shee doth appeare

Almost, as if shee naked were.

Now besides this, they were so loaden with costly ornaments, that one Poet tells vs.

Ovid.

Pars minima est ipsa puella sui,

The least part of her selfe a maiden is.

And another,

Matrona incedit census induta Nepotum.

Propert. 13:

Eleg. 11:

The Matron jets attir'd in all her heires estate.

And a third.

Manilius, l. 5:

Perq; caput ducti lapides, per colla manusq;

Et pedibus niveis fulserunt aurea vincla.

The head, the necke, the hands were deckt with pretious stone,
And chaines of gold did shine their snowie feete vpon.

Lib: 9: 35:

I my selfe haue seene, sayth Pliny, Lollia Paulina, late wife and after widow to Caius Caligula the Emperour; when shee was dressed and set out, not in stately wise, nor of purpose for some great solemnity, but onely when shee was to goe to a wedding supper, or rather to a feast when the assurance was made, & great persons they were not that made the said feast; I haue seene her, I say, so beset and bedeckt all over with emerauls and pearles ranged in rewes one by another round about the tyre of her head, her cawle, her borders, her perruke of heire, her bungrace & chaplet at her eares pendant, about her necke a carcanet, vpon her wrefsts in bracelets, and vpon her fingers in rings, that shee glistered and shone again as she went. The value of these ornaments she esteemed & rated at foure hundred hundred thousand Sesterces, and offered openly to proue it out of hand, by her books of accounts & reckonings. Their ropes of pearle were so rich, that S. Hierome tells vs, *uno filo villarum insunt pretia*, vpon one rope hang the prizes of diuerse Lordships. And

In vita Pauli
Armita.

De habitu mul-
iebri: cap: 9:

Tertullian, *uno lino decies Sestertium inseritur*, vpon one twine were threaded vp tenne hundred thousand Sesterces. And againe, *salus & insulas tenera cervix fert*, the tender necke carries woods and Ilands vpon it; nay, one pearle which Iulius Caesar bought for Servilia the mother of Brutus, *Sexagies Sestertio mercatus est*, cost him sixtie hundred thousand Sesterces; But specially they exceeded in the jewels they wore in their eares.

Sueton: cap: 30:

De vita beata,
cap. 17:
De hen. l. 7: 9.

Quare vxor tua locupletis domus censum auribus gerit, sayth Seneca, why doth thy wife weare in her eares the renews of a rich familie: And in another place, *Video vniones, non singulos singulis auribus comparatos: iam enim exercitata aures oneri ferendo sunt. Iunguntur inter se & insuper alij binis supponuntur. Non satis muliebris insania viros subiecerat, nisi bina ac terna patrimonia auribus singulis pependissent*. I see their pearles not fitted single to their eares, which are now invred to the bearing of weight; they are coupled together, and others are added to the two first, the madnesse of our women had not sufficiently brought men into subjection, did they not hang two or three patrimonies at each eare. And with him Pliny accords, *Binis ac ternis auribus suspendere faminarum gloria est*, to hang these by couples or more in each eare, is the pride of our women. And their luxury (sayth he) hath found out a name for this

this, calling it *Crotalia*, as if they gloried in the sound and striking of the pearle each against other. Nay he goes farther, *affectantq; iam & pauperes listorem famina in publico unione esse dictitantes*. It is come to that passe, that even the poorer sort affect the same fashion. Their common saying being, that a pearle is the womans serjeant to waite vpon her when shee shewes her selfe abroad. But their extreame folly heerein, hath *Tertullian* after his *African* manner wittily expressed, *Graciles aurium cutes Kalendarium expendunt*, the tender libbets of their eares consume their Kalender, that is saith the learned *Tunius* in his notes on that passage, *universum domus censum qui praescribitur in Kalendario*: the whole revenew or expence of their house, which was set down in their Kalender, or rentrole, or count-booke. Yet had this beene more tolerable, had they not worne them vpon their feete too. *Pliny* can hardly speake of this with patience, Let our women, (sayth he) haue their pearle & pretious stones vpon every finger, about their necks, in their eares, vpon their chaplets and treases, *etiamne pedibus induitur*: must they needes weare them vpon their feete? And in another place, but not without some indignation too, *Quin & pedibus nec crepidarum tantum obstragulis, sed totis soculis addunt: neq; enim gestare iam margaritas nisi calcent ac per uniones etiam ambulent satis est*: Nay, they garnish their feete with them, and not only the higher, but the lower part of their slippers; so as now it is not held sufficient to weare pearle, vnlesse we tread and walke vpon it. And the same hath *Tertullian* likewise observed, *in pedibus uniones emergere de luto cupiunt*, the pearle in their shooes labours to keepe it selfe out of the mire. But *Lampridius* tells vs of *Helio-gabalus*, that he wore jewels curiously engraven on his feete, which (sayth hee) moved laughter to all men, *quasi possent sculptura nobilium artificum videri in gemmis quae pedibus adhererent*, as if the gravings of famous Artificers could be discerned in jewels that were set on his feete.

S E C. 4.

More of the excessive nicenes of their women, as also of Caligula his monstrous phantasticalnesse in his apparell, together with their extreame vanity in the multitude of their servants and slaues waiting on them.

BEsides all this excesse in apparell, their nicenesse was such, that if but an haire were amisse, they called a councill about them, for the reforming of it.

Tanquam fama discrimen agatur

Aut anima.

As if their credit or their life in question were.

Nay, if but *renus radiolus*, the least beame pierced thorow any little hole of their fanne, or a fly chanced to sit vpon it, *querantur quod non sine apud Cymmerios nata*, sayth *Ammianus Marcellinus*, they presently come plaine, that they were not borne among the *Cymmerians*. Their looking-glasses were in height & breadth answerable to their bodies, ingra-

ved,

Sen Nat:

Quest. L. 1. 17.

ven in their borders with gold and silver, and embossed with pretious stone: *Et pluri unum ex his femina constitit quam antiquarum dos fuit illa que publica dabatur imperatorum pauperum filiabus*: Some one of these hath stood a woman more then was the dowry of the Ancients: Yea that which by publique allowance was givē the daughters of the poorer Emperours. And within a while after, *jam libertinorum virgunculis in unum speculum non sufficit illa dos quam dedit Populus Romanus filie Scipionis*: Now adayes that dowry, which the people of Rome gaue with Scipio his daughter, will not suffice to buy a glasse for the daughter of a manu-missed slaue. Now that dowry was *undecem millia aris*, eleven thousand asses: what then shall we thinke of the daughters of their freeborne Citizens, of their Knights, of their Senators: Surely these, as they were superiour in meanes and ranke, so were they likewise in expence.

Cap: 22

De benef. 1. 2. 12

Seneca

Seneca

I will conclude this discourse of apparell with Caligula his monstrous phantasticalnesse therein, described by Suetonius, *Vestitu neq; patrio neque civili, ac ne virili quidem aut deniq; humano semper usus est*. Hee vsed not the apparell of his countrey, nor that which was civill or manlike, and sometimes not somuch as humane: for at times would he imitate *Deorum insignia*, the ensignes of the Gods: And at other times againe, would he come abroad & sit in judgement, *in sacco muliebri* in womens slippers, wherein Suetonius seemes to allude to that story, which is by Seneca reported more at large. Caesar (sayth he) gaue to Pompeius Panus his life, if he giue it who takes it not away: But being acquitted and giving thanks, he reached forth his left foote for him to kisse: Now they who goe about to excuse him heerein, as being not done out of insolency, *aut, focculum auratum imo aureum margaritis distinctum ostendere eum voluisse*, say for him that it was but to make shew of his gilded, nay golden slipper set with pearle.

Lib. 28.

Lib. 14.

Lib. 1. Satyr. 3.

Lib. 6.

To their excesse in apparell, may not vnfitly be added the extreame vanity in the multitude of their servants & slaues wayting on them. Ammianus speakes of fifty attending, whē they went to the publique Bath: And in another place he cals them *familiarum agmina*, troopes of household servants: and Pliny, *mancipiorum legiones*, legions of slaues, which as a traine they drew after them. Horace tells vs, that Tigellius had often two hundred that followed him at heeles: But Athenaus much exceeds him, *decem amo viginti mille, & plures quoq; servos habent, non quastus causa ut ille Græcorum ditissimus Nicias, sed pleròsq; in publico comitantes*. They haue tenne, nay twenty thousand servants and more, not for much to make a gaine of them as did Nicias, the richest of the Græcians, but the greatest part to waite on them when they went abroad. And me thinkes, Seneca againe outvies Athenaus, *Familia bellicosus nationibus maior*, a family more populous then some warlike Nations. Neither were the women in this excesse inferiour to the men, but rather went beyond them. Macrobinus describes the order of ranging their servants when they went abroad, as it had beene an army marching in the field: And S. Hierome calls one part of them, *an army*, *noli ad publicum subinde procedere in spadonum exercitu præeunte viduarum circumferri liberti*. Doe not walke abroad with an army of Eunuches, marching before

De ben. 2. 203

Lib. 14:

Ep. ad Furiam

before you after the manner of licentious widowes: infomuch as they were driven to haue their *Nomenclatores*, controllers or remembrancers to tell them the names of their seruants and people about them, so many they were: Many of these they bought at a deare rate, and clad richly: They vsually payd for a slaue six thousand Sesterces: And *Iulius Caesar* layd downe such incredible prizes for some of them, that himfelfe was ashamed thereof: *Sic ut rationibus vetaret inferri*, so as he gaue speciall charge it should not be brought into his accounts: But their leasters were commonly the dearest:

*Morio dictus erat viginti millibus emi,
Redde mihi nummos Gargiliane: sapit.*

*Martiall. 8.
epig. 13.*

A foole I bought for twenty thousand price:
Restore it back, *Gargilian*, he is wife.

And for the rich apparelling of them at times, wee haue a memorable place in *Seneca*, *diligentius quàm intra privatum larem vestita & anro culta mancipia, & agmen servorum nitentium*, their slaues are more carefully apparelled and decked with gold when they appeare in publique, then within doores, and the troopes of their Servants shining and glittering.

SECT. 5.

*Of their prodigall, or rather prodigious gifts of
their Emperours, and the extreame un-
thriftinesse of private men.*

I May happily seeme to some to haue beene tedious in dwelling too long vpon the *excessive Luxury* of this people: but surely their extreame folly & madnesse therein haue made me so: And if not the rarity, yet the variety of the matter hath beene such, as I presume it cannot quickly cloy the appetite of an attentive Reader. And though much hath beene said, yet much more might be added, specially touching their prodigall, or rather prodigious gifts, which their great Patron *Iulius Lyppius* thus censures. *Si quis Midas fuisse fingatur qui omnia tacta faciat aurea defecerit inaurare quantum isti sunt largiti*: If we could faine a *Midas* that should turne all he touched into gold, surely he would be weary to make the gold they gaue. And againe, *Vbi estis qui novum orbem & novas in eo divitias reperistis? huc ite, ostendent & effundent eas Duumviri isti vnâ largitione*: where are you that speake of a new world, and the great treasure that is there to be found? Come hither and behold two *Duumviri* (meaning *Anthony* and *Octavius*) that will empty it all at one gift: And would you know to what great good purpose all these profuse largitions were? the same Author shall tell you, though somewhat against his will, *ut ad imperium veniant, imperium penè ipsum donant*: They in a manner giue away the Empire, that they may come vnto it. *Quid? donant? perdit certè, & quomodo tot isti pecuniarū cumuli sine aperta perniciè Prævinciarum, Civiumq; colligi potuerunt*: What said I, they giue away: nay they rob and spoyle the Empire, in as much as so great

- masses of treasure could not possibly bee gathered without the evident ruine as well of the Citizens as of the Provincials. *Caligula* in lesse then a yeare scattered and consumed those infinite heapes of gold and silver which *Tiberius* his Predecessour had layd vp; *vicies ac septies millies sestertium*, seuen and twenty hundred millions of Sesterces. Of *Vitellius*, *Iosephus* yeeldes this testimony, *Octo menses ac dies quinq; potius imperio jugulatur in media vrbe, quam si vivere diutius contigisset, ejus luxuria satis esse imperium non potuisset*; hauing raigned eight moneths & fve dayes he was slaine in the midt of the City, whose luxury should he haue liued longer, the Empire could not haue satisfied: And lest wee should thinke *Iosephus* passionate heerein, as being a Jew and oppressed by the *Romanes*, against the testimony of *Tacitus* himselfe a *Romane* and partiall for his Countrey wee cannot except: let vs then heare his evidence touching the same *Vitellius*: *Ipse abunde ratus si presentibus frueretur, nec in longum consultans novies millies sestertium paucissimis mensibus intervertisse creditur*, he holding it fully sufficient if he enjoyed the present, and not caring for the future, within the compasse of a few moneths, is said to haue set going nine hundred millions of Sesterces; which summe *Budaeus* casting vp, thus pronounces of it, *hanc ego summam non minorem ducenties vices quinquies centenis millibus esse dico*, I affirmethat this summe is no lesse then twenty fve hundred thousand Crownes. And for *Nero*, *divitiarum ac pecunie fructum non alium putabat quam profusionem*, he thought there was no other end of money and riches but to cast them away. Those hee held base fellowes, who tooke any account of their expences, but gallant and noble spirits, if they wasted and lavished it out: He in nothing so much commended & admired his Vncle *Caïus*, as for that in so short a space hee brought going the infinite masses of treasures which *Tiberius* had hoarded vp, *Quare nec largiendi nec assumendi modum tenuit*, so as he neuer ended giuing and wasting:
- Luven. l. 2. sat. 6. --- Velut exhausta redvivens pullulet arca Nummus.*
- As if when nought did in the chest remaine, Moneyes would grow there and revive againe.
- In Divis Compendio.* When once he had giuen so vnreasonable a summe, that his mother *Agrippina* thought it fit to restraine his boundlesse prodigality, she caused the whole summe to be laid before him on a table as hee was to passe by, that so the sight of it might worke in him a sense of his folly; but he suspecting it belike to be his Mothers device, commaunds presently so much more to be added therevnto, and withall was heard to say aloud, *Nesciebam me tam exiguum dedisse*, I knew not that I gave so little. To *Terridates* (which scarce seemes credible to *Suetonius* himselfe) during his abode in *Italy* by the space of nine moneths he allowed dayly *octingenta nummum millia*, eight hundred thousand Sesterces: And besides at his parting for a farewell, bestowed on him *Sestertium millies*, no lesse then an hundred millions; the rest of his prodigall gifts were not disproportionall thereunto, so that in the whole, *his & vices millies sestertium donationibus Nero effuderat*, he cast away in prodigall needlesse gifts two and twenty hundred millions of Sesterces. *Menecrates* a fidler, and

Specillus a fencer, *triumphalium virorum patrimonij adibusq; donavit*, hee rewarded with the patrimonies and houses of Triumphers: Nay *Luxuria tam effrenata fuit*, saith *Orosius*, so luxuriously wastefull he was, beyond all reason and measure, *ut piscaretur retibus aureis que purpureis funibus extraherentur*, that he would not fish but with nets of gold drawne with purple coloured coards. Neither was his gaming vnanswereable to his giuing, *Quadrigenis in punctum sestertijs aleam lusi*; he adventured foure hundred Sesterces vpon euery pick of the dice. Suetonius. c. 39

But yet all this might perchance seeme more tollerable in their Emperours, had not their private men according to the proportion of their meanes gone beyond them in these mad monstrous prodigalities. *Pyramides Regum miramur*, saith *Pliny*, *cum P. Clodius quem Milo occidit Sestertium centies & quadragies octies domo emptā habitauerit, quod non secus ac regum insaniam miror*. Doe we wonder at the *Pyramides* of the *Egyptian Kings*, since *Clodius* whom *Milo* slew dwelt in an house which cost one hundred forty eight hundred thousand Sesterces, which truely I as much admire as the madnes of those Kings. And going on, touches *Milo* himselfe vpon the same veine: *Itaq; & ipsum Milonem sestertium septingenties ariis alieni debuisse inter prodigia animi humani duco*: And *Milo* himselfe to haue beene indebted seuen hundred hundred thousand Sesterces, I cannot but ranke it among the prodigies of humane wit. *Curio* the son ran in debt, as witnesses *Valerius*, *Sestertium sex centies, fixe hundred hundred thousand Sesterces*, Lib. 36. 15.

Decies centena dedisses
Huic parcopauis contento, quinque diebus
Nolerat in localis. Lib. 9. 1.

Ten hundred thousand were you pleas'd to giue
Unto the sparing man, so well content
With litle, yet might he but fūe dayes liue,
In fūe dayes all would be consum'd and spent.

Sayth *Horace* of *Tigellus*. And *Martial* of *Cinna*.

Bis quartum decies non toto tabuit anno,
Dic mihi non hoc est Cinna perire cito? Hor. l. 1. Sat. 3

An hundred thousand eigheteene times

Lesse then one yeare did spend:

Tell me, O *Cinna*, is not this

To come soone to an end.

CAP. 10.

*Of the Romanes extreame arrogancie and confidence in admiring
and commending themselves together with their grosse
and base flattery, specially to their Emperours:
and lastly their impudent, nay impious
vain-glory and boasting of their
owne Nation and City.*

S E C T. 1.

*Of their extreame arrogancy in admiring and
commending, and euen deify-
ing themselves.*

THUS haue we seene the Covetousnes and Cruelty, but specially the
prodigious Luxury of this Nation (so renowned in *History* for their
Vertues, as if they had beene the onely *pasternes* and *Masters* of
morality) in part displayed: Neither were these three vices the onely
ones which they were generally and notoriously subject vnto, I might
instance in many more, but will onely touch by the way their extreame
arrogancy and *confidence* admiring and commending themselves & their
owne personall abilities, their grosse and base *flattery* to others, specially
their Emperours both liuing and dead; and lastly their impudent, nay
impious *vain-glory* and boasting of their owne Nation and City. For the
first of those, so farre they were from *humility*, that their greatest *Mo-
ralists*, no not the *Stoicks* themselves anywhere in their writings remem-
ber it as a vertue, it being indeed the proper vertue of *Christian* Religi-
on; Nay so farre they were from ranging it among the *Virtues*, that they
held it a *Vice*,

— *Faciunt animos humiles formidine Divum.*

To feare the gods doth much abase the mind.

No marueile then that whereas wee finde the pen-men of holy Scrip-
ture publishing to the world, and registering to posterity their owne in-
firmities, those men on the other side vaunt euery-where of their worth
and sufficiency. *Martial*, if he haue nothing else to brag of, will stand
vpon his singular gift in trifling.

Ad. Auitum 6.1

Ille ego sum nulli nugarum laude secundus.

In praise for toys I second am to none.

Ovid thus boldly concludes his *Metamorphosis*.

Iamq; opus exegi quod nec Iouis ira, nec ignis

Nec poterit ferrum, nec edax abolere vetustas.

Now haue I finished the worke, which nor Ioues ire,

Nor sword abolish shall, nor ravening time, nor fire.

And in another place:

Mantua Virgilium laudet, Verona Catullum,

Romana gentis gloria dicar ego.

Let Mantua Virgill praise, Catull Verona

But

But glory of Rome let me be tearm'd alone.
And Horace is no way behind him.

Exegi monumentum are perennius

Carm. lib. 3. od. 30

Regaliq; situ Pyramidum altius,

Quod non imber edax, non Aquilo impotens

Possit diruere, aut innumerabilis

Annorum series & fuga temporum.

A monument then brasfe more lasting, I,
Then Princely Pyramids in site more high,
Haue finished, which neither fretting showres,
Nor blustering windes, nor flight of yeares and houres,
Though numberlesse can raze.

And though it be true that they divined aright, yet doubtlesse, such arrogant confidence, or rather confident arrogancie touching the fruites of their owne braines, would better haue founded out of other mens mouths, and more modesty (the very grace and crowne of other vertues and gifts) haue much better beseeemed them. What a vaine-glorious vnflattery verse was that of Tullies owne making, touching the good government of the state during his Consulship.

O fortunatam natam me Consule Roman.

O happy Rome & fortunate

Through me, and through my Consulate.

But their Emperours went farther; Dioclesian calling himselfe the brother of the Sunne & Moone, and in salutations, not admitting any to farther familiarity then the kissing of his toe. Nay Augustus, so much magnified by them, made a supper, in which Suetonius witnesseth, *Deorum Dearumq; habitu discubuisse convivae, & ipsum pro Apolline ornatum*, that his guests sate downe in the habite of Gods and Goddesses, and himselfe attired like Apollo. But this was but a play, though such as Augustus himselfe blushed to heare of. Domitian (as before hath beene touched) went to it in good earnest, sending out his writes with this forme, *Dominus & Deus noster sic fieri iubet*, Our Lord & God so commaunds it to be: unde institutum posthac ut ne scripto quidem ac sermone cuiusquam appellaretur aliter, from thence forth it was ordained, that he should neither by the writing nor speech of any man be otherwise named: Yet these were but words, Caligula proceeded to deedes.

Cap. 70.

Sueton. cap. 13.

— Divumq; sibi poscebat honores,

Sueton cap. 22

Assuming and challenging to himselfe, not the name only but the honours due to the Gods: Hee caused the statues of the Gods, among which was that of *Iupiter Olympicus*, to be brought out of Greece, and taking off their heads, commaunded his owne to be set on instead thereof, and standing betweene *Castor* and *Pollux*, exhibited himselfe to bee worshipped of such as resorted thither, *Templum etiam numini suo proprium & Sacerdotes & excogitatissimas hostias instituit*, he farther erected a Temple, and instituted both Priests, & most exquisite sacrifices to the service of himselfe. In his temple stood his image of gold taken to life, which every day was clad with the same attire as was himselfe, his sacrifices were phanicopters, peacocks, bustards, turkeyes, pheasants, & all

Senec. de Ira, l.
1. 3. 16:

these were daily offered, and at nights in case the moone shined out full and bright, he invited her to imbracements & to lie with him, but the day he would spend in private conference with *Iupiter Capitolinus*, sometimes whispering and laying his eare close to him, and sometimes againe talking aloud as if he had beene chiding: Nay being angry with heaven, because his interludes were hindred by claps of thunder, and his banquetting by flashes of lightning, *ad pugnam provocavit Iovem*, he challenged *Iupiter* to fight with him, & *quidem sine intermissione Homericum illum exclamans versum*, and without ceasing roared out that verse of *Homer*.

Ζῆν πάτερ τίς σὺν θεῶν δλοστίπος ἄλλος,

None is, *o Iupiter*, more mischievous then thou.

Instead of which verse of *Homer*, some copies haue this *Hemistichium*,

ἢ μ' ἀνέμῳ ἢ ἰγῶσι,

Dispatch thou me

Or I will thee.

Wherevpon *Seneca* inferres (as well he might) *Quanta dementia fuisse putavit aut sibi noceri, ne à Iove quidem posset aut se nocere etiam Iovi posse*: what extreame madnesse was that, to thinke that either *Iupiter* could not hurt him, or that himselfe could hurt *Iupiter*? Good God? who would imagine that pride & selfe-loue should so farre intoxicate and infatuate a man (captivated to sinne and sensuality) as to make him vtterly to forget himselfe to be a man, and commaund others to worshippe him as a God, or which is more, aboue God! But surely heerein I must confesse, they be somewhat the more to be pittied, and the rather to be pardoned, for that the Gods whom they worshipped, had not only bin men, but like themselves, too notoriously wicked: And withall I am perswaded, the grosse flattery of their subjects, but specially the *Poets*, drew them on to the acting of that, which perchaunce of themselves they were inclinable enough vnto.

SECT. 2.

Of their grosse and base flattery, specially toward their
Emperours both living and dead.

How notable doth *Martiall* play the Parasite with *Domitian*, telling him, that if the Gods should sell all they had, they would not be able to satisfie their debt to him, but would be forced to turne bancke-rupts.

Grandis in Aethero licet auctio fiat Olympo

Coganturq; Dei vendere quicquid habent

Conturbabit Atlas, &c.

And againe,

Exspectes & sustineas Auguste necesse est,

Nam tibi quod reddat non habet arca Iovis.

But this in *Martiall* a professed flatterer, is more tollerable then in *Virgill* & *Lucan*, who carry the name of graue and sad Poets, yet the one divides

These verses
of *Mariell* are
vpon another
occasion, for-
merly allea-
ged and en-
gilded,

divides the Empire betweene Iupiter & Augustus.

Divisum imperium cum Iove Caesar habet.

'Twixt Iove & Caesar th' Empire shared is.

And the other professes, that all the outrages committed in their civill warres, were nothing displeasing vnto them, but rather acceptable and advantageous, in regard they holpt to prepare a way for Nero's comming to the Empire.

Hic Caesar Perusina famas mutinaeq; labores,

Accedant fatis, aut si quid durius istis:

Multum Roma tamen debet civilibus armis

Quod tibi res acta est.

Adde Caesar to these fates Modena broiles,

Perusin famine, or else harder toiles:

Yet Rome to civill arms thou art in debt

Since all this worketh to thy benefit.

And againe

Quod si non aliam venturo fata Neroni

Invenere viam,

Iam nihil o Superi querimur scelera ista nefasque

Hac mercede placent.

If other way the fates could not invent

For Nero's comming, then we rest content,

This villanie, o Gods, this foule offence

Mislikes vs not with so great recompence.

And when Domitian challenged to himselfe divine worship, how ready were they to sooth him in it.

Magisteria Sacerdotij ditissimus quisq; & ambitione & licitatione maxima vicibus comparabant, Every one as he was richest by great sutes and bribes, got him a turne in the Magistracie of the Priest-hood; nay *quidam eum latialem Iovem consalutarunt*, there wanted not some among them, who saluted him by the name of Iupiter Latialis. But this I must acknowledge, as it was foule in the highest

degree, so was it vnsuall: For though, as noteth Prosper in their petitions to their Princes, they vsually stiled them, *Numini vestro, Perennitatis vestre*, to your divine power, to your eternity: *Qua vanitas non veritas tradidit atq; execrabilia sunt*, which vanity not verity hath found

out, and are indeed abominable. Nay the Emperours themselues in their Rescripts, shamed not to write, *Perennitas nostra, aternitas nostra, numen nostrum, &c.* And we sometimes reade, *oracula Augusti* for *Edicta*. Yet *Deorum honor Principi non ante habetur quam agere inter homines desierat*, saith Tacitus: We doe not commonly giue the honour of the Gods to our Princes as long as they liue, thereby implying, that assoone as they were deceased, they did it. Though Augustus, while he was yet living was worshipped as a God, not in Rome perchaunce and Italy (for that he refused) yet abroad in the Provinces: Wherevpon temples were erected vnto him, and a Colledge of Priests both men and women: and coynes were stamped with rayes or beames about his head: whence the

Poet:

Præsenti tibi maturos largimur honores.

To

To thee while thou dost liue

Honours diuine we giue.

Lib. 4.

Now the Ceremonies of the *Apotheosis* or deifying their Emperours, (as appeares in *Herodian* and others) was briefly thus. After the Princes death, the body being sumptuously and honorably interred, they framed an image of waxe, resembling in all respects the party deceased, but palish and wanne as a sicke man; and so being laid at the entry of the palace in an yvory bed, covered with cloath of gold the Senate & Ladies assisting in mourning attire; the Physitians daily, resorted to him to touch his pulse and consider in college of his disease, doctorally at their departure, resolving that hee grew in worse and worse tearmes and hardly would escape it. At the end of seaven dayes (during which time, saith *Xiphilinus*, there stood a page with a fanne of peacocks feathers to keepe off the flies from the face, as if he had beene but asleepe) they opened and found by their learning, (the *crisis* belike being badde) that the patient was departed. Wherevpon some of the Senate appointed for that purpose, and principall gentle-men taking vp the bed vpon their shoulders, carried it thorow *Via sacra* into the *Forum*, where a company of young Gentle-men of greatest birth standing on the one side and maydes of the other, sung hymnes & sonnets the one to the other in commendation of the dead Prince, entuned in a solemne and mournfull note, with all kind of other musicke and melodie, as indeed the whole ceremonie was a mixt action of mourning and mirth, as appeareth by *Seneca* at the consecration of *Claudius*: who thus floutes at it. *Et erat omnium formosissimum (funus Claudij) & impensa cura plenum, ut scires Deum efferrí, tibicinum, Cornicinum, omnisq; generis aneatorum tanta turba, tantus conventus, ut etiam Claudius audire possit.* It was the goodliest shew and the fullest of sollicitous curiositie, that you might know a God was to be buried; so great was the rabble of trumpetters, cornetters and other Musicians, that even *Claudius* himselfe might haue heard them. After this, they carried the herse out of the citie into *Campus Martius*, where a square tower was built of timber, large at the bottome, and of competent height to receiue wood & faggots sufficiently, outwardly bedeckt & hung with cloath of gold, imagerie worke, and curious pictures. Vpon that tower stood a second turret in figure and furniture like to the first, but somewhat lesse, with windowes and doores standing open, wherein the herse was placed, & all kinde of spiceries and odours, which the whole world could yeeld, heaped therein: And so a third and fourth turret, and so forth, growing lesse and lesse toward the toppes: The whole building representing the forme of a lanthorne or watch-tower, which giveth light in the night. Thus all being placed in order, the Gentle-men first rode about it, marching in a certaine measure: then followed others in open coaches with robes of honour, and vpon their faces vizards of the good Princes, and honourable personages of ancient times. All these Ceremonies thus being performed, the Prince which succeeded takerh a torch, and first putteth to the fire himselfe, and after him all the rest of the company, and by and by as the fire was kindled out of the toppes of

In ludo de morte Claudij:

Pharus:

toppe of the highest turret, an Eagle was let fly to carry vp his soule into heaven, and so he was afterward reputed, and by the *Romanes* adored among the rest of the *Gods*: Marry, before the consecration it was vsuall, that some Gentlemen at least, should bestow an oath to proue their *Deitie*, *Nec desuit vir Pratorius qui se effigiem cremati euntem in cælum uidisse iurasset*, sayth *Suetonius* of *Augustus*: neither was there wanting one who had beene *Prator* (*Dion* names him *Numerius Atticus*) to sweare, that he saw his *Effigies* mounting into heaven. The like was testified of *Drusilla*, sister and wife to *Caius*, by one *Livius Geminus* a Senatour, of which *Dio* thus writes. One *Livius Geminus* a Senatour swore, that he saw *Drusilla* ascending vp into heaven, and conversing with the *Gods*, wishing to himselfe and his children vtter destruction if he spake an vntruth, calling to witnesse both sundry other *Gods*, and specially the *Goddesse* her selfe of whom he spake. For which oath he received a million of *Sesterces*, which makes 7812¹ 10^s Sterling. What a deale of *fopperie* and *impiety* was here mixed together. Yet this lesson, as *Sir Henry Savill* frō whom I haue borrowed the greatest part of this last narration (conjectures, they may seem to haue learned of *Procullus Iulius*, who took an oath not much otherwise for *Romulus* *deitie*, who the Senate murdered and made a *God*, from whence this race of the *Roman Gods* may seeme to haue taken beginning. And I doubt not, but many of the wiser sort of the *Romanes* themselues secretly laughed at this folly, sure I am that *Lucan* durst openly scoffe at it.

Cap. 100.

Lib. 59.

Annot. in T.
Lib. 11. c. 11.

-- Cladis tamen huius habemus

Vindictam quantum terris dare numina fas est

Bella pares Superis facient civilia divos:

Fulminibus manes, radijsq; ornabit & astris,

Inque Deum templis iurabit Roma per umbras.

Lib. 7.

Yet of this slaughter such revenge we haue

As heavenly powers may giue, or earth can craue:

Gods like to those about these civil warres

Shall make, and Rome with lightning, beames, & starres

Shall them adorne, and in the temples where

The Gods doe dwell shall by their shadowes sweare.

It is true, that in our time after the death of the late *Charles* in *France*, his image was laid in a rich bed, in triumphant attire, with the Crowne vpon his head, and the collar of the order about his necke, & forty dayes at ordinary houres, dinner and supper was served in with all accustomed ceremonies, as sewing, water, grace, carving, say taking, &c. all the *Cardinalls*, *Prelats*, *Lords*, *Gentlemen*, & *Officers* attending in far greater solemnity, then if he had been aliue. Now this I confesse, was a peece of flattery more then needed, but not comparable to that of the *Romans*, in making their Emperours *Gods*, which they might well haue conceived, was neither in the power of the one to giue, nor of the other to receiue. Yet was not this honour conferred vpon their Emperours alone; *Tully*, as wise as he would be held, would needes haue his daughtrers desired, and the same did *Adrian* by *Antinous* his minion, which no doubt might as wel be justified as *Caligula's*, making his horse

a Priest, or the same *Adrians* erecting monuments to his dead dogges.

S E C T. 3.

*Of their impudent, nay impious vaine-glory, and
boasting of their owne nation and city.*

YEt their inordinate preposterous Zeale in extolling every where their Empire and cittie beyond measure, and modesty, and truth, seemes to haue exceeded this toward their Emperours; & from hence I beleue hath chiefly growen in the world so great an admiration of them in many things beyond all succeeding ages, and their deserts: But certaine it is, that never any people vnder the Sunne, more daringly challenged to themselves the toppe of all perfection. *Nulla unquam Respub. nec maior nec sanctior, nec bonis exemplis ditior fuit*, sayth *Lib. I.* *Libie*, Never was there any common-wealth more ample or holy, or rich in good examples. *Gentium in toto orbe prestantissima una & in omni virtute haud dubie Romana existit*, saith *Pliny*: The *Romane* Nation hath beene doubtlesse of all others in all kinde of vertue the most excellent. *Nulla Gens est quae non aut ita subacta sit, ut vix existeret; aut ita domita, ut quiescat; aut ita pacata, ut victoria nostra imperioque laetatur*, sayth *Tully*: There is no Nation which either is not so vtterly vanquished, as it is extinguished; or so mastered, as it is quieted; or so pacified, that it rejoyceth in our victorie and Empire. and *Claudian*,

*Hac est exiguis qua finibus orta tetendit
In geminos axes, parvaque a sede profecta
Dispersit cum sole manus.*

Small were her confines when she first begun,
Now stretcheth to both poles, small her first seat,
Yet now her hands shee spreadeth with the Sunne.

This seemed not enough vnto *Cacilius*, against whom *Arnobius* writes, for he sayth, that the *Romans* did, *Imperium suum, ultra solis vias, propagare*: They enlarged their dominion beyond the course of the Sun. And *Ovid*, he commeth not a steppe behind them in this their exaggerated amplification. For he sayth, that if God should looke downe from heaven vpon the earth, he could see nothing there without the power of the *Romanes*.

*Iupiter, arce sua, totum cum spectet in orbem,
Nil, nisi Romanum, quod tueatur, habet.*

Yea, and (as *Egesippus* recordeth) there were many that thought the *Romane* Empire so great, and so largely diffused over the face of the whole earth, that they called *orbem terrarum*, *orbem Romanum*, the globe of the earth, the globe of the *Romanes*, the whole world, the *Romane* world. Hyperbolicall speeches, which though *Lyppius* put off with an animosē magis quam superbe dicta, as arguing rather magnanimitie then ostentation; yet *Dyonisius Halicarnassens* somewhat more warily limits them thus: *Romana urbs imperat toti terrae quae quidem inaccessa non sit*, the city of Rome commands the whole earth, where it is not inaccessible: But *Lyppius* himselfe more truly, *quicquid opportunum aut dignum vinci videbatur v;*

cit, it overcame whatsoeuer it could well overcome, or thought worthy the ouercomming. And *Macrobiius* (though himsele a Roman ingenuously acknowledgeth *Gangem transnare aut Caucasum transcendere Romani nominis fama non valuit* The fame of the Romans as great as it was, yet was neuer so great as to be able to swimme ouer the Riuer *Ganges*, or climbe ouer the mountaine *Caucasus*, so that etuen their fame came short of their swelling amplifications vsed by their Orators and Poets, but their Dominion came much shorter, as is expressely affirmed by the same Author, *Totius terre quæ ad cælum puncti locum obrinet, minima quedam particula à nostri generis hominibus possidetur*. Though the whole Earth compared with the Heauens bee no bigger then a Center in the midst of a Circle, yet scarce the least parcell of this little earth, did euer come into the hands of the Romans.

Yet how could a man well devise to say more then *Propertius* hath said of that City.

Omnia Romana cedant miracula terre

Natura hic posuit quicquid ubiq; fuit.

All miracles to Rome must yeeld, for heere;

Nature hath treasur'd all what's euery-where.

Except *Martial* perchance out-vy him.

Terrarum Dea gentiumq; Roma

Cui par est nihil & nihil secundum.

Of Lands and Nations Goddesse, Rome, and Queene,

To whom nought peere, nought second yet hath beene.

Which *Frontinus* seemes to borrow from him, but with some addition of his owne, *Romana vrbs indiges terrarumq; Dea, cui par est nihil & nihil secundum*. Now saith *Criminus*, alleaging those words of *Frontinus*, *Eos dicimus ferè indigetes, qui nullius rei egeant, id enim est tantum Deorum*, we usually call those indigites, which want nothing for that is proper to the Gods. *Hubertus Golzius* in his treasure of *Antiquity* hath effigiated two peeeces of coine, the one with a Greeke Inscription *ΡΟΜΑ ΘΕΑ*, the other with this in Latin, *ROMA DEA*, the meaning of both being that Rome was a Goddesse, neither was this figuratiuely, but properly vnderstood, she hauing advanced her selfe into the number of the Gods, as witnesseth *Dion* in *Augustus*; nay erected Temples, and addrest sacrifices to her selfe, as testifie *Victor* and *Onuphrius* in their descriptions of Rome, which *Prudentius* a Christian Poet both glances at, and deservedly derides,

--Colitur nam sanguine & ipsa

More Dea, nomeng; loci seu numen habetur,

Atq; Vrbis Venerisq; pari se culmine tollunt

Templa, simul geminis adolentur thure deabus.

Shee Goddesse-like is worshipped with blood,

A places name is hallowed for a god:

As high as *Venus* Cities Church doth rise,

And joint to both they incense sacrifice.

And *Lucan*, as to a Goddesse, directs his prayer solemnely vnto her,

--summiq; o numinis instar

Roma fane capis.

Ecc 2

And

De Somn. Scip. 2. 10.

Ibid.

Lib. 12. 3.

Libro de aqua ductibus.

De bon. disc. 1. 3. c. ult.

cap. 1. 6. 3.

Lib. 1. cont. Symmachum.

Lib. 1.

--- And thou as greatest power divine,
Favour, O Rome, this enterprife of mine.
Her Temple was situate vpon mount *Palatine*, as appeares by that of
Claudian, bringing in the Provinces as suppliants to visite the God-
desse.

Lib. 2.

*Conueniunt ad lecta Dea, quæ candida lucent
Monte Palatino.*

They meet at th' Goddesse Temple which doth shine
So white and glorious on mount *Palatine*.

De Magn. Rom.
3.6.

But this was in truth such a mad drunkenesse with pride and self-loue,
that *Lyffius* himselfe cannot hold from crying out, *O insaniam edificij
& inanimato corpori non vitam solum attribuere, sed numen.* O strange mad-
nesse, to ascribe vnto houses and stones and a dead body not life onely,

Isay 47.8.
Revel. 18.7

but a deity: And being now a Goddesse, shee might well take to her selfe
that of old *Babylon*, a type of her pride, *I sit as a Queene, and am no wid-
dow, & shall see no sorrow*, and challenge to her selfe eternity as most blas-

Hubertus Gol-
zius verum An-
tiq. 5.4.

phemously she did, as is to be seene in the coine of the Emperour *Pro-
bus*, in which we haue *Rome* set forth sitting in her Temple in a victori-
ous triumphant manner, hauing on the one side this inscription, *Con-*

a Apud Ambr.
ep. 30.
b Lib. 15.5.6.
c 16.6.

serv. *urbis sue*, and on the other, *Roma aterna*, and so is it expressly na-
med both by ^a *Symmachus*, and ^b *Ammianus Marcellinus*. And *Suetoni-*

Ep. ad Alagium
q. 11.In dimidio tem-
poris 6.7.

nius testifies in the life of *Nero* (cap. 11) that of all their seuerall kindes
of playes, *pro aternitate imperij susceptas appellari maximos voluit*, those
which were exhibited for the eternity of the Empire should bee had in
greatest state, in which persons of all orders and sexes played their
parts. Whereby *S. Hierome*, not without good reason expounds
those words in the *Revelation*, *I saw a woman sit vpon a scarlet coloured
beast, full of names of blasphemy*, and so doth *Prosper Aquitanicus*, *aterna
cum dicitur quæ temporalis est visq; nomen est blasphemica*, in that she is cal-
led *eternall*, being transitory, it is doubtlesse a name of blasphemy.

C A P. II.

Wherein the objections brought in behalfe of the
Romanes touching their pretended Iustice,
prudence and fortitude are exami-
ned and fully answered.

S E C T. I.

The first objection touching the pretended Iustice
of the *Romanes* answered out of
Lactantius.

BVt happily it may be said, that as fertile grounds abound as well
in weedes as wholefome hearbes: so the *Romanes* had many ver-
tues no lesse commendable, then odious & detestable vices, which
to be ignorant of were childish simplicity, to dissemble or suppress, en-
vious

vious partiality. The principall of these vertues are pretended to bee their *justice*, their *prudence*, and their *fortitude*. But if there bee a chaine of all the Vertues, (as both *Aristotle* and their own great *Oratour* haue taught) so that he who truly possesseth one, is owner of all, and he that wants but one, ypon the matter hath none at all, but shadowes instead of substances, then certainly the *Romans*, whom we haue prooved to be excessively *cruell*, *covetous*, *luxurious*, *ambitious* and *vain-glorious*, could not properly be said to be either *just*, *wise*, or *valiant*, but rather formall then *just*, crafty or cunning then *wise*, adventurous or daring then *valiant*. And I would willingly learne, how they who with such an insatiable thirst of gaine and glory (as hath beene shewed) robbed, spoyled, oppressed, not the provincials onely, but their owne fellow Citizens, can be said to be *just*, or how they who admitted so many so base *Gods* and *Goddesses*, and honoured them with such beastly prophane services, can be said to be *wise*; or lastly how they who were wholly drowned in softnes and in delicacy, could be truly valiant; And I will neuer doe that wrong to *Christian Religion*, as not to beleue, but that it hath yealded more *just*, more *wise*, more *valiant*, then *Pagan Rome* euer did. And therein if *Tertullian* in his *Apologetique*, *Cyprian* against *Demetrianus*, *Lactantius* in his *Institutions*, and *Augustin* in his bookes *de Civitate dei* erre not, I am sure I am right.

I will first then take a view of their *Justice*, *Nec est difficile dicere, cur Laetant. Instit.*
Deorum cultores iusti & boni esse non possint (saith *Lactantius*, striking in-^{l. 5. c. 10.} deed at the very root of their injustice.) it is not hard to say why the worshippers of such Gods cannot be either just or good, he goes on and particularizeth in the severall branches of their injustice. *Quomodo enim sanguine abstinerebunt qui colunt cruentos Deos Martem atq; Bellonam? quomodo aut parentibus parcent qui expulsores patris sui Iovem, aut natis ex se infansibus qui colunt Saturnum? quomodo pudicitiam tuebuntur qui colunt Deam nudam & adulteram, & quasi apud Deos prostitutam? quomodo se à rapinis & frandibus abstinerebunt qui Mercurij furti noverunt, docentis non frandis esse decipere sed astutia? quomodo libidine coercebunt qui Iovem, Herculem, Liberum, Apollinem, ceterosq; venerantur quorum adulteria & supra in mares & feminas non tantum doctis nota sunt, sed exprimuntur etiam in Theatris, atq; cantantur ut sint omnibus notiora. Possuntne inter hac iusti esse homines, qui etiam si natura sint boni ab ipsis tamen Dijs erudiantur ad injustitiam? ad placandum enim Deum quem colas, iis rebus opus est quibus illum gaudere ac delectari scias, sic fit ut vitam colentium Deus pro qualitate numinis sui formet: quoniam religiosissimus est cultus imitari.* How should they abstaine from blood who worship bloody Gods as *Mars* and *Bellona*? how should they either spare their Parents who worship *Iupiter*, or their children who worship *Saturne*? How should they have a care of their chastity who worship a naked and adulterous *Goddesse*, as it were the prostituted strumpet of the Gods? How should they abstaine from rapine and cofenage who are acquainted with the thefts of *Mercury* teaching, that to deceiue was not fraude but wylineffe? how should they bridle their lust who adore *Iupiter*, *Hercules*, *Bacchus*, *Apollo* and the rest, whose adulteries and incontinencies both with males and females are

not onely knowne to the learned, but are acted and sung in their Theaters, that so they may bee knowne to all. Is it possible for men in this case to be just: who though they were naturally well disposed, yet by the examples of their very Gods are they taught injustice. For to please the God you worship, it is requisite you doe such things as you know he is delighted with; and may giue him content: so as according to his owne quality and condition he formes and conformes the liues of such as worship him; in as much as imitation is the most religious kinde of worship.

Yet notwithstanding all this, it seemes by the same godly Father that they stood much vpon their owne just and vpright dealing, reproaching the Christians with the contrary, which giues him occasion in another place thus to expostulate the matter with them. *Audent igitur homines improbißimi iustitia facere mentionem qui feras immanitate vincunt,*

Lib. 5. c. 9.

--- Lupi ceu

*Raptores atra in nebula quos improba ventris
Exegit cacos rabies.*

Like ravening wolues whom in a gloomie day,
Their bellies rage driues forth to seeke their pray.

Verum hos non ventris, sed cordis rabies efferauit, nec atra in nebula, sed aperta prædatione grassantur: nec eos unquam conscientia scelerum revocat, ne sanctum ac pium nomen iustitiæ ore illo violant, quod crimine innocentium tanquam ritus bestiarum madet. Doe these most dishonest men dare mention justice who exceede the sauage Beasts in cruelty, &c. But these not so much the fiercenesse of their stomachs, as of their owne wicked hearts hath inraged, neither doe they flinke in the darke, but make havocke & lay waste by open violence. Neither are they euer touched with any remorse of Conscience for prophaning the holy and divine name of justice with those mouthes which like the chappes of beasts are died with the blood of Innocents. And lest we should conceiue he thus speaks by reason of their cruelty towards the Christians, he goes on in the same Chapter, and tels vs, *Non de nostro sed ex illorum numero semper existunt qui vias obsideant armati maria prædentur, vel si palam grassari non licuit, venena clam temperent, qui uxores necent ut dotes earum lucrentur, aut maritos ut adulteris nubant: qui natos ex se, pueros aut strangulent, aut si nimium pii fuerint exponant: qui libidines incestas, nec à filia, nec à sorore, nec à matre, nec à sacerdote contineant; qui adversus cives suos, patria nq; consurgent. Qui deniq; sacrilegia committant & Deorum quos colunt, templa dissipolent.* They are not of ours, but yours, who rob by the high wayes, and turne pyrats by Sea. Or if open violence will not serue the turne, they prepare poyson, who make away their wiues, that they may gaine their dowries, or their husbands, that they may marry with their Adulterers, who either strangle their infants, or if they bee very devout, expose them, who forbear not incestuous lustes with their owne daughters, their sisters, their mothers, no nor with their consecrated Priests, who treacherously conspire against their owne Country, Lastly, who commit sacriledge, and robbe the Temples of those very Gods whom they worship.

200

See 3

And

And least wee should imagine, that he speakes of the *Gentiles* in generall, and not rather of the *Romanes* in particular, he referres vs to the testimonies of *Seneca* & *Lucilius*. *Qui volent scire plura, Seneca libros in manum sumant, qui morum vitiorumq; publicorum, & descriptor verissimus, & accusator acerrimus fuit.* They who desire to vnderstand more hereof, let them take into their hands *Seneca's* bookes, who both most truly describes, and most sharply censures the publique manners and vices. And to the testimonie of *Seneca*, he addes that of *Lucilius*: *Sed & Lucilius tenebrosam istam vitam circumscriptè breuiterq; depinxit his versibus: Lucilius* also hath briefly and pithily painted out that base kinde of life.

*Nunc vero à mane ad noctem f:sto atque profesto,
Totus item pariterq; die populusq; patresque
Iactare, indufori se omnes, decedere nusquam
Vni se, atque eidem studio omnes dedere, & arti,
Verba dare vt cautè possint, pugnare, dolose
Blandiri, certare, bonum simulare virum se,
Insidias facere, vt si hostes sint omnibus omnes.*

From morne to night on dayes profane or festiuall,
They meete at th'common place commons and fathers all,
There they bestirre themselues, thence will they not depart,
One selfe same study all attending and one art..
How closely they may cheat, striue, flatter cunningly,
Contend, and as good men pretend sincerity,
Yet vndermine, as each were others enemy.

Nostro autem populo quid tale potest obijci? Cuius omnis religio est sine scelere & sine macula vivere? But now vnto those of our profession what can be objected in this kinde? whose religion consists wholly in this, to liue without wickednes and pollution? Nay so much he stands vpon the powerfulness of *Christian Religion*, that he makes it beyond all the rules of *Morall Philosophy*, strongly effectuell to expell vice, and plant in men all kinde of vertue: *Da mihi virum qui sit iracundus, maledicus, effrenatus: paucissimis Dei verbis tam placidum quam ovem, reddam. Da cupidum, avarum, tenacem, jam tibi eum liberalem dabo, & pecuniam suam proprijs plenisque manibus largientem. Da timidum doloris ac mortis: jam cruce & ignes & Phalaridis taurum contemnet. Da libidinosum, adulterum, ganeonem; jam sobrium, castum, continentem videbis. Da crudelem, & sanguinis appetentem; jam in veram clementiam furor ille mutabitur. Da iniustum, insipientem, peccatorem; continuo & equus, & prudens, & innocens erit. Ad quod efficiendum non mercede, non libris, non lucubrationibus opus est. Gratis ista sunt, facile, cito: pateant modo aures, & pectus sapientiam suiat.* Giue me a man that is wrathfull, foule-mouthed, vnruely, with a few words of Gods booke, I will make him as gentle as a lambe. Giue me one that is close-fisted, covetous, greedy of money: I will send him backe vnto thee, liberall, bountifully distributing his money with his own hands. Giue me one that is fearefull of torment and death, he shall soone despise crosses, and fires, and *Phalaris* his bull. Giue me a lecher, an adulterer, a haunter of brothell houses, you shall see him sober, chaste, con-

Lib: 3: 216:

tinent.

tainent. Giue me one that is cruelly disposed, and thirsting after blood, that fury of his shall be changed into true clemency. Giue me one who is vnjust, vnwise, a sinner; he quickly shall be just, wise, vpriht. For the effecting whereof, there is no need of a reward, of bookes, of watchings, those things are done gratis, easily, suddainly: onely let the cares be open, and the heart long for wisdom. Thus writes *Lactantius*, and much more to this purpose, attributing a quickning efficacie to the divine oracles of Gods word, in the reformation of manners, which was not to be found in the writings of any of the Heathen.

S E C T. 2.

The same answer farther confirmed by the testimonie of Saint Augustine.

St *Augustine* presses them farther, that their Gods never taught them to be good, or at least wise, that their Priests never published any precepts tending that way in the name of their Gods. *Dicatur in quibus locis hac docentium Deorum solebant precepta recitari, & à Cultoribus eorum populis frequenter audiri; sicut ostendimus ad hoc Ecclesias institutas, quaquaversum religio Christiana diffunditur.* Let it be shewed in what places such precepts, given by direction of their Gods, were wont to be read and heard of the people, who came frequently to worship them, as we shew that among vs, temples are to that purpose erected, as farre as *Christian* Religion is spread: Where (sayth he in another place) out of the *Prophets*, the *Gospells*, the *Acts* of the *Apostles*, the *Epistles*, many things are read to the people being assembled, against covetousnes & luxury, so excellent, so divine, as if they were rather thundrings from heaven, then wranglings from the *Philosophers Schooles*. And for the particular point in matter of justice, hee floutes at *Salust* for saying, that *jus bonumque apud eos non legibus magis quàm natura valebat*, right and equity did as much prevaile with them, through the goodnes of their Nature, as by the force of the Lawes, *Ex hoc jure ac bono credo raptas esse Sabinas; quid enim justius & melius quàm filias alienas fraude spectaculi inductas non à parentibus accipi, sed vi ut quisque poterat auferri*: From this loue of right I trow it was that the *Sabin* women were ravished. For what can be more just, then not to receiue from their parents hands, but to take and carry away by violence other mens daughters, drawne on vnder the pretence of beholding a spectacle. From the same loue of this right too belike *Iunius Brutus* being *Consull*, caused *Lucius Tarquinius Collatinus*, husband to *Lucretia*, an innocent and good man and his Collegue to quite both his office and the city, onely because he bore the name & was of kinne to the *Tarquins*: *Quod scelus faveute vel patiente populo fecit à quo populo consulatum idem Collatinus sicut etiam ipse Brutus acceperat*: And this most vnjust act he did by the favour or connivence of the people, from whom *Collatinus* had received his *Consulship* as well as *Brutus*. From the loue of this right, it likewise came to passe that *Marcus Camillus*, who had done his countrey so great service, being questioned through the insolency of the *Tribunes* & the envy of his great vertues,

De Civ. Dei: lib.
2. c. 6:

Cap: 19:

Cap: 17:

raptas sine mo-
re Sabinas, Vir-
an. 8:

*tam ingratam sensit quam liberaverat Civitatem, ut de sua damnatione certissimus in exilium sponte discederet, & decem millibus aris absens etiam dam-
naretur, mox iterum à Gallis vindex patria futurus ingrata:* He found that city which hee had saved so ingratefull; that being fully assured, hee should haue sentence passe against him, he put himselfe into voluntary banishment, & being absent, they laid a mulct vpon his head of 10000 asses, though he were afterward recalled to free his vnthankfull countrey from the forces of the *Gauls*. To these examples of injustice in other places he addes the vnjust putting to death of *Rhemus* by his brother *Romulus*, their vnjust warre vpon the *Albans* the mother of *Rome*, the vnjust exile of *Scipio Affricanus* at *Linternum* in *Campania*, where he ended his dayes, giving straight charge, *ne saltem mortuo in ingrata patria funus fieret*, that being dead, his funeralls should not be solemnized in his vngratefull Countrey. Nay *Salust* himselfe he confutes by testimonies drawne from his owne writings, where he tells vs, that discord, covetousnes, ambition, and other mischiefes which were wont to waite vpon prosperity; *post Carthaginis excidium maxime aucta*, after the fall of *Carthage* mightily increased; and from that time, *Majorum mores non paulatim ut antea sed torrentis modo precipitati*, the ancient manners not by degrees as before, but like a torrent were carried downe headlong. By which confession of *Salust*, it appeares, that it was not somuch the goodnesse of their Nature, as the æmulation and feare of *Carthage* that bridled them, and kept them in order. *S. Augustines* conclusion in the fore alleadged chapter is: *Multa commemorare jam piger fœda & injusta quibus agitabatur illa Civitas: Cum potentes plebem sibi subdere conarentur, plebsq; illis subdi recusarent & virtusque partis defensores magis studis agerent amore vincendi quam æquum & bonum quicquam cogitarent.* So many were the foule and vnjust acts with which this Citty was burdened, that it grieveth me to recount them whiles the Nobility sought to trample vpon the Commons, and these againe refused to obey them, & the chiefe abettours on both sides were rather carried with faction then loue of justice.

Nusquam tuta fides, ---

Virgil.

Faith is no where to be found,
is the complaint of one of their Poets, and of another,

Qua terra patet fera regnat Erinny,

Ovid.

In facinus jurasse putes.

As farre as land doth reach doth fierce *Erinny*s rage,
A man would thinke they sworne had to all outrage:

And of a third,

Simplicitas, cuius non audeo dicere nomen:

Lucret.

Simplicity, whose name

I dare not speake for shame.

S E C. 3.

Another answer, that none can be truly just which are not truly religious; nor any truly religious which professe not the Christian Religion.

Hookers. 1.

2 Chron. 19.
6.

C: Tb. 1. 16. tit. 2

Cardan de sapi.
en. lib. 3.

In O. C. 11. au.

AND to speake a truth, so naturall is the vnion of true religion with justice, that we may boldly deeme there is neither, where both are not: For how should they be vnfaignedly just, whom Religion doth not cause to bee such, or they religious, who are not found such by the prooofe of their just actions? If they which imploy their labour and travaile about the publique administration of Justice, follow it only as a trade with vnquenchable and vnconscionable thirst of gaine, being not in heart perswaded that Justice is Gods owne worke, and themselues his Agents in the businesse, the sentence of right, Gods owne verdict, and themselues his Priests to deliver it: formalities of justice doe but serue to smoothen right, and that which was necessarily ordained for the common good is through shamefull abuse, made the cause of common misery. It is moreover the proper effect of true Religion, to qualifie all sorts of men, and to make them in publique affaires the more serviceable, Governours the more apter to rule with confidence, inferiours for conscience sake the willinger to obey. *Gaudere & gloriari ex fide semper volumus* (sayth the good Emperour Theodosius) *scientes magis religionibus quam officijs & labore corporis, vel sudore Rempub. nostram contineri.* We will alwayes rejoyce and glory in our faith, aswell knowing that our Empire consists rather by Religion, then any other meanes. And doubtles the Christian Religion hath heerein the start of all others, that it strikes so much vpon the soule, whereby it is brought to passe, that men fearing God, are thereby a great deale more effectually then by positieue lawes restrained from doing evill, in asmuch as those lawes haue no farther power then over our outward actions only, whereas vnto mens inward cogitations, vnto the privy intents and motions of their hearts, Christian Religion serveth for a bridle. What more savage, wilde, and cruell then man, if he see himselfe able, either by fraud to over-reach, or by power to over-bear the lawes wherevnto he should be subject. Wherefore in so great boldnesse to offend, it behooveth that men should be held in awe, not by a vaine surmise, but by a true apprehension of that which no man may thinke himselfe able to withstand. *Summum presidium regni est iustitia ob apertos tumultus, & religio ob occultos.* The chiefe safeguard of a kingdome is justice against open disorders, & religion against secret. And our best writers of the Primitive Church forgot not to presse this against the Ethnicks, *Vos scelera admissa punitis, apud nos & cogitare peccare est; vos conscios timetis nos etiam conscientiam solam, sine qua esse non possumus,* saies Minutius Felix: You punish wicked acts committed, with vs to thinke wickedly is a sinne; you feare to be convinced of guiltinesse, we feare the guiltinesse of our conscience, which wee alway carry about with

with vs, and without which we cannot be. But about all, *Tertullian* notably vrgeth this point. *Tanta est prudentia hominis ad demonstrandum bonum quanta auctoritas ad exigendum; tam illa falli facilis quam ista contemni.* Age ideo quid plenis dicere, non occides, aut docere, ne irascaris quidem quid perfectius prohibere adulterium an etiam ab oculorum solitaria concupiscentia arcere? quid eruditius de maleficio, an et de maleloquio interdiceret? quid instructius injuriam non permittere an nec vicem injuriæ sinere? Such is the wisdom of man to direct what is good, as is his authority to exact it, the one may as easily be deceived, as the other contemned. Which commaunds more fully? either he who sayth, thou shalt not kill, or he who charges not to be angry: which of the two is more perfect, to forbid adultery, or to restrain the eyes from concupiscent? whether more wisely done, to forbid evill deedes, or evill words? whether more like to do good, the not permitting of injuries, or the not suffering the revenge of them? And besides all this, the *Erhnickes* only threatned the death of the body to malefactors, but we (sayth the same *Tertullian*) feare to offend God, & pro scientia plenitudine, & pro latebrarum difficultate, & pro magnitudine cruciatus, non durius, verum sempiterni: in regard of the fulnes of his knowledge, the difficulty of being hid, and the greatnes of the punishment, not for a long time, but forever. And this haue we seene that the ancient *Romanes*, neither were, nor indeed had the meanes to be so just as is pretended; or as the *Christians* were, whom they persecuted. But it will be said, that howsoever they might bee defectiue in matter of justice, yet they excelled in wisdom and courage: Let vs then take a view of these, and first of their wisdom.

SECT. 4.

The second objection touching the pretended wisdom of the Romans, answered by taking a briefe view of of their courses, but specially by the testimony of *Pliny*.

IF we should speake of true wisdom, it is only that which serueth to make vs wise vnto saluation, which without true Religion can never be attained, as *Lactantius* most diuinely: *Omnis sapientia hominis in hoc vna est, ut Deum cognoscat & colat, hoc nostrum dogma, hac sententia est: quanta itaq; voce possum testificor, proclamo, denuntio, hoc est illud quod Philosophi omnes in tota sua vita quaesierunt, nec unquam tamē investigare, comprehendere, aut tenere valuerunt, quia religionem aut pravam retinuerunt, aut totam penitus sustulerunt:* All the wisdom of man consists only in this, that he know and worship God, this is our doctrine, this our opinion, and this with as loud voyce as I can, I testifie, professe, proclaime: This is it which all the Philosophers during their whole life haue sought, and yet could never finde out, comprehend, or attaine vnto, because they either retained a corrupt religion, or wholly extinguished it. I would willingly learne how they, who (as hath already beene proved) worshipped stockes and stones, the workes of their owne hands, or

such a rabble of filthy, wicked, odious *Gods*, and that in such a beastly or cruell manner like men voyde of common reason, could be sayd to be *wise*? Or how they, who suffered the most notorious vices of their *Gods* to be described by their Poets, acted by their Players, drawne to life by their Painters, whom they highly applauded and rewarded, as if thereby they meant to instruct their youth in vertue, could be said to be *wise*? Or how they, who wasted such infinite masses of treasure in such vaine buildings, banquettings, & spectacles could be said to be *wise*? Or they, who by their sword-playes, or wilde beasts (only to satisfie their beastly pleasure) devoured so many millions of men, as might haue served to inlarge or preserue their Empire, could bee said to bee *wise*? Or how they, who gaue way to men to make themselues away vpon all occasions as they thought fit, nay exhorted them to it, & commended them for it (which must needs bee a meanes to weaken their state) could be said to be *wise*? Lastly, how they, who professed that they most desired to traine vp their citizens to a militarie course of life, and yet suffered them to wallow in all kinde of luxurie, could be said to be *wise*? What great peece of *wisedome* did they ever shew in the making of their *Laves*, or in their stratagems of warre, which hath not bin exceeded, or at least-wise equalled by the *Christians* in latter ages. But the notable follie of the whole body of this state, notoriously appeared in one action of theirs, which I finde thus at large described and censured by *Pliny* their Country-man, and a great admirer of his owne Nation. Certes, when I consider and behold the monstrous humors of these prodigall spirits, my mind is drawn away still from the progresse of mine intended journey, & forced I am to digresse out of my way, and to annexe vnto this vanity of *Scaurus* as great folly of another, not in Masonry and marble, but in Carpentry and timber: And *Curio* it was, he who in the civill warres betweene *Cesar* and *Pompey* lost his life in the quarrell of *Cesar*. This Gentle-man desirous to shew pleasure vnto the people of *Rome*, at the funeralls of his father deceased, as the manner then was, and seing that he could not out-goe *Scaurus* in rich and sumptuous furniture, was put to his shifts, and devised to surpassse him in wit, since hee could not come neere him in wealth. And what might his invention be? Certes it is worth the knowledge; if it were no more but this, that we may haue joy of our owne conceites and fashions, and call our selues worthily as our manner is *Majores*, that is to say superiour every way to all others. This *Curio* then in emulation of *Scaurus* caused two Theaters to bee framed of timber and those exceeding bigge, howbeit so as they might bee turned about as a man would haue the approach neere one to the other, or bee removed farther asunder as one would desire, and all by the meanes of one hooke apeece that they hung by, which bare the weight of the whole frame, the counterpoise was so even, and all the whole fabrique thereof sure and firme. Now he ordered the matter thus, that to behold the severall stage-playes and shewes in the fore-noone before dinner, they should be set backe to backe, to the end, that the stages should not trouble one another; and when the people had taken their

their pleasure that way, he turned the *Theaters* about in a trice against the after-noon, that they affronted one another, and toward the latter end of the day, and namely when the fencers and sword-players were come in place, he brought both the *Theaters* neerer together (and yet every man sat still & kept his place according to his rank & order) in so much as that by the meeting of the horns or corners of them both together in compasse, he made a faire round *Amphitheater* of it, & there in the middst betweene hee exhibited indeede vnto them all joyntly a sight and spectacle of sword-fencers, fighting at sharpe, whom hee had hired for that purpose. But in truth a man may say more truly, that hee carried the whole people of *Rome* round about at his pleasure, bound sure enough for stirring or removing.

Now let vs come to the point and consider a little better of this thing, what should a man wonder at most therein, the deviser or the devile it selfe? The workman of this fabrique, or the Master that set him a worke? Whether of the twaine is more admirable, either the vertuous head of him that devised it, or the bold heart of him that vnder-tooke it? To commaund such a thing to be done, or to obey, and yeeld, and goe in hand with it? But when wee haue sayd all that we can, the folly of the blind and bold people of *Rome* went beyond all, who trusted such a ticklish frame, & durst sit there in a seate so moueable, loe where a man might haue scene the body of that people, which is Commaunder and ruler of the whole earth, the Conqueror of the world, the disposer of kingdomes & Realmes at their pleasure, the divider of countreyes and Nations at their wils, the giver of lawes to forraine states, the vicegerent of the immortall Gods vnder heaven, and representing their image vnto all mankind, hanging in the aire within a frame at the mercy of one onely hooke, rejoycing, & ready to clap hands at their owne daunger: What a cheape market of mens liues was heere toward? what was the losse at *Canna* to this hazard? how neere vnto a mischiefe were they, which might haue hapned heereby in the turning of a hand? Certes, when there is newes come of a city swallowed vp by a wide chink, and opening of the earth, all men generally in a publique commiseration doe greeue thereat, and there is not one but his heart doth yearne, and yet behold the Vniuersall state and people of *Rome*, as if they were put into a couple of barks, supported betweene heaven and earth, and sitting at the deuotion only of two pinnes or hookes. And what spectacle doe they behold? a number of Fencers trying it out with vnre-bared swords? Nay ywis but even themselues rather entred into a most desperate fight, and at the point to breake their neckes every mothers sonne, if the scaffold failed never so little and the frame went out of joynt.

SECT. 5.

The third objection touching the pretended fortitude of the Romans answered, in as much as their Empire is by their owne writers in a great part ascribed to Fortune, & by Christians may be referred to Gods speciall providence for the effecting of his owne purposes, rather then to any extraordinary worth in them.

NOW that which is most of all stood vpon, aswell by the *Romanes* themselves, as by their Proctours & Patrons is their great fortitude & courage, as appears in their subduing the greatest part of the knowne world: and in truth, placing their chiefe happinesse in the honour and glory of their names; & withall, supposing that there was for the purchasing thereof no readier meanes, then the sacrificing of their liues for the enlarging & advancement of their Empire; they were in this regard for the most part, even prodigall of their blood: But shall we call that fortitude, which neither aimed at justice, nor was guided by true wisdom, or rather obstinacie & adventurous boldnes? It is very true, that they were often in their warres very successfull: but

*Careat successibus opto,
Quisquis ab eventu facta notanda putat.*

May that mans actions never well succeed,
Who by th'event doth censure of the deed.

By the confession of their owne writers they owed as much to Fortune as their valour, whom therefore they made a Goddesse and placed in heaven.

Te facimus Fortuna Deam caloque locamus.

Thee, Fortune, we a Goddesse make,
And grant thee place in heaven to take.

These two Fortune & Fortitude, *Ammianus* so chayneth & linketh together, as neither of them could well be wanting in the raising of their Empire: *Roma ut augetetur sublimibus incrementis sadere pacis aeternae virtus conuenit atq; fortuna, quarum si altera defuisset ad perfectam non venerat summitatem.* That Rome should rise to that height & greatnes, Fortitude & Fortune made a league of eternall peace, so as had either of them beene wanting, it could never haue risen to that perfection. Both of them performed their parts heerein, seeming to strue which should preceede the other, which *Plutarch* disputes at large in his booke de fortuna Romanorum, and *Florus* hath briefly, but roundly & cleerely expressed. *Ad constituendum Romanum imperium virtutem ac Fortunam contendisse videri*, that to the stablishing of the *Romane* Empire, Fortitude & Fortune seemed to contend which should be most forward. Now if themselves attributed as much to fortune as to their fortitude wee may well conceiue that the latter was short of the former rather then otherwise.

And surely, if by Fortune we should vnderstand Gods Providence, we may

may safely say, that for the effecting of his owne purposes (though happily vnknowne to thér)ather then for any extraordinary worth or merit in them, he conferred vpon them the *Empire* of the world. As *Augustus Caesar* was by Gods speciall providence directed in taxing the world, ^{Luc. 3.} that so euery man repairing to his owne Citty, *Christ* by that meanes might be borne in *Bethleem*, as was fore-told by the Prophet *Micah*: so ^{5. 2.} likewise was he by the same hand and power settled in the Empire, that he might thorow the world settle an vniuersall peace, when the *Prince of Peace* was to be borne into it, as was foretold by another Prophet, *They* ^{Esay 2. 4.} shall beate their swords into plow-shares, and their speares into pruning bookes. And may we not well conceiue that the world was therefore by the diuine Providence brought vnder the yoke of the *Roman* government, made subject to their Lawes, and acquainted with their language, that so when the Emperours themselues should become *Christians*, as afterwards they did, the propagation of the *Gospel* of *Iesus Christ* might finde an easier passage. The *Romans* then perchaunce might challenge, that as due to their owne worth in the conquering of the world, which is rather to be ascribed to the hand of Heauen, disposing these earthly *Monarchies* for the good of his Church, or for the chastising of his enemies: To which purpose he gaue to *Nebuchadnezzar* such great victories and large Dominions. *Thou O King art a King of Kings, for the God* ^{Dan. 2. 37.} *of heauen hath giuen thee a kingdome, power, and strength, and glory, which was not for any extraordinary worth or vertue that we read of in Nebuchadnezzar, but only to make him as a staffe or a rod in his hands for the scourging of other rebellious nations, an instrument for the accomplishment of his own designs. Answerable whereunto is that memorable speech of S. Augustin. Non tribuamus dandi regni atq; imperij potestatem nisi Deo vero qui dat felicitatem in regno calorū solis piis, regnum vero terrarū & piis & impiis, sicut ei placet cui nihil iniuste placet; Let vs not referre the power of conferring Kingdomes, but only to the true God, who giues happines in the kingdome of heauen only to the godly, but these earthly kingdoms, both to the godly & vngodly, as pleases him who nothing pleases that is vnjust. I conclude this point with that of Salomon, The* ^{Ecclesiastes 9.} *race is not alwayes to the swift, nor the battle to the strong, nor bread to the wise, nor riches to men of vnderstanding, nor yet fauour to men of skill, but time and chaunce hapneth to them all. The meaning is, that the successe of these outward things is not alwayes carryed by desert, but by chance in regard of vs, though by providence in regard of God.*

SECT. 6.

SECT. 6.

Secondly, the Romanes having no right or iust title to those Nations they subdued, we cannot rightly tearme their strength in conquering them fortitude.

SEcondly, sicut non martyrem poena, sic non fortem pugna, sed causa facit, as the torture doth not make a martyr, so doth not the conquest, but the justnesse of the cause make a valiant man, if the Romanes then cannot shew vs by what right they conquered the world, wee will neuer call their strength in conquering it, Fortitude, or crowne it with the name of Vertue, vnlesse withall, we shall call the out-rage of robbers and cut-throats. who with fire and sword spoyle and lay waste all they can, Courage and Valour. *Remota itaq; iustitia quid sunt regna nisi magna latrocinia*, saith S. Augustine, take away the justnesse of the cause, and tell me what is the acquisition of Kingdomes, but great robberies; vnlesse we should say, that the killing and robbing of one is a sinne, but of many a vertue, as S. Cyprian wittily speakes, *homicidium cum admittunt singuli crimen est, virtus vocatur cum publice geritur, impunitatem sceleribus acquirit, non innocentia ratio, sed scititia magnitudo*: when one single man commits a single murther that's a grievous offence, when it is commonly and publicly done, that's a vertue: They purchase impunity not by reason of their innocencie, but the greatnes of their Cruelty. When a Pyrate was conuented before the great Alexander for robbing vpon the Seas, and demaunded what he meant so to doe, or by what right he did it, his answer to that Emperour was by way of recrimination; by the same right (sayth he) as you robbe the world, which was *elegant & veraciter responsum*, (they be the words of S. Augustine) a trim and true answer: For what was Alexander, if we should tearme him aright, but

De Civ. dei 4.4.

Ad Donatum.

Nominus Marcellus ex Cicerone lib. de Repub. 3.

*Felix terrarum prado non vile mundo
Editus exemplar.*

A robber of the world, yet prosperous,
And to mankind example dangerous.

Or rather as the same Poet speakes,

*Terrarum fatale malum fulmenq; quod omnes
Percuteret populos pariterq; & sydas iniquum
Gentibus.*

Earths fatall euill, a thunder-bolt of warre,
Striking all Nations, an vnluckie starre.

Nat. quest. pref. lib. 3.

And Seneca professeth both of him and his father Philip, that they were to mankind no lesse plagues, *quam inundatio qua planum perfusum est, quam conflagratio qua magna pars animantium exaruit*, then a land flood which drownes all the champian, or a burning drought wherewith the greatst part of cattle perish.

Now that which hath been spoken of Alexander, the Romans may as properly be applied to themselves, *Felix scelus virtus vocatur*, vnjust attempts

attempts if they be fortunate in the event are called vertues: and some actions there are of that nature, *qua nunquam laudantur nisi peracta*, which are neuer commended till they are ended; and surely so it was with the Romans, & for proöfe that their attempts were indeed for the most part vnjust, we need goe no farther then that of *Mithridates* in *Salust*, *Roma-Epist. ad Regem ni arma in omnes habent*, *in eos acerrima quibus victis spolia maxima sunt*, *Arfocen.* the Romans make warre vpon all, and that vpon them most fiercely, from whom being conquered they hope for the greatest booty. And againe, *Romanus cum nationibus populis Regibus cunctis una & vetus bellandi causa est Cupido profunda imperii & diuitiarum*. The Romans haue one old and common quarrell with all Nations, people, kings, an vnquenchable thirst of Empire and riches, with whom *Galgacus* in *Tacitus* fully accords, *Raptores orbis postquam cuncta vastantibus defuere terra, & mare scrutantur: si locuples est hostis auari, si pauper ambitiosi, quos non oriens non occidens satiaverit*; Robbers of the world they are, and after that they haue laid all places waste, land wanting for them to spoile, they search into the Sea, if the enemy be rich, their covetousnesse mooues them to invade him, if poore their ambition, so as neither East nor West can satisfie their insatiable appetite. And though wee should perchance suspect the testimonies of *Mithridates* and *Galgacus*, as being their enemies, yet against that of *Lactantius* we cannot well accept. *Isti qui ever-* *Lib. 1: c. 18.* *siones urbium, populorumq; summam gloriam computant, otium publicum non ferent, rapiunt, seruiunt, & iniuriis insolenter illatis humana societatis fadus irrumpent, ut habere hostem possint, quem sceleratius deleant, quam lacesierint*. But they who account the subversion of cities and states their greatest glory, will not endure the publique peace, they will rob and spoyle, and most insolently offering wrongs, will violate the league of humane society, that they may haue an enemy whom they may more injuriously vanquish then they haue unjustly provoked.

I am not ignorant that *Cicero* in defence of his owne Nation tells vs, *noſter populus ſocijs defendendis terrarum omnium poſituseſt*, our people by defending their associates, became Masters of the world: but I would willingly be informed whether or no they did not often set their associates to cöplaine without a cause, or abet them in vnjust quarrels; & I desire that *Cicero* or any other Roman should tell me truely what just reason of warring they had vpon the *Carthaginians* in the first Punick warre. I know there is a pretence coyned that it was vnder-taken in defence of the *Mamertins* whom the *Carthagineans* and *Syracusians* intended to chastise for their villanous treachery committed vpon *Messana* a City in *Sicily* where they lay in garrison, putting to the sword all the Inhabitents, & dividing the spoile among themselves, and *Decius Campanus* a Roman Prefect with his Legion consisting of 4000 Souldiers being receiued into *Rhegium* for the safeguard thereof against *Pyrrhus*, by the example and assistance of the *Mamertins* did the like. Now it is true the Romans at the instance of the people of *Rhegium* did justice vpon their owne Countrymen, yet the *Mamertins* guilty of the same foule fact, and that in a higher degree, they tooke into their protection, and made it the pretence of their first warre vpon the *Carthaginians*, their

ancient friends and allies. But it is certaine that no company of *Pyrats, Theeves, Outlawes, Murderers*, or other such *Malefactors*, can by any good successe of their villany obtaine the priviledge of *Civil Societies* to make league or truce, yea or to require faire warre, but are by all meanes as most pernicious vermin to be rooted out of the world. Wherefore we may safely esteeme this action of the *Romans* so farre from being justifiable by any colour of confederacie made with them, as that contrarywise by admitting this nest of murderers and theeves into their protection, they justly deserved to bee warred vpon themselves: Yet after this warre ended, and a peace solemnely concluded, when the *Carthaginians* made a doubtfull warre vpon their rebellious *Mercenaries* of *Sardinia*, the *Romans* perceiuing that *Carthage* beyond their hope had recovered her feete againe, began to strike at her head: On the suddain they denounced warre against this infeeble and impoverished Citie vnder a shameles pretence that the preparations made for *Sardinia* were made indeed against *Rome* it selfe. The *Carthaginians* knew themselves at that time vnable to resist, and therefore yeilded to the *Roman* demaund, renouncing vnto them all their right in *Sardinia*: But this was not enough they would haue 1200 talents in recompence belike (for I see not what reason they could alleage) of the great feare which they had indured of an invasion from *Carthage*. It is indeed plaine, that they impudently sought occasion of warre: but necessity taught the *Carthaginians* patience, and the money was payde how hardly soeuer it was raised. Let not *Rome* then complaine of the punicke faith in the breach of Covenants, she her selfe hath broken the peace already which *Amilcar* proposed to make her dearely repent, but what *Amilcar* liued not to performe, was accomplished by *Hannibal* his renowned sonne.

SECT. 7.

Thirdly, that the Christians in suffering for Religion surpassed the Romane fortitude.

THardly, if true fortitude consist as well in suffering, as in doing, nay rather in suffering chearefully and constantly, then in doing valiantly, as the *Prince of Philosophers*, & great *Master of morality* hath taught vs, *Ex eo fortes appellantur quod res molestas atq; asperas fortiter ferant*, from thence are they tearmed manfull, that they manfully indure bitter and shatpe brunts; and from him the *Poet*,

Fortiter ille facit, qui miser esse potest.

He it is doth valiantly,

That can miserable be.

Then I will be bold to say, that the *Christian Religion* hath yeilded more vndaunted invincible spirits, then euer *Pagan Rome* did, nay, then all the *Pagan Religion* euer did: so as I cannot sufficiently wonder what should induce *Machiavell* to conceiue or affirme that the *Christian Religion* serued to make men cowards, and that *Paganisme* was in that respect to bee preferred before it. Surely hee that shall advisedly reade the *Ecclesiasticall Story*, what incredible multitudes,

with

Elb. 3.12.

Disl. 1.11.12.
13 14.

with what alacrity, and what exquisite torments they endured, will soone I thinke be of another mind; they were so farre from shunning death, that they ranne to meeete it halfe way, kissed it, imbraced it, in what vgly terrible shape soever it appeared; in so much that our writers of the Primitiue Church dare match them, as well they might with the most hardy & resolute of the Romans; yea and to preferre them before these. *Nostri autem* (sayth *Lactantius*) (*ut de viris taceam*) *pueri & muliercula tortores suos taciti vincunt & exprimere illis gemitum nec ignis potest. Eam Romani & Musio gloriantur aut Regulo, quorum alter necandum se hostibus tradidit quod Captivum puduit vivere, alter ab hostibus de-*

Lib. 5. c. 13:

prehensus cum videret mortem se vitare non posse, manum foco iniecit ut pro facinore suo satisfaceret hosti quem voluit occidere, eaque pena veniam quam meruerat accepit. Those of our profession (not to speake of the men yeven boyes & tender young women doe with silence conquer their Executioners, from whom not the fire it selfe can wring so much as a groane. Let the Romans goe then and boast of their *Mulius* & *Regulus*, of which the one offered himselfe to death by the hand of the enemy, for that he was ashamed to live in captivity; the other being attached by the enemy, when he saw he could not avoyd death, burnt his hand in the fire, that so for his wicked attempt he might make satisfaction to the enemy, whom he sought to dispatch, and by that penance purchased he an undeserved pardon: But with vs behold those who are for their sexe infirme, and weake for their age, suffer themselves wholly to bee torne in peeces, and burnt not through any necessity, for they might avoyd it if they would, but willingly and readily because they trust in God.

See for this point *Laurent Valla* in his 2 booke de voluptate.

Eusebius takes a larger scope and makes a boldner challenge, including not the Romans alone, but the *Gracians*, and any other not *Christians*. *Ex omnibus qui unquam vel apud Græcos vel apud Barbaros propter animi magnitudinem illustres, & hominum sermone celebrati sunt, nullus cum divinis & eximjis nostri temporis Martyribus Dorotheo & suis sodalibus imperatorum ministris comparari potest.* Among all those who either among the *Gracians* or *Barbarians* have beene renowned for their magnanimitie, none of them all could be matched with those divine & heroicall Martyrs of our time *Dorotheus* and his Companions the Emperours servants. After these in time but in learning and zeale nothing inferiour vnto them: S. *Augustine* confidently maintaines the same truth: *Hoc sequuti sunt Martyres qui Scævolas, & Curtios, & Decios non sibi inferendo pœnas, sed illas ferendo: & virtute vera quia vera pietate & innumera multitudine superarunt.*

Lib. 3. c. 6.

De Civ. Dei, 5
14.

This rule our Martyrs followed, who not by laying violent hands on themselves, but by patiently enduring others exceeded the *Scævolas*, the *Curtij*, the *Decij* both in true fortitude, because joyned with true piety, and besides in multitudes innumerable. And lastly, before all these, *Tertullian* both saw, and publickly taught the same truth. *Multi apud vos ad tolerantiam doloris & mortis hortantur, ut Cicero in Tusculanis, ut Seneca in Fortuitis, ut Diogenes, ut Pyrrhon, ut Callimachus, nec tamen tantos invenimus verba discipulos quātos Christiani factis docendo.* Many among you exhort men to a constant and patient enduring of griefe & death, as *Cicero* in his *Tusculanes*, *Seneca* in

Apolog. 5. o. ad
Genes.

his remedies against fortune, *Diogenes*, *Pyrrhon*, and *Callimachus*; yet their writings and words finde not so many Schollers as doe the *Christians*, teaching by their deedes & deaths.

But because the *Romans* stand so much vpon their valour in suffering for their countrey, it were not hard to instance in many *Christians*, who might justly be paralld with the chiefeft of them in that kinde, I will content my selfe only with one example, and that of the Burgesfes of *Calais*, as I finde it reported by *Pasquier*. The towne of *Calais* during the raigne of *Philip de Valois* being brought to those straights, that now there was no more hope left, either for succour or victuals; *John Lord of Vienna*, who there commaunded for the King, began to treat about the rendring of it, desiring only that they might giue it vp with safety of their liues and goods; which conditions being offered to *Edward King of England*, who by the space of eleven moneths had straightly besieged it; he being exceedingly iraged, that so small a town should alone stand out against him so long; and withall calling to mind that they had often galled his subjects by sea, was so farre from accepting of their petition, that contrariwise hee resolved to put them all to the sword, had he not beene diverted from that resolution by some sage Counsellours then about him, who told him, that for having beene faithfull and loyall subjects to their Sovereigne, they deserved not to be so sharply dealt with: Wherevpon *Edward* changing his first purpose into some more clemencie, promised to receiue them to mercy, conditionally that six of their principall Townsmen, should present him the keyes of the Towne bare-headed & bare-footed, & with halters about their neckes, their liues being to bee left to his disposition: Whereof the Governour being advertised, he presently gets him into the market-place, commaunding the bell to be sounded for the convening of the people; whom being assembled, hee acquainted with the articles which he had received, touching the yeelding vp of the towne, and the assurance of their liues which could not bee graunted but with the death of six of the chiefe of them: With which newes they being all of them exceedingly cast downe & perplexed, on the suddaine there rises vp one of their Company called *Stephen S. Peter*, one of the richest & most sufficient men of the town, who thus spake aloud: Sir, I thanke God for the goodes he hath bestowed on me, but more that he hath given me this present opportunity to make it known that I prize the liues of my Countrey-men & fellow burgesfes aboue mine owne: At the hearing of whose speech and sight of his forwardnes, one *John Daire* and foure others after him made the like offers, not without great abundance of teares & prayers from the common people, who saw them so freely and readily sacrifice all their particular respects for the weale of the publique, & instantly without any more ado they addressed themselues to the King of *England* with the keyes of the towne, with none other hope but of death: to which (though they held themselues assured thereof) they went as cheerefully as if they had bin going to a wedding. Yet it pleasing God to turne the heart of the *English King* at the instance of his *Queene* and some of the Lords,

'Lords, they were sent backe againe safe and sound. Now who can say that our *France* hath not her *Horatij, Quinti, Curtij, & Decij*? Wee haue ours aswell as the *Romans* had theirs: but a certaine kind of basenes in vs more ready to apprehend and admire the worth of strangers then of our owne Nation, makes vs happily not to beleue so: Now that which *Pasquier* writes of his Nation, and truly, as I thinke in comparison with the *Roman* valour in suffering for their countrey, wee may as confidently speake of ours & others perchaunce of theirs.

S E C T. 8.

That as the Christians haue surpassed the Romans in the passive part of fortitude, so haue they matched them in the active, and that the partiall overvaluing of the Romane manhood by their owne Historians, is it chiefly which hath made the world to think it unmatched.

Fourthly and lastly, as the *Romans* were thus surpassed in the passive part of fortitude: so were they matched in the *Active*, many times meeting with those, that either put backe their forces without losse, or with victory put them to the worst. *Iulius Caesar* their great experienced and most renowned Captaine after all his valiant acts and triumphs, what adoe did hee make to doe any thing worth the remembrance vpon this Iland then inhabited by naked *Britains*, and those divided: And though *Velleius Paterculus* the Court Historiographer beare vs in hand, his *penetratam Britanniam à Cesare*, that *Brittainy* was twicethroughly invaded by *Caesar*, yet *Lucan* tels vs another tale,

Territa quasitis ostendit terga Britannis:

To th' *Britons* whom he fought his coward backe he turnd. And *Tacitus* a graue Authour, *Britanniam tantum ostendisse non tradidisse Romanis*, that he only shewed, but delivered not *Britannie* to the *Romans*. And sure he did so little, that both *Horace* and *Propertius* agree in it that he left them vntouched, or at least vnconquered:

Intactus aut Britannus ut descenderet

Sacra Catenatus via:

Horat. Eps. od.
7.

Or that the *Britons*, yet vntouched, may
Be led in chaines along the sacred way.

Sayes the one: And the other.

Te manet invictus Romano Marte Britannus.

--- Vnconquered *Britannie*,

By *Romane* armes reserved is for thee.

The *Gaules* in their contention with them they found so stout & hardy, as *Tully* himselfe confesseth, that with other Nations the *Romans* fought for dominion, but with the *Gaules* for preservation of their owne safety, who once vnder the conduct of *Brennus* entred the city of *Rome* it selfe, sacked it and burnt it. *Pyrrhus* King of the *Epirots* encountred them in *Italy* it selfe, and vanquished them in two severall battailes, in the former of which they were through feare stricken with such a con-

sternation & forgetfulness of their discipline, that they tarried not so much as to defende their campe, but ran quite beyond it, leaving both it and the honour of the day entirely to *Pyrrhus*, though the Consull himselfe were then in the field with a select army. But *Hanniball* was indeed the man, who made the *Romanes* know that they were but men made of like mettall as others are. Like a haile storme he came thundring downe from the *Alpes & Pyrennean* mountaines vpon *Italy*. At *Ticinum* now called *Pavia*, after a long tedious journey, having scarce refreshed his wearied army, consisting of severall Nations, and therefore the harder to be held together & commaunded, he beate *Scipio* the Consull, and sent him (with the losse of almost all his horses) wounded out of the field: And within a while after fighting with both the Consuls *Scipio & Sempronius* at *Trebia*, there escaped of six & thirty thousand of the *Romans*, but tenne thousand of all sorts horse and foote. Not long after, this againe he encountred with *Flaminius* another Consull at the lake of *Thrasymene*, who was slaine in the place, accompanied with fiftene thousand dead carkases of his Countrey-men. And *Cetronius* being sent by *Servilius* the other Consull to the ayde of *Flaminius*, his strength only served to increase the misadventure, being charged and the greatest part of them cut in peeces by *Maharball*, the rest yeelding themselves to mercy. The *Romans* being put to these straights, choose a Dictator that was *Fabius Maximus*, who like a cloud hung vpon the toppes of the hils, but durst not come downe into the plaines to fight with *Hanniball*, though he saw the countrey fired & spoiled by him before his eyes. Wherevpon two new Consuls are chosen *Emilius Paulus & Terentius Varro*. For the dispatch of the warre great forces are leavied, and at *Canna* they come powring vpon him with assurance of victorie. The whole summe of *Hanniball's* army in the field this day was, tenne thousand horse and forty thousand foote, his enemies having two to one against him in foote, & he fve to three against them in horse: But heere againe he routed and foyled them, in somuch as the *Romanes* were all in a manner either slaine or taken prisoners: Of men of speciall note there died in the great battell, besides *Paulus* the Consull, two *Questors* or *Treasurers*, one and twenty *Colonells* or *Tribunes* of the souldiers, foure score *Senatours*, or such as had borne office; out of which they were to bee chosen into the Senate, and many of these were men of marke, as having beene *Ediles*, *Prators* or *Consulls*, among whom was *Servilius* the last yeares Consull, and *Minutius* late Master of the horse: besides all this, the number of the *Romane* Knights that lay slaine on the place, & of the common souldiers was almost incredible: Whereas on the side of *Hanniball* there died but foure thousand *Gaules*, fiftene hundred *Spaniards* and *Africans*, and two hundred horse or thereabouts, a losse not sensible in the joy of so great a victorie, which had he pursued as *Maharball* advised him, and forthwith marched away towards *Rome* then destitute both of men and money, it is little doubted but that the warre had presently beene at an end: But he beleued not so farre in his owne sufficiencie and good fortune, and was therefore told that he knew how to get, not how to vse a victorie: Yet

had not his supplies promised & expected from *Carthage*, partly by the malice of *Hanno*, and partly by the sloath & parsimonie of the *Carthaginians*, beene too long deferred, it is to be thought the *Romans* would neuer againe haue recovered that blow. For after this, he performed in *Italy* many noble & worthy exploits, marching home even to the gates of *Rome* it selfe, and had he beene supplied with victuals in all likelihood, had carried it.

Now that which hath made the world conceiue the *Romane Magnanimity* to be vnmatchable, is the partiall overvaluing of their manhood by their owne *Historians*, and the too much slighting of all others in comparison with themselves. I will instance only in two or three passages. *Livie* to disgrace *Hannibal* writes, that a little before the striking of the battell at *Canna*, *de fuga in Galliam dicitur agitasse*, he is sayd to haue bethought himselfe of flying into *Gaule*, which was in truth very incredible, the difficulties considered which *Hannibal* before had passed, and the termes he then stood in. This tale therefore *Plutarch* omitteth, who in the life of *Hannibal* takes in a manner all his directions from *Livie*. My second instance is this: *Fabius* an ancient *Roman Historian* (from whom *Livie* borrowes much) sayth of *Amilcar* the father of *Hannibal*, & his men at *Erix* a towne in *Sicill*, that hauing cleane spent their strength, and being broken with many miseries, they were glad to submit themselues vnto the *Romans*: But *Polybius* a graue writer, censureth this report of *Fabius*, as fabulous & partiall, in as much as the contrary therevnto is to be found in the life of *Amilcar*, set downe by *Emilius Probus*, confessing that *Erix* was in such sort held by the *Carthaginians*, that it seemed to be in as good condition, as if in those parts there had not beene any warre. Though then we may not reprehend in that worthy Historian *Livie*, the tender loue of his countrey, which made him giue credit to *Fabius* & others: Yet must we not for his sake beleue those lies which the vnpartiall judgement of *Polybius* hath condemned in the writers that gaue them originall. My third, & last instance is, that the great Captaine *Fabius* or *Livie* in his person, maketh an objection vnto *Cneus Scipio*, which neither *Scipio* nor *Livie* for him doth answer, that if *Asdruball* the brother of *Hannibal*, and sonne of *Amilcar* were vanquished, as *Scipio* would say, by him in *Spaine*, strange it was, and as little to his honour, as it had beene extremely dangerous to *Rome*, that the same vanquished man should invade *Italy*: And it is indeed an incredible narration, that *Asdruball* being closed in on all sides, and not knowing how to escape out of the battell, saue only by a steepe descent of rocks over a great river that lay at his back, ranne away with all his monie, Elephants, and broken troupes over *Tagus* directly toward the *Pyrenees*, and so toward *Italy*, vpon which hee fell with more then threescore thousand Souldiers. Wherefore wee can but be sorry, that all *Carthaginian* records of their warres with *Rome* (if there were any) being vtterly lost, wee can knowe no more thereof, then what it hath pleased the *Romans* to tell vs, vnto whom it were no wisdome to giue too much credit. *Albericus Gentilis*, by nation an *Italian*, late professour of the *Ciuill Lawes* in the Vniuersity of *Oxford*,

Lib. 22.

Lib. 1.

Lib. 28.

well

well versed in the Roman storie, hath written two learned bookes *de armis Romanorum*; In the former of which hee clearly proues, that the Romans got the reputation of so great justice, and wisdom, & valour only from the testimonie of their owne writers, who were in their relations most partiall: notwithstanding, sayth he, *Sunt vel in his ipsis plura & dissecta passim, & quasi in amplo naufragio dissipata qua per sedulam operam collecta, vincere vulgi opinionem, Consensum hominum inveteratum superare, persuasionem de virtute Romanorum bellica tollere possunt*: Even in them are many passages to be found scattered heere & there, as it were after some great shipwracke, which being diligently collected and put together, might serue to vanquish the vulgar opinion, to roote out the inveterate & common consent, to weaken the strong perswasion of men touching the warlike manhood of the Romans. And alleaging that place of Cicero in his Oration for murena, *virtus militaris populo Romano nomen urbi Roma aeternam gloriam peperit*; The military vertue of the Romanes wanne to themselves fame, and to their Citty aeternall glory, *imo non ita est M. Tulli*, sayth he, *sed fraus, avaritia, audacia, crudelitas, illud vobis imperium pepererunt, urbem terra reliquum simpliciore, justiore, humaniore, faciliore, moderationem subegerunt*. Tullie, it is not so, but fraud, covetousnesse, impudence, cruelty got you the Empire, and subdued the rest of the world more innocent, more just, more courteous, more mercifull, more moderate, more peaceable then yourselues: and this he doth not barely affirme, but substantially makes it good through that booke, though in the next, he seeme to haue spoken in the person of another.

I will conclude this long, though I trust not tedious discourse of the Romans with a dispute of Sir Walter Rawleigh's handling that problem, proposed and discussed by Livie, whether the great Alexander could haue prevailed against the Romans, if after his Easterne conquest he had bent all his forces against them. Where having delivered his opinion against Livy for Alexander, together with his reasons, inducing him therevnto, he goes on preferring the English both before the Macedonian & the Roman: wherein if he speake reason, let him be heard, if not, let him bee censured: But for mine owne part I must confesse, I know not well how to answer his arguments, so pressing & ponderous to me they seeme, whether affection haue clouded my judgement heerein, I leaue it to others to judge, his words then are these:

S E C T. 9.

The English not inferiour to the Romane in valour & magnanimity, by the iudgement of Sir Walter Rawleigh.

Hist. of the world, l. 5. part. 1. cap. 1. Sect. 1.

NOW in deciding such a controversie, saith he, me thinkes it were not amisse for an English-man to giue such a sentence between the Macedonians & Romans, as the Romans once did (being chosen Arbitrators) between the Ardeates & Aricini that stroue about a peece of land; saying, that it belonged vnto neither of them, but vnto the Romans themselves. If therefore it be demaunded, whether the Macedonian

Macedonian or the *Roman* were the best Warriour? I will answer, the *Englishman*. For it will soone appeare to any that shall examine the noble acts of our Nation in warre, that they were performed by no advantage of Weapon; against no savage or vnmanly people; the enemy being farre superiour vnto vs in numbers and all needfull provisions; yea as vvell trayned as vvee, or commonly better; in the exercise of Warre.

In what sort *Philip* wanne his Dominion in *Greece*; what manner of men the *Persians* and *Indians* were whom *Alexander* vanquished; as likewise of what force the *Macedonian Phalanx* was; and how well appointed against such armies as it commonly encountered: any man that hath taken paines to read the fore-going story of them, doth sufficiently vnderstand. Yet was this *Phalanx* neuer or very seldome able to stand against the *Roman* Armies: which were embattailed in so excellent a forme, as I know not whether any Nations besides them haue vsed; either before or since. The *Roman* weapons likewise both offensive & defensive were of greater vse, then those with which any other Nation hath serued, before the fierie instruments of gun-powder were knowne. As for the enemies with which *Rome* had to doe; we finde that they who did ouer-match her in numbers; were as farre over-matched by her in weapons; and that they of whom shee had little advantage in armes, had as little advantage of her in multitude. This also (as *Plutarch* well obserueth) was a part of her happinesse, that shee was neuer ouer-laid with too great warres at once.

Heereby it came to passe, that hauing at first increased her strength by accession of the *Sabines*; hauing wonne the state of *Alba*, against which shee adventured her owne selfe; as it were in wager vpon the heads of three *Champions*; and hauing thereby made her selfe *Princesse* of *Latium*; shee did afterwards by long warre in many ages extend her Dominion ouer all *Italy*. The *Carthaginians* had well nigh oppressed her: but their souldiers were *Mercenarie*: so that for want of proper strength they were easily beaten at their owne doores. The *Aetolians* and with them all or the most of *Greece* assisted her against *Philip* the *Macedonian*: he being beaten; did lend her his helpe to beat the same *Aetolians*. The warres against *Antiochus* and other *Asiatiques*, were such as gaue to *Rome* smal cause of boast, though much of joy: for those opposites were as base of courage as the lands which they held were abundant of riches. *Sicil*, *Spaine*, and all *Greece* fell into her hands by vsing her ayde to protect them against the *Carthaginians* and *Macedonians*.

I shall not need to speake of her other conquests: it was easie to get more when shee had gotten all this. It is not my purpose to disgrace the *Roman* valour (which was very noble) or to blemish the reputatiō of so many, or so famous victories: I am not so idle. This I say, that among all their warres, I finde not any wherein their valour hath appeared comparable to the *English*. If my judgement may seeme ouer-partiall, our warres in *France* may helpe to make it good.

First therefore it is well knowne that *Rome* (or perhaps all the World

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besides)

besides) had neuer so braue a Commaunder in warre as *Julius Caesar*; & that no *Roman* Army was comparable vnto that which serued vnder the same *Caesar*. Likewise it is apparant that this gallant Army which had giuen faire prooffe of the *Roman* courage, in good performance of the *Helvetian* warre; when it first entred into *Gaule*; was neuerthelesse vtterly disheartned when *Caesar* led it against the *Germans*. So that we may justly impute all that was extraordinary in the valour of *Caesars* men, to their long exercise vnder so good a Leader, in so great a warre. Now let vs in generall compare with the deedes done by those best of the *Roman* souldiers in their principall service, the things performed in the same country by our common *English* souldiers, leui'd in hast from following the Cart, or sitting on the shop-stall, so shall we see the difference. Heerein will we deale fairely, and beleue *Caesar* in relating the Acts of the *Romans*: but will call the *French* Historians to witnesse what actions were performed by the *English*. In *Caesars* time *France* was inhabited by the *Gaules* a stout people, but inferiour to the *French* by whom they were subdued; euen when the *Romans* gaue them assistance. The Country of *Gaule* was rent in sunder (as *Caesar* witnesseth) into many Lordships: Some of which were gouerned by petty kings, others by the multitude, none ordered in such sort as might make it applyable to the nearest neighbour. The factions were many and violent, not onely in generall through the whole Country, but betweene the petty States, yea in euery Citty, and almost in euery house. What greater advantage could a Conquerour desire? yet there was a greater: *Ariovistus* with his *German*s had ouer-runne the Country, and held much part of it in a subjection, little different from a meere slavery: yea so often had the *Germans* prevailed in warre vpon the *Gaules*, that the *Gaules* (vvhich had sometimes been the better souldiers) did hold themselves no vvay equall to those dayly invaders. Had *France* beene so prepared vnto our *English* Kings, *Rome* it selfe by this time, and long ere this time vvould haue beene ours. But vvhen King *Edward* the third began his vvarre vpon *France*, he found the vvhole country settled in obedience to one mighty King: a King whose reputation abroad was no lesse then his puissance at home, vnder whose Ensigne the King of *Bohemia* did serue in person, at whose call the *Genowayes* and other neighbour States were ready to take Armes: Finally a King vnto whom one ^a Prince gaue away his Dominion for loue: ^b another sold away a goodly City and Territory for money. The Country lying so open to the *Roman*, and being so well fenced against the *English*, it is note-worthy, not who prevailed most therein (for it were meere vanity to match the *English* purchases with the *Roman* Conquest) but whether of the two gaue the greater proof of military vertue therein. *Caesar* himselfe doth witnesse, that the *Gaules* complained of their own ignorance in the Art of Warre, and that their owne hardinesse was over-mastered by the skill of their enemies. Poore men, they admired the *Romane* Towres and Engines of battery raised and planted against their wals, as more then humane workes. What greater wonder is it that such a people was beaten by the *Roman*, then that the *Caribes* a naked people, but

^a The Dolphin of *Viennois*.

^b The King of *Majorca*.

but valiant as any vnder the skye, are commonly put to the worse by small numbers of *Spaniards*. Besides all this wee are to haue regard of the great difficulty that was found in drawing all the *Gauls* or any part of them to one head, that with joint forces they might oppose their assailants, as also the much more difficulty of holding them long together: For hereby it came to passe that they were neuer able to make vse of oportunity: but sometimes compelled to stay for their fellows, and sometimes driven to giue or take battaile vpon extreame disadvantages, for feare least their company should fall asunder: as indeed vpon any little disaster they were ready to breake and returne euery one to the defence of his owne. All this, (and which was little lesse then all this) great oddes in weapon gaue to the *Romanes* the honour of many gallant victories. What such helpe? or what other worldly helpe then the golden mettall of their louldiers had our *English Kings* against the *French*? were not the *French* aswell experienced in feats of warre? yea did they not thinke themselues therein our superiours? were they not in armes, in horse, and in all provision exceedingly beyond vs? Let vs heare what a *French Writer* sayth, of the inequality that was betweene the *French* and *English*, when their King *John* was ready to giue the on-set vpon the *Black Prince* at the battaile of *Poitiers*. *John* had all ad-
John de Serres.
vantages ouer *Edward*, both of number, force, shew, countrey, and conceit, (the which is commonly a consideration of no small importance in worldly affaires) and withall, the choise of all his horsemen (esteemed then the best in *Europe*) with the greatest and wisest Captaines of his whole Realme. And what could he wish more?

I thinke it would trouble a *Romane Antiquary* to finde the like example in their Histories, the example, I say, of a King, brought prisoner to *Rome* by an army of eight thousand, which he had surrounded with forty thousand, better appointed, and no lesse expert Warriours. This I am sure of, that neither *Syphax* the *Numidian*, followed by a rabble of halfe scullions, as *Livy* rightly termes them, nor those cowardly kings *Perseus* and *Gentius*, are worthy patternes. All that haue read of *Cressie* and *Agincourt*, will beare me witness, that I doe not alleadge the battle of *Poitiers* for lack of other as good examples of the *English* vertue: the prooffe whereof hath left many a hundred better markes in all quarters of *France*, then euer did the valour of the *Romans*. If any man impute these victories of ours to the long-Bow, as carrying farther, piercing more strongly, and quicker of discharge then the *French Crosse-Bow*: my answer is ready, that in all these respects, it is also (being drawne with a strong arme) superior to the musket, yet is the musket a weapon of more vse. The Gun and the Crosse-bow are of like force when discharged by a boy or woman, as when by a strong man: weakenes or sicknes, or a sore finger makes the long bow vnseruiceable. More particularly, I say, that it was the custome of our *Ancestors* to shoot for the most part, point blank: and so shall hee perceiue that will note the circumstances of almost any one battaile. This takes away all objection: for when two Armies are within the distance of a butts length, one flight of arrowes or two at the most can be deliuered before they close.

John de Serres.

Neither is it in generall true, that the long-bow reacheth farther, or that it pierceth more strongly then the Crosse bow: but this is the rare effect of an extraordinary arme: wherevpon can be grounded no common rule. If any man shall aske: How then it came to passe that the *English* wanne so many great battailes, having no advantage to helpe him: I may with the best commendation of modesty, referre him to the *French Historian*: who relating the victory of our men at *Crenant*, where they passed a bridge in face of the enemy, vseth these wordes; The *English* comes with a conquering brauery, as he that was accustomed to gaine euery-where without any stay: hee forceth our Guard placed vpon the bridge to keepe the passage. Or I may cite another place of the same Author, where he tells how the *Britons* being invaded by *Charles* the eight, King of *France*, thought it good policy to apparel a thousand and two hundred of their owne men in *English* Cassacks; hoping that the very sight of the *English* red Crosse would bee enough to terrifie the *French*. But I will not stand to borrow of the *French Historians* (all which, excepting *De Serres* and *Paulus Aemilius*, report wonders of our Nation) the proposition which first I vndertooke to maintaine, That the military vertue of the *English* prevailing against all manner of difficulties, ought to be preferred before that of the *Romanes*, which was assisted with all advantages that could be desired. If it be demaunded; why then did not our Kings finish the Conquest as *Cesar* had done? my answer may be (I hope without offence) that our kings were like to the race of the *Aecide*, of whom the old Poet *Ennius* gaue this note; *Belli potentes sunt magis quam sapienti potentes*; they were more warlike then politique. Who so notes their proceedings, may finde that none of them went to worke like a Conquerour, saue only King *Henry* the fift, the course of whose victories it pleased God to interrupt by his death. But this question is the more easily answered, if another bee first made: Why did not the *Romanes* attempt the Conquest of *Gaulle* before the time of *Cesar*? why not after the *Macedonian* warre? why not after the third *Punick*, or after the *Numantian*? At all those times they had good leisure, & then especially had they both leisure and fit opportunity, when vnder the conduct of *Marins* they had newly vanquished the *Cimbri* and *Teutones*, by whom the Country of *Gaulle* had beene pitteously vvaisted. Surely the vvords of *Tully* vvere true, that vvith other Nations the *Romans* fought for Dominion with the *Gaules* for the preservation of their owne safety.

Therefore they attempted not the Conquest of *Gaulle*, vntill they were Lords of all other Countreyes to them knowne. We on the other side held only the one halfe of our owne *Iland*; the other halfe being inhabited by a Nation (vvlesse perhaps in wealth and numbers of men somewhat inferiour) euery way equall to our selues: A Nation anciently and strongly allied to our enemies the *French*, and in that regard enemies to vs: So that our danger lay both before and behinde vs, and the greater danger at our backs, where commonly we felt, alwayes we feared a stronger invasion by Land then wee could make vpon *France*, transporting our forces ouer Sea.

It is usuall with men that haue pleased themselves in admiring the matters which they finde in ancient histories, to hold it a great injurie done to their judgement, if any take upon him by way of comparison to extoll the things of latter ages. But I am well perswaded, that as the divided vertue of this our Island hath given more noble prooffe of it selfe, than vnder so worthy a Leader that Roman armie could doe, which afterwards could winne Rome and all her Empire, making Caesar a Monarch: So heereafter by Gods blessing, who hath converted our greatest hinderance into our greatest helpe, the enimie that shall dare to trie our forces, will finde cause to wish, that avoiding vs, he had rather encountred as great a puiſſance as was that of the Romane Empire. Thus farre Sir Walter Raleigh, comparing the Romane valour with the English, and if we should compare them with the Turkes, it is certaine that the Romans in the like space of time, never subdued the like quantiry of land, so excellently fertile, and abounding in warlike people as did they. In lesse then three hundred yeares, from Ostoman to Mahomet the third, they wanne all those goodly Countreyes from Tauris in Persia to Buda in Hungarie, lying East, & West, and North, and South, from Derbent neere the Caspian Sea, vnto Adena, vpon the gulse of Arabia, each of which contains about 3200 miles. So as all the noise which the Roman writers haue made about the vnmatchable valour of their men, is but like the huge armour which Alexander left in the Indies after his conquering of those Nations, serving rather to amaze the world, then rightly to informe it.

C A P. 12.

Wherein the generall objections touching the worlds decay
in matter of Manners, are answered at large.

S E C T. 1.

Two objections drawne from reason, and both answered: The one, that since the first plantation of Christian Religion, men haue from time to time degenerated: The other, that the multitude of Lawes, and Lawyers, and Law-suites, and the multiplicitie of words in writings & conveyances, argue the great sicknes & malice of the present times in regard of the former.

ANd thus I hope I haue now sufficiently cleered the point, that the ancient Romans (who are in stories most magnified of any Nation vnder heaven for their morall vertues) exceeded latter ages in many foule vices, and haue by latter ages beene equalled, if not exceeded even in those vertues, wherein they seemed most to excell. And heerein haue I chiefly aimed at the honour of Christ & Christian Religion; which being rightly vnderstood and practised, without apish superstition on the one side, or peeuish singularity

rity on the other, serues no doubt to make men more morally vertuous then any other religion, that either at this day is, or since the Creation hath beene professed in the world, I speake, not only in regard of *Iustice & temperance*, but of *wisedome & fortitude*; and besides, for contempt of the world, austerity of life, patience, humility, modesty, charity, chastity, obedience, piety, and singular devotion, it hath doubtlesse yeelded men altogether vnmatchable. But it will bee said, that since the first plantation of *Christian Religion*, men haue from time to time degenerated, so as the farther they are removed from the *Primitiue Professours*, who burned in zeale and shined in good workes, the worse they haue growne: Wherevnto I answere, that the primitiue times, as well in that they came neerer to *Christ & his Apostles*, as likewise, because they were subject to the fierie triall of persecution were indeede purer then the succeeding ages, in which together with peace & plenty, pride & luxury, oppression & vncharitableness crept in, till at length they, who should haue been the principall *lights & guides* in the *Church*, became in all manner of vncleannes, cruelty, covetousnesse, & ambition little inferiour to the worst of the *Roman Emperours*. But heere then, things being now come to this height, appeared the speciall providence of *Almighty God*, in sending some zealous spirits to awaken the world, to rouse vp *Christian Princes*, to tell the Prelates their owne: And though therevpon followed a rent in the *Church*, yet withall there followed a reformation of manners, at least-wise in regard of scandalous & notorious vices, even among them, who refused, and still refuse reformation in matter of doctrine, the liues of their *Popes*, their *Cardinalls*, their *Bishops*, their *Priests*, are in appearance much amended, what within these two or three hundred yeares, by the confession of their owne writers, they were, who we may well thinke, were ignorant of much, and much out of feare or favour they concealed: But so much haue they published to the view of the world, as would greeue an honest man to reade, & shame a modest to write, which they shamed not to act, nay boasted of being acted: And for the other part, which professes & maintaines the reformation, I hope they will not say, that they are thereby made the worse in matter of *manners*, God forbid but they, who proteste themselues reformed in matter of *doctrine*, should likewise shew themselues reformed in matter of *Manners*. And sure I thinke we may safely say, that fewer *rebellions*, *robberies*, *murthers*, *sorceries* and the like, haue beene heard of, and more pious and charitable workes seene in our Land since the *Reformation of Religion*, then in the like compasse of yeares since the first plantation thereof amongst vs.

It will perchance bee said againe, that the multitude of *Lawes*, and *Lawyers*, & *Law-sutes*, and the multiplicity of words in writings & conveyances for Law businesse, argue the great sickenesse and malice of the times in regard of the former: To which it may truly be replied, that the multitude of *Lawes* giues occasion to the number of *Law-sutes*, and that to the increase of *Lawyers*, and they againe serue to increase the multiplying of words in Conveyances. Now that which giues occasion to a greater multitude of *Lawes*, is not, as I conceiue, so much the

increase

increase of vice, as of knowledge and zeale in the *Law-makers*; common swearing, simple fornication, prophaning of the Lords day and the like; in former times were scarce known to be sinnes; but being now by the light of the Gospell discovered to be such, and that in an high degree; as they are straitely forbidden by Gods Law, so is the edge of our lawes turned against them. Besides, it is certaine, that no Law can be so cautiously framed for the preventing of all inconveniences in that kind; but that the wit of man armed with malice, will finde meanes to wrest the letter, or frustrate the intent of it; from whence other Lawes haue sprung vp for the cleering of the ambiguity, or supplie of the defect of the former; it is not then so much the malice of the present age, as that of all ages succeeding one another therein, which hath occasioned such a masse of Lawes, as their burden is in a manner now as cumbersome, as were the mischiefes they were made to prevent, *prius vitij laboravimus nunc Legibus*, Tacitus spake it of his times, but it may well enough bee verified of ours; we formerly were burdened with *pices*, but now with *Lawes*. If then a wise choice were made out of the whole bodie of the Lawes, of the most vsfull and proper for the present times, and they severely executed, the rest being repealed and abrogated, it would proue both *easier* for the subject, and *happier* for the weale publique. Now for the number of *Law-suites*, it hath alwayes beene observed, that in times of peace and plenty, as riches increase by manufactures, and tillage, and trading, so doth the number of controversies. Our Forefathers for many ages together lived for the most part in *Civill Warres* and continuall alarmes; so as the sword then determined the controversie, and not the Law; since then the sword hath bin sheathed, no marveile that the Law & Courts of Iustice haue bin more in request. Moreover, the fall of the *Monasteries* and the alienating of their Lands into so many hands, hath no doubt bin a great meanes to set *Lawyers* a worke since that fall, more then in former ages. And what is it but the setting of men a worke which sets vp a trade, and multiplies the professours thereof? And as the number of professours multiplie, so doe the diversitie of their conceites and inventions; many eyes seeing more then one can, which is the cause, that both more flaws are found in Conveyances, and consequently more clauses and cautions thrust into them for the preventing of the like.

SECT. 2.

Another objection answered, taken from the Scriptures, which in diverse places seeme to say, that the last times shall be the worst.

BUt the great doubt which troubles most men, is, that the Scriptures seeme in diverse places to say, that the *last times* shall be the worst; and to this end are commonly alleadged these passages:

Because iniquity shall abound, the love of many shall waxe cold. When the Sonne of Man cometh, shall he finde faith on the earth? Now the Spirit speaketh

Mat. 24. 12.

Luc. 18. 8.

1. Tim. 4. 1.

speaketh expressely, that in the latter times some shall depart from the faith, gi-
 ving heed to seducing spirits, and doctrines of devills. This know also, that in
 the last dayes perillous times shall come, for men shall be lovers of their owne
 selues, covetous, boasters, and evill men and seducers shall waxe worse and worse,
 deceiving and being deceived. There shall come in the last dayes, scoffers wal-
 king after their owne lusts. Beloved, remember yee the words which were spo-
 ken before of the Apostles of our Lord Iesus Christ, how that they told you
 there should be mockers in the last dayes, who should walke after their owne un-
 godly lusts. These are all, or at least-wise the principall passages which
 I have either found alleaged, or can remember to that purpose. Where-
 unto I first reply in generall, that put the case they all inferred a decay
 in matter of Manners toward the end of the world, yet doth not that
 necessarily inforce a perpetuall & universall declination since the fall of
 man; but men may be (as doubtlesse they have been) sometimes better
 & sometimes worse by interchange, and at the last worst of all. But I
 would demaund how it can hang together, that we should expect the
 subversion of Antichrist & his kingdome, & the conversion of the whole
 Nation of the Jewes to the saving knowledge of the truth, before the
 end of the world, and yet withall affirme or beleue, that the whole
 world still hath, & doth, & shall to the end thereof grow worse and
 worse? For mine owne part I must professe, that I know not how to
 reconcile so different and contradictorie opinions. But for the better
 clearing and vnderstanding of the passages alleaged, it will be needfull
 to consider in what sense *The last dayes* in holy Scripture are to be taken.
 Some there are, who referre them to the dayes of Antichrist: but others
 vpon better warrant to the dayes of Christ, from his first comming in
 the flesh, to his second comming to judgement. Thus the Prophet I-
 sayah, It shall come to passe in the last dayes, that the Mountaine of the Lords
 house shall be established in the toppes of the mountaines. And Micah to the
 same purpose, and so neere in the same words, as if he borrowed them
 from Esay. Now the dayes of Christs kingdome are therefore called
 the last dayes, not onely because it set an end to the kingdome of the
 Jewes, but because none other Priest-hood, or Sacrifice, or Sacraments, or
 Law are to succcede in place thereof. As man is a little world, so the
 age of the world like that of man, is distributed into diverse stops or pe-
 riods. It hath its infancie, child-hood, youth, perfect estate, & old age. And
 as in man old age may, and sometime doth last as long as all the rest, so
 may it fall out in these times of the kingdome of Christ, and yet they
 be still the last times. Thus the time of Iob from his restitution to his
 death, is said to be his last dayes, or latter end, though it comprehend
 one hundred and forty yeares, which in the life of man is a long space.
 And if by the last dayes we should vnderstand the times neere approach-
 ing to the worlds end, no small advantage might thereby vnawares be
 given to the Jewes, who would beare vs in hand that the Messias is not
 yet come, because the last times are not yet come: Whereas we on the
 other side say for our selues and truly, that the last times are come; not
 therefore because they approach neere to the worlds end, but because
 the Messias is come. Vpon which ground the Apostles themselves,

in imitation belike of the Prophets, likewise tearme it the *last times*. In the last times he hath spoken to vs by his Sonne, saith S. Paul. And S. John, ^{Heb. 1. 2.} Little children, it is the last time, and as you have heard that Antichrist shall ^{1. 2. 18.} come, euen now are many Antichrists, whereby we know that it is the last time. Since which time we know sixteene Centenaries of yeares haue passed. So as the Apostles could not well tearme their times the last in regard of any neare approach to the worlds end: but because they liued vnder the Kingdome of Christ. And if I should thus expound those alleadged passages, I should conceiue the interpretatiō were not vnfound. ^{80.} Augustin I am sure in his Epist. to Hesihius allowes it. Calvin in diuers places beats vpon it, *Per dies extremos satis tritum est regnum Christi designari*: and in another place more fully to our present purpose, *Sub extremis diebus* ^{In Apist. Iude. 1. 2. Tim. 3. 1.} comprehendit uniuersum Christiana Ecclesia statum, vnder the tearmes of the last dayes hee comprehends the vniuersall estate of the Church of Christ. Herevnto may be added that which some latter learned Diuines touching this point haue obserued, that the Hebrew word signifies either *extremitie* or *posteroritie*, as I may so speake. Whence it is somtimes rendred *Last*, and sometimes *Latter*, both in Greeke, Latine, and other Languages, and those two promiscuously taken the one for the other. Thusthe Apostle in 2 Timorby and the 3. calls that the *last times*, which before in his former Epistle and 4. chapt. he had called the *Latter times*, and that word which in the last of S. Marke, our former Translations rendred *Finally*, our last hath turned *Afterward*: nay whereas wee reade in the Prophet Iock, *It shall come to passe afterward*, S. Peter (by diuine inspiration no doubt) hath rendred it, *It shall come to passe in the last dayes*. But very remarkeable are the words of old Iacob to this purpose when hee lay a dying, and by the spirit of Prophecie foretold what should become of his sonnes, I will tell you saith he, *that which shall befall you in the last dayes*, in which prediction of his, though it be true that some things concerne the Kingdome of Christ, as that touching Iudah, the Scepter shall not depart from Iudah, nor a Lawgiuer from betwene his feet: Onill Shiloh come; yet is it as true that many things in that Prophecie, both concerning Iudah and the other Patriarches and Tribes descending from them were fulfilled long before the incarnation of CHRIST, and not long after the death of Iacob. In like manner the same word is vsed by Daniel in the Interpretation of Nebuchadnezzars dreame. ^{2. 18.} *There is a God in heauen that revealeth secrets, and maketh knowne to the King what shall be in the latter dayes or last dayes*. Which same speech in the 45 v. following hee againe repeates in these tearmes: ^{A. 2. 17.} *The great God hath made knowne to the King what shall come to passe hereafter*. And though it be most certaine that some of those things there fore-shewed, were none otherwise fulfilled then in the kingdome of Christ, as namely that in the 44. v. *in the dayes of these Kings shall the God of Heauen set up a Kingdome which shall neuer be destroyed*: yet withall it may not, it cannot be denyed but the greatest part of them were accomplished before our Saviours apparelling himselfe with our flesh, and some of them, to wit, the setting vp of the Persian Monarchy but 63 yeares after Nebuchadnezzars dreame or vision, and Daniels prediction. And hence it is that Iunius and Tremelius render

the Hebrew word in both those passages of *Genesis* and *Daniel*, with *Sequentibus*, or *Consequentibus temporibus*, which implies nothing else but times following and ensuing. Those Prophecies then of *S. Peter* and *S. Paul* touching the great wickednesse of the latter or last times, may well bee vnderstood either of the Kingdome of *Christ*, as hath beene said, or of times following theirs, and not necessarily neere approaching the end of all time.

S E C. 3.

The passages of Scripture alleadged to that purpose, particularly and distinctly answered.

NOW for the particular passages: That prophesie of *S. Paul* touching *Apostates*, forbidding to marry, and commanding to abstaine from meates was accomplished in *Eustathius*, the *Encratits* or *Tatians*, the *Marcionists*, the *Manicheans*, the *Cathari*, the *Cataphrygians* or *Montanists*, who all vented their heresies in those two points within lesse then two or three hundred yeares of the *Apostles*. And if wee should with some latter Writers referre that whole prophesie to the defection of the *Roman Church*, I thinke we should therein doe her no wrong: Howsoever it is fully agreed vpon, both by them and vs, that the prophesie was long since fulfilled. The same in effect may be said of his other prophesie in his second Epistle: *Neq; enim aetatem suam cum nostra comparat, sed potius qualis futura sit regni Christi conditio docet*, sayth judicious *Calvin* in his Commentaries vpon that place, Hee doth not compare his owne age with ours, but rather teaches what the Condition of *Christis* Kingdome was to be. And that which the *Apostle* addes of *Euill men and Seducers*, that they shall waxe worse and worse, deceiuing and being deceiued, is not sufficient to evince a perpetuall and vniuersall declination. For though some euill men grow worse, yet others may, and by Gods grace, doe grow from bad to good, and from good to better: and euen of the same men doth the same *Apostle* tell vs in the same place, *They shall proceede no farther, but their folly shall be manifest vnto all men*. As for *S. Peter* and his prophesie touching the last dayes, it is cleere that it was accomplished when *S. Iude* wrote his Epistle, in as much as he points in a manner with his finger to that passage of *S. Peter* not only vsing the same words, but putting vs in mind that he had them expressely from the *Apostles* of the *Lord Iesus*: the onely difference betwixt *S. Peter* and *S. Iude* is this, that the one foretells it, and the other shewes how it was euen then fulfilled.

But I passe from the Schollers to the Master, from the *Apostles* to our *Saviour* himselfe and his prophesies touching this point, recorded by the *Evangelists*, whereof the first is in *Mat. 24. Because iniquity shall abound the loue of many shall waxe cold*. For the exposition of which words we are to know that our *Saviour* in that chapter speaketh of the signes fore-running aswell the destruction of *Ierusalem* as the consummation of the World, and so twisteth as it were, or weaueth them one within another, that it is hard to distinguish them: yet by the consent of the best expofi-

expositours, the former of these is to bee referred to the first part of the chapter, and so consequently this prophesie was long since accomplished: the meaning of it to be this, that such and so cruell shall bee the persecution of Christian Religion, that many who otherwise had a good minde to embrace it, shall forsake both it and the Professours thereof, leaving them to the malice of their Persequitors. And to this purpose doe both *Maldonate* and *Aretius* bring the Example and words of S. Paul, *At my first answere no man stood with me, but all men forsooke mee, I pray God it be not laid to their charge.* Our Saviours second prophesie to this purpose is recorded in the 18 of S. Luke, *When the Sonne of man cometh shall he find faith on the earth?* Which words both *Calvin* and *Iansenius* referre not precisely to the time of Christs comming to judgment, but extend them to the generall state of men even from his Ascension to his second Comming: *Diserit Christus a suo in Cælum ascensu usq; ad reditum homines passim incredulos fore pradicat,* saith *Calvin*. Christ expressly teacheth, that from his ascension even till his returne, many vnbelievers shall euery-where be found. But *Iansenius* somewhat more cleerely and fully, *Non tantum significat defectum & paucitatem fidei in hominibus qui vivi reperientur in novissimo die, sed etiam in hominibus cuiuslibet temporis.* He doth not onely intimate the defect and scantnesse of faith which shall be found in men at the last day, but in those of all ages. To these passages may be added that in the 12 of the Revelation, *Woe to the Inhabitants of the earth and of the sea, for the divell is come downe unto you hauing great wrath, because he knoweth that he hath but a short time:* but the time there spoken of (as the souldrest Interpreters expound it) is not called short in respect of the end of the World (which to the divell is vtterly vnknowne) but of his binding vp for a thousand yeares whereof he was fore-warned: and besides though the shorter his time bee, his rage be the fiercer, yet is not his intended and desired successe alwayes answereable to the fiercenesse of his rage, the Lord holding him, as it were in a teather, or chaine, and setting him bounds, as hee doth to the raging waues of the sea, *hitherto shalt thou goe, and no farther.*

SECT. 4.

The last doubt touching the comming of Antichrist answered.

THE last doubt is concerning *Antichrist*, who many thinke shall come neere toward the end of the World, and consequently it shall then be filled with all kinde of impiety, impurity, and misery, the attendants of his comming, and that much beyond all former times. But if *Antichrist* be already come, and that long since, then will the validity of this argument proue vtterly ineffectuall. And certainly such hath beene the wickednesse and calamity of all ages, that as *Bellar-* *De Rom. Pont.* mine speaks: *Omnes veteres animadvertentes suorum temporum malitiam* 33. *suspicati sunt tempora Antichristi imminere.* All the Ancients considering the malice of their times, suspected that *Antichrist* was at hand. Thus S.

- Lib. 4. epist. 7. Cyprian of his time, *Scire debetis & pro certo credere & tenere pressuram diem super caput esse cepisse & occasum saeculi atque Antichristi tempus appropinquasse.* Yee ought to know, and for certaine to hold and beleue, that the day of pressure is euen ouer our heads, and that the consummation of all things, & the comming of Antichrist doth approach. Lactantius of his, *omnis expectatio non amplius quam ducentorum videtur annorum*, the end of our expectation seemes not to extend beyond the space of two hundred yeares at farthest. S. Hierome of his, *Qui tenebat de medio sit, & non intelligimus Antichristum appropinquare*, he which held or with-held is remoued out of the way, and doe we not vnderstand that Antichrist is at hand? S. Gregory of his, *omnia quae praedicta sunt sunt: rex superbiae prope est*, all things that were foretold are accomplished, the King of Pride cannot be farre off. And lastly S. Bernard of his, *Superest ut reueletur homo peccati filius perditionis*, What remaines but that the man of sinne, the sonne of perdition bee revealed. From which, two things for our present purpose may be gathered, the one, that extreame prophanesse hath reigned in the world almost in all ages, aswell as in the present, such as they, who then liued, thought, could not well be exceeded: The other that if they looked out for the comming of Antichrist so long since, by all likelyhood he is already come into the world, and that long agoe. S. Iohn tells vs, that in his time there were many Antichrists, fore-runners no doubt and harbengers, as it were to the great Antichrist that was to come. And S. Paul there euen then *the mystery of iniquity began to worke*: if he were then conceived, in all likelyhood he should be borne ere now, if the egge were then layed, shall wee imagine that the Cocatrice is not yet hatched? was the seed then cast into the ground, and this cursed weed not yet sprung vp?

1 ep. 2. 18

2 Thess. 2. 7

*Credat Iudeus Apella**Non ego.*

Beleue't who list for me indeed,
It ne'r shall come into my creed.

S E C T. 5.

*The argument of greatest weight to proue that
Antichrist is already come.*

2 Thess. 2. 6, 7.

BVt among so many and strong arguments as haue beene, & justly may be brought to proue that Antichrist is already come, there is one which to me hath euer seemed of greatest weight: You know, sayth the Apostle, speaking of the man of sin, the sonne of perdition, what with-holdeth that he might be revealed in his time: And againe, onely he who now letteth, will let wntill he be taken out of the way. So as vpon the removing of that obstacle which hindered his comming, he was then to bee revealed, as the wordes plainly import. Now what that hinderance should be, the vnanimous consent of the Ancients both Greeke & Latins is, that it was the Roman Empire that then flourished. So Chrysostome, Theophylact, Oecumenius, Ambrose, Primasius, Sedulius, and the Greeke Scholiast

last in their severall expositions vpon the place : *Tertullian* in his booke *de resurrectione carnis*, and the thirty second Chapter of his *Apologie*. *Cyillus Hierosolymitanus* in *Catechesi* 15. *Hierome* in his eleventh question to *Algasia*, in his *Commentaries* vpon the 23 of the Prophet *Ieremy*, in his Treatise to *Gaudentius* & *Geronia*; and lastly *S. Augustine* in his 20 booke *de civitate Dei*, & 19. cap. And with the Ancients heerein agree the latter writers on both sides, as well *Romish* as *Reformed*, being warranted by the like Prophecies both of *Daniell*, and *Saint Iohn* in his *Revelation*. And in truth the *Apostles* warinesse in not naming it expressly, least thereby he should incurre hatred against the *Christian* Professours and Religion, shewes as much. That then which remaines to be inquired into, is, whether that obstacle, which by the *Apostle* is said to haue hindred the revealing of *Antichrist* be taken out of the way or no, that is, whether that *Roman Empire* which then flourished, be now dissolved. It is then most certaine, that that Empire for the west ended in *Augustulus*, and the Emperour which now is, is the successour of *Charlemagne*, an Emperour of a new erection. Neither hath he the dominions or the power of the former Emperours, but only the name and title,

Daniel 7:
Revel. 17.

Stat magni nominis umbra.

Lucan. l. 1.

Of a great name he but the shadow is.

He hath not the city of *Rome* which should denominate the *Roman Emperour*, nor any part of *Italy*, no nor so much as a Castle, or an house, or a foot of land as *Emperour*. We may then rather call him the *German Emperour* then the *Roman*, and yet surely his commaund in *Germany* is very small too. The *Romanists* then in this case seeme to me to deale with him, as the *Iewes* did with *Christ*, they giue him the title, but take and keepe his rights from him. Or they call him *Roman Emperour* perchance, because he takes, or as they pretend, should take his Oath of allegiance to the Bishop of *Rome*: And that the Empire which was in being in the *Apostles* time, is indeed dissolved; some of the *Romanists* themselves, though happily vnawares confesse. *Ante adventum Antichristi facienda erat discessio, ut Gentes discedant à Romano Imperio, sicut jam factum cernimus*, sayth *Anselme*, before the comming of *Antichrist*, there was to be a falling away of the Nations from the *Romane Empire*, as we see it already done. And *Thomas*, *Quid hoc est quod jam diu gentes recesserunt à Romano imperio, & tamen nondum venit Antichristus*, what shall we say to this, that long since the Nations fell away from the *Romane Empire*, and yet *Antichrist* is not come. And *Lyra*, *Romanum imperium florebat tempore Pauli, à quo recesserunt quasi omnia regna negantia ei subijci & redditionem tributi jam à multis annis: illud etiam imperium caruit imperatore pluribus annis*: The *Roman Empire* flourished in *Pauls* time, from which almost all kingdomes are falne away, denying subjection and the payment of tribute to it: And besides, that Empire hath wanted an Emperour now for the space of many yeares. Neither doe they only acknowledge, that the Empire which flourished in the *Apostles* time, is dissolved, but that the Emperour which now is, retaines rather the shadow then the power of the ancient Empire. And this con-

fession

fession we haue out of the mouths even of Iesuites themselues. *Quampridem Romanum imperium in eas angustias reductum est, ut vix tenuem quandam umbram Imperij retineat*, long since was the Roman Empire brought to those straights, that it scarce retaines a thin shadow of that Empire, sayth Iustinianus. And Salmeron most fully, *Imperium Romanum jam diu eversum est: Nam qui nunc est Imperator Romanus, levissima est umbra Imperij antiqui, usq; adeo ut ne quidem urbem Roma possideat, & jam per multos annos Romani Imperatores defecerunt*: The Roman Empire was long since dissolved: For he, who is now Roman Emperour, is but a light shadow of the ancient Empire, so as he doth not possesse so much as the Citty of Rome, and now for many yeares haue the *Romane Emperours* failed. I would demaund then, whether a name, a title, a shadow can hinder the comming of *Antichrist*, or be divided among ten Kings, and shared out into ten kingdoms? if it cannot, then is *Antichrist* undoubtedly already come into the world.

Now what he is, or where we should finde him, or when he came, I leaue that to others to dispute or demonstrate, it is for my purpose sufficient that he is come, and that long since; yet if we should a little more narrowly search into the matter, who I pray you, is more likely to be the man, then he, who hath specially advanced his throne vpon the *Emperours* ruines, who hath thrust himselfe into the *Emperours* seate, the Imperiall Citty, the head and mistresse of the Empire; then he, who hath taken vpon himselfe the Majesty, the power, the ensignes, the robes of the *Emperour*, though in some what a different kinde; And that the Bishop of Rome hath so done, Pasquier in his *Recearches of France*, Machiavell in his *Florentine history*, Sigonius in his *history of the kingdome of Italy*, and Guicciardin in his, in part declare: But Lypsius hath set it downe so cleerely & particularly, as we may easily guesse, and need doubt no longer, who it is, that hath succeeded into the *Emperours* roome. I will set downe his words at large as I finde them in his preface to his *Admiranda*. *Mira Dei benignitas in hanc urbem, cum Legionum vim eripuit, Legum attribuit, cum armis imperare noluit, sacris indulsit. Et sic quoq; fecit eam decus, tutelam, columen rerum. Atqui Senatus ille vetus non est inquit, non ille sed alius, & vide in ista purpura ex omni nostro orbe selectos proceres moribus, prudentia, annis, spectandos. Si vetus ille Cyncas redeat & hunc confessum videat, nihil ambigat vel cum regibus iterum, vel cum heroibus comparare. Quid tributa? non tam multa, sed magis innoxia & vltroanea sunt. Quid Legationes gentium? nec ea desunt, & ex noto ignotoq; orbe tanta diffusio Majestatis hujus est) concurritur, & jura ac leges Sacrorum hinc petunt, ipsi Reges ac Principes advenit & inclinantur, & obnoxia capita vni huic Capiti submitunt*: Great is the bounty of God towards this citty, when he deprived it of the strength of Legions, he strengthened it with Laws; when he would no longer haue it rule with force of armes, he armed it with holy orders: And so likewise did he make it both the ornament and the safety of things. But you will say, the old Senate is not there to be found, indeed not the same, but another there is instead thereof, and there you may see clad in that purple the choicest worthies of *Christendome*, and the most venerable for manners, for wisdom, for yeares.

If

Lib. 1.

Lib. 3.

Lib. 4.

If the old *Cynas* were alieue againe and beheld this assembly, he would nothing doubt to compare it againe with Kings and Princes. What should I speake of their tribute? indeed it is not so great, but more innocently imposed & willingly payd. What of the Embassages from forraine Nations: neither are they wanting: Hither they resort both from the knowne & yknowne parts of the world (so farre is this Majesty spread) and seeke for Lawes & Constitutions in religious affaires; nay Kings & Princes heere present themselues, and all bow downe and submit their heads to this one head.

C A P. 13.

That the world shall haue an end by Fire, and by it be entirely consumed.

S E C T. I.

That the world shall haue an end, is a point so cleere in Christian Religion, that it needeth not to be proved from the principles thereof, neither is he worthy the name of a Christian who makes any doubt of it.

HAving now by Gods assistance done with mine *Apologie* of his Providence in the preservation of the world, least I should seeme thereby to vndermine or weaken the article of our faith touching the worlds end; it remaines, that according to promise I endeavour to confirme it, not so much from Scripture which no true *Christian* can doubt of: And besides, the passages thereof to this purpose, specially in the new Testament are so many and cleere, as to be ignorant of them were stupiditie no lesse grosse, then to deny them phophane impiety. In this chapter then I will propose *three things* to my selfe; *first*, to proue by the testimony of the *Gentiles*, that the world shall haue an end. *Secondly*, that it shall haue an end by fire: *Thirdly* and lastly, that it shall by fire be totally & intirely consumed. That the world shall haue an end is as cleere in *Christianity*, as that there is a Sun in the firmament: And therefore, whereas there can hardly be named any other article of our faith, which some *Heretiques* haue not presumed to impugn or call into question; yet to my remembrance I never met with any who questioned this; & though at this day many & eager be the differences among *Christians* in other points of Religion, yet in this they all agree & ever did, that the world shall haue an end, and that there shall be a resurrection of the dead, and a day of judgement. And surely as by the event of many things already fallen out, we are sure that was true which the *Prophets* & *Apostles* foretold of them: So art we as certaine, that all other things, and this in particular shall come to passe, which they haue likewise foretold, though happily we cannot set downe the time or manner of their event. And in asmuch as we, who now liue, haue seen the accomplishment of many propheties foretold by the pen-men of holy

holy writ, which our forefathers saw not, if we stedfastly belecue not the fulfilling of those which are yet to come in their due time, we shall thereby be made the more guilty, and the lesse excusable before God. Howsoever if we beleue (as we all pretend) the Scriptures to be the liuely oracles of God, and to haue bin indited by the diuine & sacred inspiration of the holy Ghost, we cannot but withall beleue that the consumation of the world shall most vndoubtedly in due time, though to vs most vncertaine, be accomplished. Now as the cleere light of this truth hath by Gods grace so brightly shined among *Christians*, that except they wilfully shut their eyes against it, they cannot but apprehend and imbrace it: So did it appeare to the *Iewes*, though not in so conspicuous a manner; yea, some sparkes of this truth haue beene scattered even among the *Gentiles* themselues, so as it were a shame vnparadonable for vs *Christians* not to acknowledge it, or somuch as once to doubt of it.

Buxdofius Synag. Iud. 5. 1.

SECT. I.

That the world shall haue an end, by the testimonie of the Gentiles.

Epist. 9. circa finem.

Seneca disputing this question, whether a wise man be so sufficiently content with himselfe as he needs not the helpe of any friend, puts the case, *Qualis furura est vita sapientis*, how he would liue being destitute of friends, if he were cast into prison or banished into some desert, or cast vpon some strange shoare, his answer is, *Qualis est Iouis cum resolato mundo*, &c. as *Iupiter* shall liue when the world shall be dissolved, contenting himselfe with himselfe. And againe more

Epist. 71.

cleerely: *Quidenim mutationis periculo exceptum? non terra, non celum, non totus hic rerum omnium conuersus quamvis Deo agente ducatur, non semper tenebit hunc ordinem, sed illum ex hoc cursu aliquis dies deiciet, certis enim cuncta temporibus nasci debent, crescere, exingui. Quaecumq; vides supra nos currere atq; hinc quibus innixi atq; impositi sumus velut solidissimis carpentur adefinient.*

What is there which is priuiledged from danger of change: not the earth, nor the heavens, no nor this whole frame of Creatures, though it be guided by the finger of God, it shall not alwaies obferue this order, but some one day at last shall turne it out of his course. For all things haue a time to be borne, to increase, and then againe to die & be extinguished. All those things which thou seest wheeling over our heads, and even those vpon which we are seated and settled, as being most solide, shall be surprized and leaue to be. And in

De consolatione ad Martium, 26.

another place, *Si potest tibi solatio esse commune fatum, nihil constat loco stabili, & nihil quod stat loco stabit. Omnia sternit abducentq; secum vetustas, superantes montes, maria sorbebit.* If the common destiny of all things may any whit comfort thee, there is nothing settled in a stable course, nothing shall alwayes remaine in that state it now stands in, time shall carry downe all things with it, it shall leuell the mountaines and swallow vp the seas. And lastly, in his Naturall questions, *unus humanum genus*

Lib. 3. cap. 19.

yled

condet

condet dies, one day shall burie all mankind. Yet it should seeme, that withall he held a restoring of all things againe: *Omne ex integro animal generabitur dabiturq; terris homo inscius scelerum & melioribus auspicijs natus: Sed illis quoq; innocentia non durabit nisi dum novi sunt; cito nequitia subrepet.* Cap. 30. All Creatures shall be againe restored, and mankind shall againe be sent to inhabite the earth; but a kind voyd of wickednes and borne to a better fortune; yet shall not their innocencie long endure neither, but only whiles they are yet fresh and new, afterward vngratiousnes will by degrees creepe vpon them.

Ælian, as I haue already touched to another purpose in the eight booke of his Historie, telleth vs, that not only the mountaine *Ætna* (for Cap. 11. thereof might be given some reason; because of the daily wasting and consuming of it with fire) but *Parnassus* and *Olympus* did appeare to be lesse and lesse to such as sayled at sea, the height thereof sinking as it seemed; and therevpon inferres, that men most skilfull in the secrets of nature did affirme, that the world it selfe should likewise perish & haue an end. His premises I haue in another place sufficiently disproved, but his conclusion inferred therevpon, I cannot but highly approue, & most willingly accept of, as a rich testimony for the confirmation of our *Christian* doctrine (touching the end of the world) delivered from the pen of a *Gentile*, nay he positiuely affirms it to haue beene the opinion of the most skilfull in the secrets of Nature: And certaine it is, that the greatest part of Philosophers before *Aristotle*, *Heraclitus*, *Empedocles*, *Anaxagoras*, *Democritus* and others, as they held that the world had a beginning in time, so did they likewise, that in time it should haue an end: And since *Aristotle*, the greatest part (his followers only excepted) haue over constantly maintained the same; in somuch, that the very *Episures* heerein accord with the *Stoickes*, though in other opinions they differ as fire and water, as may appeare in *Lucretius*, by sect an *Epicurean*, and for his wit much esteemed among the Ancients.

De Rerum natura 3.

*Principio maria, ac terras, cælumque tuere
Horum naturam triplicem, tria corpora Memmi,
Tres species tam dissimiles, tria talia texta,
Vna dies dabit exitio, multosq; per annos
Sustentata ruet moles & machina mundi.*

Behold, O *Memmi*, first the earth, the sea,
The heaven, their three-fold nature, bodies three,
Three shapes so farre vnlike, three peeces wrought
And woven so fast, one day shall bring to naught,
And the huge frame & engine of this all
Vpheld so many yeares, at length shall fall.

And *Ovid* speaking of *Lucretius*, seemes to haue borrowed from him part of these very words,

*Carmina sublimis tum sunt peritura Lucreti
Exitio terras cum dabit vna dies.*

in Eleg.

Lucretius lostie rimes so long shall liue
Till to this earth one day destruction giue.

And *Lucan* as he differs not much from *Lucrece* in name, so doth he ful-

ly accord with him in this opinion.

Lib. 1. Pbraf.

— Sic cum compage soluta

Sacula tot mundi suprema coegerit hora.

Antiquum repetens iterum Chaos omnia mixtis

Sydera Syderibus concurrent, ignea pontum

Astra petent, tellus extendere littora nolet,

Excutietque fretum, fratri contraria Phabe,

Ibit, & obliquum bigas agitare per orbem

Indignata diem poscet sibi, totaque discors

Machina divulsi turbabit fœdera mundi.

— So When the last houre shall

So many ages end, and this disioynted all

To Chaos backe returne: then all the starres shall be

Blended together, then those burning lights on high

In sea shall drench, earth then her shores will not extend

But to the waues giue way, the moone her course shall bend

Crosse to her brothers, and disdaining still to driue

Her chariot wheels athward the heavenly orbe shall striue

To rule the day, this frame to discord wholly bent

The worlds peace shall disturbe, and all in sunder rent.

SECT. 3.

That the world shall haue an end by fire, proved likewise by the testimony of the Gentiles.

AND as they held that the world should haue an end, so likewise that this end should come to passe by fire. *Exustionis hujus odor quidam etiam ad Gentes manauit*, sayth *Ludovicus Vives*, speaking of the generall combustion of the world, some sent of this burning hath spread it selfe even to the *Gentiles*. And *Saint Hierome* in his comment on the 51 of *Isay*; *Qua quidem & Philosophorum mundi opinio est omnia que cernimus igni peritura*, which is also the opinion of the Philosophers of this world, that all which we behold shall perish by fire. *Ensebius* is more particular, affirming it to be the doctrine of the *Stoicks*, and namely of *Zeno*, *Cleanthes* & *Chrysippus* the most ancient among them. Certaine it is, that *Seneca* a principall Scholler, or rather Master of that sect, both thought it & taught it: *Et Sydera Syderibus incurrent, & omni flagrante materia una igne quicquid nunc ex disposito lucet ardebit*: The starres shall make inrodes one vpon another, and all the whole world being in a flame, whatsoever now shines in comely and decent order shall burne together in one fire. *Panatinus* likewise the *Stoick* feared, as witnesseth *Cicero*, *ne ad extremum mundus ignesceret*, least the world at last should be burnt vp with fire. And with the *Stoicks* heerein *Pliny* agrees, *Consumente vbertatem seminum exustione in cuius vices nunc vergat ævum*, the heate burning vp the plentifull moisture of all feedes, to which the world is now hastening. *Numenius* also saith, good soules continue, *εὐχρητὸς δὲ αἰὶν ὁ ἀνθρώπος τὸν αἰῶνα, vntill the dissolution of all things by fire.*

De ver. fid.
Christ. l. 1.

Ante medium.

De prepar. E.
van 3. 15.

De consolad.
Mart. c. 26.

Ludou. Vives.
de ver. fid.
Christ. lib. 2.
Lib. 7. 16.

fire. And with the *Philosophers* their *Poets* accord. *Lucan* as hee held that the world should haue an end, so in speciall by fire, where speaking of those whom *Cæsar* left vnburned at the battle of *Pharsalia* hee thus goes on.

*Hos Cæsar populos si nunc non vsserit ignis,
Vret cum terris, vret cum gurgite ponti.
Communis mundo supereſt roguſ, oſſibus aſtra
Miſturus.*

Lib. 7.

If fire may not these corpes to ashes turne,
O *Cæsar*, now, when earth and seas shall burne,
It shall: a common fire the world shall end,
And with these bones those heau'nly bodies blend.

As for *Ovia* he deduces it from their propheticall records.

*Esse quoque in fatiſ remiſciſtur affore tempuſ
Quo mare, quo telluſ, conuexaq; regia cæli
Ardeat, & mundi moles operoſa laborat.*

Metamorph. 1

Besides he calls to minde how by decree
Of fates a time shall come when earth and sea,
And Heavens high Throne shall faint, and the whole frame
Of this great world shall be consum'd in flame.

Which he borrowed, saith *Ludovicuſ Vives*, ex fatiſ indubiè *Sybilliniſ*, vn-
doubtedly from the Oracles of *Sybilla*. And indeed verses there are
which goe vnder the name of *Sybilla* to the very same purpose.

*Tunc ardens fluvius cælo manabit ab alto
Igneuſ atque locuſ conſumet fundituſ omneſ
Terramque, Oceanuſque ingentem, & darula pontiſ
Stagnaque, tum fluvioſ, fonteſ, ditumque Severuſ
Cæleſtemque polum, cæli quoque lumina in unum
Fluxa ruent, formâ deleſtâ proruſe eoruſ
Aſtra cadent etenim de cælo cuncta revulſa.*

Lib. 2. of acule
rum.

Then shall a burning ſlood flow from the Heavens on high,
And with its fiery ſtreames all places vtterly
Deſtroy, earth, ocean, lakes, rivers, fountaines, hell,
And heavenly poles: the Lights in firmament that dwell,
Loofing their beauteous forme shall be obſcur'd, and all
Raught from their places down from heaven to earth shall fall.

He that yet deſires farther ſatiſſaction in this point may reade *Eugubi-
nuſ* his tenth booke de *Perenni Philoſophia*, & *Magiuſ* de *exuſtione Mun-
di*. And ſo I paſſe to my third and laſt point propoſed in the beginning
of this Chapter, which is that the whole world by fire shall totally and
intirely be conſumed.

Kkk 2

SECT. 4.

SECT. 4.

*That the world shall be by fire totally and finally
dissolved and annihilated, proved
by Scripture.*

I Am not ignorant that the opinions of Divines touching the manner of the Consummation of the world have beene as different as the greatest part of them are strange and improbable; some imagining that all the Creatures which by Almighty God were made at the first beginning, shall againe be restored to that perfection which they enjoyed before the fall of man. Others that the Heavens and Elements shall onely be so restored; others that the Heavens and onely two of the Elements, the Aire and the Earth, others againe, that the old world shall be wholly abolished, and a new created in steed thereof; and lastly others which I must confesse, to me seemes the most likely opinion and most agreeable to scripture and reason, that the whole world with all the parts and workes thereof (onely men and Angels, and Divels, and the third Heavens, the mansion-house of the Saints and blessed Angels, and the place and instruments appointed for the tormenting of the damned, excepted) shall be totally and finally dissolved and annihilated: As they were made out of nothing, so into nothing shall they returne againe; In the proving whereof I will first produce mine owne arguments, and then shew the weakenes of the adverse.

14. 12. *Man lieth downe, and riseth not, saith Iob, till the heavens be no more. Of old hast thou laide the foundation of the earth, and the heavens are the worke of thy hands, They shall perish, but thou shalt endure, saith the Psalmist, which the Apostle in the first to the Hebrewes, and the 10. and the 11. repeates almost in the same words, Lift up your eyes to the heavens, and looke upon the earth beneath; for the heavens shall vanish away like smoake, and the earth shall waxe old as doth a garment, saith the Prophet Esay: and in another place: all the host of heaven shall be dissolved, & the heaven shall be rolled together as a scroll, & all their host shall fall downe as the leafe falleth off from the vine, and as a falling fig from the figge tree. To the former of which wordes S. Iohn seemes to allude, And the heaven departed as a scroll which is rolled together, Heaven & earth shall passe away, but my word shall not passe away, saith*
102. 5. 6. *OUR Saviour. The day of the Lord will come as a theefe in the night, in the which the Heavens shall passe away with a great noise, and the Elements shall melt with fervent heate. The earth also, & the workes that are therein*
51. 6. *shall be burnt vp, saith S. Peter. And I saw a great white throne, & him*
34. 4. *that sate on it from whose face the earth and the heaven fled away, and there was found no place for them, saith S. Iohn. Now I would demaund whether being no more, as Iob, perishing, as David, vanishing away like smoake, dissolving, rolling together, falling downe as a withered leafe or a dry fig from the tree, as Esay, passing away, as OUR Saviour, passing away with a great noise, melting with fervent heate, burning vp as S. Peter, or lastly flying away, so as their place be found no more, as S. Iohn, doe not include an vtter abolition, or*

at leastwise exclude a restitution to a perfecter estate: once *Beza* I am sure is to evidently convinced by the alleadged words of *S. Peter*, that *In Rom. 8. 20* he plainly confesses the dissolution the *Apostle* there speakes of to be a kinde of annihilation: And both ^a*Tilenus* & ^b*Meisnerus* are confident, that those who hold a restitution will neuer be able to reconcile their opinion with the alleadged Scriptures. If we looke back to higher times before *S. Hierome* we shall not easily finde any who maintained it. And certaine it is, that *Clement* in his *Recognitions*, or whosoever were the *Author* of that worke, brings in *S. Peter* reasoning with *Simon Magus*, & teaching that there were two Heauens, the one *Superius & invisibile*, & *eternum quod Spiritus beati incolunt*: the highest, invisible and eternall, which blessed spirits inhabite; the other *inferius, visibile, varijs distinctum syderibus, corruptibile, & in consummatione saculi dissolvendum, & prorsus abolendum*, lower, visible, distinguished, with diverse starres, corruptible, and at the worlds end to be dissolued and vterly abolished. Now though that worke were not *Clements*, yet was it doubtlesse very ancient being quoted by *Clemens Alexandrinus*, and *Origen*, and remembered by *S. Hierome* in his Commentaries vpon *Esay*, and is of sufficient authority against those who receiue it: for my selfe I stand not vpon his authority, but the rock of Scripture and reason drawne from thence, and the force of naturall discourse.

^a De extremo Iudicio.
^b In Sobria Philosoph. par. 1. sect. 3. cap. 3. quest. 5.

Lib. 2. & 3.

Cap. 14. ante medium.

SECT. 5.

The same farther prooved by reason.

THE first then, and as I conceiue the most weighty argument is taken from the *End of the Worlds creation*, which was partly and chiefly the glory of the *Creator*, and partly the vse of man, the Lord Deputy as it were, or *Viceroy* thereof. Now for the glory of the *Creator*, it being by the admirable frame of the World manifested vnto man, man being remoued out of the world, and no Creature being capable of such a manifestation besides him, wee cannot imagine to what purpose the frame it selfe should bee left and restored to a more perfect estate. The other end being for *mans vse*, either to supply his necessity in matter of diet, of Physick, of building, of apparell, or for his instruction, direction, recreation, comfort and delight; or lastly that therein as in a looking-glasse he might contemplate the wisdom, the power, and the goodnesse of God; when he shall attaine that blessed estate, as he shall haue no farther vse of any of these, enjoying perfect happinesse, and seeing God as he is, face to face, the second or subordinate end of the Worlds being must needs be likewise frustrate: And what other end can bee giuen or conceiued for the remaining or restoring thereof, for mine owne part I must professe I cannot conceiue. And to affirme that it shalbe restored, & withal to assigne no end wherefore, is ridiculous and vnreasonable. An house being built for an inhabitant, as the World was for man; If it bee decreed that it shall no more be inhabited, it were but vanity to repaire, much more to adorne

1 Cor. 13.

Mat. 24. 3

Catharinus in
1 Pet. 3.Salmeron in
eundem locum.

and beautifie it farther. And therefore when mankinde shall bee dislodged and remoue from hence, therevpon shall instantly ensue the Consummation or End, not the reparation or restitution, but *the End* of the world. So the Scriptures call it in plaine tearmes, and so I beleue it. And in truth some *Divines*, considering that of necessity some end must bee assigned, haue false vpon ends so absurd and vnwarrantable, that the very naming of them were sufficient to make a man beleue there was no such matter indeed. Some then, and that of our owne Church, and that in published bookes for the clearing of this objection, haue fancied to themselues an intercourse of the Saints (after the resurrection) betwixt heauen and earth, and that full Dominion ouer the Creatures which by the fall of *Adam* was lost. Others are of opinion that the Earth after the day of judgement being renewed with fire, and more pleasantly apparelled, shall be the mansion of such as neither by their merits haue deserued heauen, nor hell by their demerits. And lastly others, that such as haue died in their infancy without circumcision or Baptisme might possesse it. Now what meere dreames these are of idle braines, if I should but endcavour to demonstrate, I feare I should shew my selfe more vaine in vouchsafing them a confutation, then they in publishing them to the World. And yet they are the best wee see that Learned men by the strength of their wits can finde out.

My *second reason* shall be drawne from the nature of the world, and the quality of the parts thereof, which are supposed shall bee restored to their originall integrity, and so in that state euerlastingly remaine. I will begin with the *vegetables* and Creatures endued with sense, & concerning them would willingly learne, whether they shall bee all restored, or some onely, namely such as shall be found in being at the day of Iudgment: if all, where shall we finde stowage for them? Surely we may in this case properly apply that which the *Evangelist* in another case v-
ses figuratiuely, if they should all be restored: eue the world it self could not containe the things which should be restored. if some onely, the world I gladly know why those some should be vouchsafed this great honour & not all, or how these creatures without a miracle shalbe restrained frō propagating & multiplying, & that infinitely their kinds by a perpetuall generatiō. Or lastly, how the several individuals of these kinds shall contrary to their primitiue natures, liue & dure immortally: But to make a good & sound answere to these demaunds, is a point of that difficulty, that the greatest part of *Divines* rather choose to leaue out the mixt bodies & preferre only the heauens & the elements to this pretended dignity of *restitution*, though about the number of the *Elements* to be restored they all agree not. But heere againe I would demaund, whether the world without the mixt bodies, can truly be sayd to be more perfect and beautifull then before, whether the inbred and inseparable qualities of the Elements, as thickenesse and thinnesse, weight & lightnesse, heate & cold, moisture & drynesse shall remaine? if they shall not, how shall they remaine *Elements*? if they shall, how without a miracle shall they be suspended from a mutuall intercourse of working one vpon another

nother, and a production of Meteors & mixt bodies? And how shall the *Earth* disvested of the vegetables which apparelled her, and appearing with her naked and dustie face, be sayd to be more amiable then before? Finally, if the heavens according to their *Essence* shall remaine, how shall they naturally & without a miracle stand still, being now naturally inclined to a circular motion? Or how without a miracle shall the light be increased, and yet the warmth springing from thence be abated, nay wholly abolished? Or if the warmth shall remaine, how can it choose but burne vp those parts of the *Earth*, vpon which it never ceases to dart perpendicular beames? Or how can the *Sunne* stand still, and yet inlighten both the *Hemisphere*s, or the starres of that *Hemisphere* which it inlightens at all appeare? To these demaunds, *Pererius* makes a short answer, and in my judgement a very strange one, and vnworthy the penne of so great a *Clarke*, that some of these things *God* hath already done, that we might be induced the more readily to beleue, that they both may, and shall be done againe: And for instance, he alleageth the standing still of the *Sunne* & *Moone* at the prayer of *Iosuah*, & the restrayning of the burning force of the fire, in the *Babylonian* furnace; but withall foreseeing that those were miracles, for satisfaction therevnto he concludes: *Non agere autem inter se qualitates elementorum, nec lu. em Syderum calefacere, quamvis nunc ingens esset miraculum, tunc tamen posita semel mundi renovatione non erunt miracula.* It were now a great miracle, that the qualities of the Elements should not mutually worke each vpon other, or that the light of the starres should not produce warmth, but then the world being renewed, they shall be no miracles. Indeed if the world were so to be renewed as the former essence of it were to be destroyed, or the former qualities to be entinguisht, then should I happily allow of his reason as probable & passable; but now granting that the same *Identicall* forme and matter shall still continue, & that the former qualities shall not be abandoned but perfected, not altered in kinde, but only in degree; I cannot see how it should be held & tearmed a great miracle heeretofore, which shall not be so heereafter. And whereas it is said, that the bodies of the Saints shall then naturally liue without meate, which now without a miracle they cannot doe, we must consider, that though the substance of their bodies shall remaine, yet the qualities of them shall be intirely changed, so farre as the *Apostle* is bold to call it a *spirituall bodie*. And besides, we may be bold to challenge a *speciall priuiledge* vnto the bodies of the Saints, the temples of the holy Ghost, which without speciali warrant cannot be yeelded to any other Corporeall substance. And withall we must remember, that for the resurrection of the bodie, wee haue an Article in our Creede & most cleere proofes from Scripture, but for the restitution of the Creatures no one such sufficient prooffe, as the mind of a *Christian* desirous to be truly informed, can rest fully satisfied therein. Such as they are I will not conceale them: These places then are to that purpose commonly alleaged.

1. Cor. 15. 44.

S E C T. 6.

*The arguments commonly alleadged from the Scriptures
for the renovation of the world, answered.*

Act. 3. 21.
Psal. 104. 5.
Ecclef. 1. 4.

Ezay. 65. 17.

Revel. 21. 1. &
S. Peter. 2. 3.
13.

30. 36.

1. Cor. 7. 13. 1.

Rom. 8. 21.

Psal. 102. 26.

WHem the heavens must containe till the times of the Restitution of all things. He layed the foundations of the earth that it should not be removed for ever, sayth David. And Solomon, one generation passeth and another commeth, but the earth abideth for ever.

Behold I create new heavens and a new earth, and the former shall not be remembered, nor come into mind. To which words of the Prophet, S. Iohn seemes to allude, And I saw a new heaven and a new earth, for the first heaven and the first earth passed away, and there was no more Sea. And for the increase of the light of the Planets and other starres, that passage of the same Prophet is visually alleadged: *The light of the Moone shall be as the light of the Sunne, and the light of the Sunne seaven fold:* But the pretended proofes most stood vpon, are drawne from S. Pauls Epistles, *The fashion of this world passeth away; the fashion not the substance.* And againe, *The Creature it selfe also shall be delivered from the bondage of corruption, into the glorious liberty of the sonnes of God.* And lastly, heerevnto they adde the words of the Psalmist, *Thou shalt change them, and they shall be changed: not abolished but changed:* Which words are againe by the Apostle taken vp and repeated, *Heb. 1. 12.* These are, I am sure, the strongest, if not all the pretended proofes that are commonly drawne from the holy Scripture and pressed for the maintenance of the aduerse opinion; the strength of which, I thinke I shall so put backe, as it shall appeare to any indifferent Iudge, that it is in truth but forced and wrested. The passages I will consider in order as they are alleaged, & severally examine their validitie to the purpose they are vrged. First then whereas wee out of the Greeke read the *Restitution of all things*, the Syriake Interpreter hath it *vsque ad Complementum temporum omnium*, to the end of all times, whereby none other thing can be vnderstood then the *finall consummation* of the world; but to take the words as we finde them, *The times of restitution* are vndoubtedly the same, which Saint Peter in the next verse saue one going before, had tearmed *times of refreshing*, and by them is meant the actuall fulnesse and perfection of our redemption, *quoniam restitutio illa adhuc in cursu est adeoque redemptio quando adhuc sub onere servitutis gemimus*, sayth Calvin, because our restitution and consequently our redemption as yet is but imperfect, whiles we groane vnder the burden of servitude. To the second it may be sayd, that in the course of nature, the earth should remaine for ever without decay or diminution, had not the Creator of it decreed by his almighty power to abolish it: But I rather chuse to answer with Iunius, who vpon the first place taken out of the Psalme, giues this note, *tantiſper dum ſaculum duraturum eſt*, as long as time shall endure: and vpon the second this, *hominis vani comparatione*, in comparifon of the vanishing estate of man. The earth then is sayd to remaine for ever, as Circumcifion and the Leviticall

Law

Law are sayd to be perpetuall, not absolutely, but comparatively. Now for the new heavens and the new earth: it should seeme by the places alleaged, that if it be litterally to be vnderstood of the materiall heavens, they shall not be renewed as the common opinion is, but new Created, (creation being a production of some new thing out of nothing: So as it shall not be a restitution of the old, but a substitution of new, inasmuch as the Prophet Esay addes, the former shall not be remembred, nor come into minde: And Saint Iohn, the first heaven and the first earth passed away, and there was no more Sea. And Saint Peter, The heavens shall passe away with a noise, and the elements shall melt with heate, and the earth with the workes that are therein shall be burnt vp. And of this opinion, *Reza* in one place seemes to haue beene: *Promittuntur novi Caeli ac nova terra, non priorum restitutio, siue in eundem siue in meliorem statum, nec ijs possum assentiri, qui hanc dissolutionem ad solas qualitates referendam censent.* There are promised new heavens and a new earth, not the restitution of the old either vnto their former or a better state, neither can I assent vnto them, who referre this dissolution to the qualities alone. But seing belike the singularity and absurditie of this opinion, he recalls himselfe in his annotations vpon the very next verse. But the truth is that by new heavens and a new earth is to be vnderstood in the Prophet Esay, the state of the Church during the kingdome of Christ: and in Saint Peter and S. Iohn, the state of the Saints in the heavenly Ierusalem. For the Prophet, that which I affirme will easily appeare to any vnderstanding Reader that pleaseth to peruse that Chapter; specially if therevnto we adde the latter part of the next touching the same point. For as the new heavens and the new earth which I will make, shall remaine before me, sayth the Lord: so shall your seed and your name continue, and from moneth to moneth, and from sabbaoth to sabbaoth shall all flesh come to worship before me, saith the Lord. Vpon the alleaged passage of the former chapter *Iunius & Tremelius* giue this note, *Omnia instauraturus sum in Christo*, I will restore all things in Christ: Referring vs for the farther illustration thereof to that of the same Prophet in his 25 chapter at the 8 verse. And for the exposition of the latter passage in the 66 chapter, referres vs to that in the 65 going before. So that aswell by the drift and coherence of the text, as by the judgement of sound Interpreters, materiall heavens and earth are not there vnderstood. Which some of our English Translatours well perceiving, haue to the first passage affixed this note, I will so alter and change the state of the Church that it shall seeme to dwell in a new world: And to the second this, Heereby he signifieth the kingdome of Christ, wherein his Church shall be renewed. Yet I will not deny but that the Prophet may in those words likewise allude to the state of the Saints in the heavenly Ierusalem. To which purpose, S. Peter seemes to apply them, according to his promise, sayth he, we looke for new heavens and a new earth wherein dwelleth Righteousnes, that is, by the consent of the best expositours, righteous and just men, who after the day of judgement shall dwell no longer vpon the Earth, but in the heavenly Ierusalem. Which Saint Iohn more liuely describes in the 21 of the Revelation; for having sayd in the first verse, And I saw a new heaven and a new earth, he presently addes in the second,

as it were by way of Exposition of the former: And I Iohn saw the holy Citty new Ierusalem, comming downe from God out of heauen, prepared as a bride adorned for her husband; and by the sequele of that Chapter and the latter part of the precedent, it cleerely appeares (whatsoever Bright-man dreamt to the contrary) that he there describes the state of the Saints after the day of judgement, and the glory of that place which they are eternally to inhabite; being such, that it had no need of the Sunne nor of the Moone to shine in it, the glory of God inlightning it, and the Lambe being the light thereof: And Iunius thus begins his Annotations on that chapter: *Nunc sequitur historia prophetica pars secunda de statu futuro Ecclesie celestis post Iudicium ultimum*: Now follows the second part of this propheticall history of the future state of the Church triumphant after the day of Iudgement: And with him therein accord the greatest part of the soundest and most judicious Interpreters.

The other passage alleaged of the Prophet *Esay* touching the increase of light in the Sunne and Moone is likewise vndoubtedly to be vnderstood of the *restoration of his Church*, according to the tenour of the chapter, and the annotation of Iunius annexed therevnto, *Illustrissima erunt & gloriosissima omnia in restitutione Ecclesie*, all things shall then be more beautifull and glorious in the restitution of the Church. And with him fully accord our English notes, *when the Church shall be restored, the glory thereof shall passe seaven times the brightnesse of the Sunne. For by the Sunne and Moone which are two excellent Creatures, he sheweth what shall bee the glory of the Children of God in the kingdome of Christ.*

Now for the words of the *Apostle*, *The fashion of this world passeth away*, what other thing intends he, but that in these wordly things, there is nothing durable and solide, elegantly thereby expressing the *vanitie* of them, in which exposition, Both Iunius & Calvin agree.

That of the same *Apostle* in the 8 to the *Romans*, touching the delivering of the Creature from the bondage of corruption, into the glorious liberty of the Sonnes of God, is I confesse in appearance more pressing. But this passage the great wit of Saint *Augustine* found to be very obscure and perplexed, in so much as not a few vnderstand those words of Saint *Peter* of this particular, that in Saint *Pauls* Epistles some things are hard to be vnderstood. It were then in my judgement no small presumption vpon a place so intricate and difficult peremptorily to build so vncertaine a doctrine. But because it is so hotly vrged as a testimony vnanswervable, let vs a little examine the parts and sense thereof. First then it is cleere, that the Creature may be delivered from the bondage of corruption, and yet not restored to a more perfect and beautifull estate, in as much as being annihilated, it is thereby freed from that abuse of wicked and vngratefull men, which heere it is of necessity still subject vnto. But all the doubt is, how the Creature shall be made partaker of the glorious liberty of the Sonnes of God. I hope no man will dare to affirme that they shall be with them *Cohaires of eternall blessednes*, as the words seem to import; how then are they made partakers of this glorious liberty? But in as much as when the sonnes of God shall be made partakers thereof, the Creature shall be altogether freed from the bondage of corruption: So

as that, into the liberty of the sonnes of God, is no more then together with the liberty of the Sons of God, or, by reason of the liberty of the Sons of God, as Saint *Chrysostome* hath expounded it. They which maintaine any other future liberty in the Creature by way of restitution or bettering it, are bound soundly to answer all the arguments before alleaged, and withall to yeeld a sufficient reason why some Creatures are to be restored and not all, since the name of Creature is equally attributed to all and not to some only. Surely S. *Ambrose* in his Expositions vpon that place, durst goe no farther then we doe, *habet enim in labore posita Creatura hoc solatium quoniam habebit requiem, cum crediderint omnes quos scit Deus credituros*; the Creature travelling in paine hath this comfort, that it shall rest from labour, when they shall all beleue, whom God knowes are to beleue. And in truth this is as much as we neede beleue, and as the words being favourably interpreted doe inforce.

The last testimony mustered against vs was taken from the Psalmist, *Thou shalt change them and they shall be changed*: But since in the same Psal. 102. 26. verse he likewise tels vs, *They shall perish*; what change shall we there vnderstand? Surely for the same thing to bee sayd to bee changed into a better and more perfect estate, and yet withall at the same time to perish, cannot properly be verified. We are to know then that a thing may be changed, not only by *alteration*, which is a chaunge in the quality, but by *augmentation* or *diminution*, which is a chaunge in the quantity; by *corruption*, which is a chaunge in the substance; or lastly, (though in a larger, and perchance somewhat vnusuall acceptation) by *annihilation*, which is a totall abolishing of the substance: And this in truth is the greatest chaunge that may be, it being *ab ente ad non ens simpliciter*, from a being to a not being wholly. And of such a chaunge must the Psalmist of force be vnderstood, if we will reconcile him with himselfe, and the passages before alleaged; or (if this satisfie not) we may say (as some doe) that the heavens shall be changed in regard of vs; instead of visible and materiall heavens, (the vse of which wee now injoy) wee shall be translated to an heaven immateriall and invisible, the *Celestiall Paradise*, the *heavenly Ierusalem*, which in *holy Scriptures* is likewise tearmed a *new heaven*. Notwithstanding all this (for the reverence I beare antiquitie) I will not be peremptory in the point: But truly me thinkes, that a few obscure places should rather be expounded by many cleere, then the cleere wrested to the obscure.

C A P. 14.

Of the Uses we are to make of the Consummation of the world, and of the day of Iudgement.

SECT. 1.

That the day of the worlds end shall likewise be the day of the generall iudgement thereof, and that then there shall bee such a iudgement, is proved aswell by reason as the testimonie of the Gentiles.

WHatsoever be the manner of the worlds end, most certaine it is, an end it shall haue, and as certaine that then we shall all appeare before the Iudgement seate of Christ, that every man may receiue according to that which he hath done in his body, whether it be good or euill. If we yeeld that there is a God, and that this God is Almighty & just (which of necessity he must be, or otherwise he may not be God) it cannot be avoyded, but that after this life ended, he administer justice vnto men, by punishing the wicked and rewarding the righteous: Since in this world the one commonly liue in ease and prosperity, and the other in misery and persecution. Shall not then the Iudge of all the world doe right? doubtles he shall and will. Some therefore he punisheth exemplarily in this world, that we might from thence haue a tast or glimpse of his present iustice: And others he reserveth to the next, that from thence we might haue an assurance of a future iudgement, which is either particular, as we are single persons at the day of the separation of the soule from the body, which wee may call the *Privy Sessions* of the soule; or *vniversall*, as we are parcels of mankind, at the last day, which we may call the *generall Assise* both of soule and bodie.

See Raimundus
Sebundus his
naturall The-
ologie.
& Raimundus
Lullius in de-
monstr. ar. fidei.

And that there shall be such a *generall iudgement*, beside the particular, we haue these reasons to induce vs to beleue it. *First*, that the body of man rising from his sepulchre at that day may be partaker of eternall punishment or glory with the soule, even as in this life it was participant of the vertues or vices which the soule did execute, as they either sinned together, or served God together: So is it most fit that they should receiue the sentence of eternall life or death together. Yet because the soule both may, and often doth, either sinne or serue God without the bodie, but the body of it selfe can doe neither without the soule, therefore is it as requisite, that the separated soule should either suffer paine or inioy blisse, whiles the body rests in the graue: And being revnited and married againe vnto the body, should partake more either of blisse or paine then it.

As this first reason is taken from the Essentiall parts, so the *second reason*, that there shall be an vniversall and publique iudgement, is drawne from the Actions of the persons to be judged & their rewards. Though it be true then, that if men were rewarded in secret both in soule and in

in bodie according to their actions the justice of God might by that meanes be preserved, yet could it not be sufficiently manifested, vnlesse this judgement were acted in the publique view of the whole world. Many good men haue heere been openly oppressed and troden vnder foote; and on the other side, the wicked haue flourished in abundance of outward peace & temporall felicity, which hath made the best of Gods servants at times to stagger and stand amazed thereat: But then shall they and all the world cleerely see, and confidently profess to the honour of *Divine justice*, *Verily there is a reward for the righteous, doubtles there is a God that judgeth the Earth.* And in regard of this conspicuous manifestation of Gods justice and full accomplishment thereof at the last day, not a few of the *Greeke & Latine Fathers*, as also the holy Scriptures themselues in sundry places seeme to say, the retribution of our workes in the flesh shall be differred till then. Now besides this honour which shall accrew to the justice of God, both wicked sinners and the blessed Saints of God shall then receiue their rewards and finall paiments openly in the sight and hearing of each other, to the end, that the grieve and shame of the impious, and the triumphant joy of the vertuous and religious, might therby be the more increased. For what greater heart-breaking and confusion can there bee to the one, then to haue all their secret faults layd open, and the sentence of Condemnation passed vpon them in the presence of them whom they derided and vilified; or what greater comfort and content to the other, then to be justified and rewarded in the view of them, who were their professed enemies.

Psal. 58: 11:

Lastly, as our blessed Lord and Saviour Iesus Christ, (who shall then appeare as Judge) at his first comming into this world was contemptible in the eye of wordlings, and dishonoured *publiquely* both in his life and death: So was it convenient, that once in this world hee should shew his power, and Majesty, and that in the sight of all his Creatures, but specially of his wicked enimies, who after that day are never to see or behold him more.

To these reasons may be added the *testimonie* of the very *Gentiles*, of *Hydaspes, Hermes, & Sybilla*; whereof the first having described the iniquity of the last age, sayes that the godly and righteous men being severed from the vnrighteous, shall with teares and groanes lift vp their hands to heaven imploring the helpe of *Iupiter*, and that therevpon *Iupiter* shall regard the earth, heare their prayers and destroy the wicked:

Eusebius de
preparatione
11. 18. 20. &
123.

Quae omnia vera sunt praeter unum quod Iovem dixit illa facturum quae Deus faciet, saith *Lactantius*, all which things are true, saue one, which is, that he ascribes that to *Iupiter* which God shall doe. And besides (sayth he) it was not without the cunning suggestion of *Sathan* left out that then the *Sonne of God* shall be sent from the father, who destroying the wicked, shall set the righteous at liberty. Which *Hermes* notwithstanding dissembled not. Part of *Sybilla's* verses alleadged by *Lactantius* in *Greece*, may thus be rendred in *Latine & English*:

Lactan. 7. 9.

Huic luci finem imponent cum fata supremum,

Iudicium aetherei Pater exercebit in omnes,

Iudicium humano generi imperiumque verendum.

When God shall to this world its fatall period send
Th'immortall, mortall men in judgment shall arraigne;
Great shall his judgment be, his Kingdome without end.

And againe,

*Tartareumque chaos tellure hiscente patebis
Regesque aetherij sistuntur iudicis omnes
Ante thronum.*

Tartarean Chaos then Earth opening wide shall show,
And then all kings before Gods judgment seat shall bow.

And in another place.

*Calum ego convolvens penetralia caca recludam
Telluris, functique & fusi lege soluti
Et mortis stimulo exurgent, cunctosq; tribunal
Ante meum Iudex statuam, reprobosque, probosque.*

Rolling vp Heauen I will Earths secret vaults disclose,
Deaths sting also and bonds of fate will I vnloose:
Then shall the dead arise, and all both small and great,
Both good and bad shall stand before my judgment seat.

Over and above these Prophets and men of learning, *Peru* the South part of *America*, doth yeeld to vs an ignorant people, who by the light of Nature and a generall apprehension (for God knoweth they haue nothing else) doe beleue that the World shall end, and that there shall be then a reward for the good and for the euill according to their desert.

*Survius in com.
an. 1558.*

S E C T. 2.

The consideration of this day may first serue for terror to the wicked, whether they regard the dreadfulness of the day it selfe, or the quality of the Iudge by whom they are to be tryed.

THe certainty then of this vniversall Iudgment at the last day being thus cleerely prooued, not only by the Scriptures of the Old and New Testament, but by the light of Reason and the testimonies of the *Gentiles*, the consideration thereof may justly serue for terror to the wicked, it being to them a day of wrath and vengeance; for Comfort to the Godly, it being to them a day of refreshing and full redemption; and lastly for admonition & instruction to both. First then it may justly serue for matter of extreame terror to the wicked, whether they regard the dreadfulness of the day in which they shall be tryed, or the quality of the Iudge by whom they are to be tryed, or the nature & number of their accusers that shall bring in evidence against them, or the presence of such an assembly of men and Angels before whom they shall be arraigned; or their owne guiltinesse and astonishment, or lastly the sharpnesse and severity of the sentence that shall passe vpon them. The very face and countenance of that day shall be hideous and dismall to looke to, it shal be apparelled with horror and affrightment on euery side: That day is a day of wrath, a day of trouble and heavinesse, a day of destruction and desolation, a day of

*Zephany 1.
15. 16.*

of gloominesse and darknesse, a day of clouds, stormes and blacknesse, a day of the trumpet and alarme against the strong cities and against the high towres. Then shall the Sun be darkened, and the Moone shall be turned into bloud, and the starres shall fall from heauen as it were withered leaues from their trees, and the powers of heauen shall be shaken, and the graues shall vomit vp their dead bodies, the heauens shall passe away with a noise, and shriuel together like scorched parchment, the elements shall melt & dissolve with heat, the sea & fouds shall roare, & the Earth with the works that are therein shall be burnt vp, there shall be horrible clapps of thunder & flashes of lightning, voyces & earthquakes, such as neuer were since men dwelt vpon the earth: such howling, such lamentations, such skriches shall be heard in euery corner, that the hearts of men shall tremble & wither for very feare and expectation of those things which at that day shall befall them. And now tell me what mortall heart can choose but ake and quake at the remembrance of these vnspeakable incomprehensible terrours. The Law was giuen with thunder & lightnings, and a thick cloud vpon the mount, with an exceeding lowde and shrill sound of the trumpet, so that all the people were afrayde, yea so terrible was the sight, that *Moses* said, *I feare and quake.* Now if *Moses* Exod. 19. the servant of the Lord quaked to heare the first trumpet at the giuing of the Law, how shall the wicked, condemned in their owne Conscience, tremble and quake to heare the second at the execution thereof?

Specially being arraigned at the barre of such a *Iudge*, apparelled with Robes of Majesty, & attended with millions of Angels: A *Iudge* so soueraigne as there lyes no appeale from him; so wise as nothing can escape his knowledge; so mighty as nothing can resist his power, so vp-right as nothing can pervert his justice, who neither can bee deceiued with sophistry, nor blinded with gifts, nor terrified with threats. They shall looke vpon him whom they haue wounded and gored with the speare of their blasphemies, with the nailes of their curlings and cursed oathes, whō they haue buffeted & spit vpon with their impiety & prophaneſſe, whō they haue again crucified to themſelues by their diuelish & damnable actions, trampling his pretious Bloud vnder foot by their impenitencie, putting him to open shame by their infidelity, making a mock of him by their obstinacy, and turning his grace into wantonnes by their presumption. Holy *Augustine* in one of his *Sermons of the last Iudgment*, brings in this glorious *Iudge* thus expostulating the matter with these miscreants at that Day. O man with mine owne handes Serm. 67.
 'did I fashion thee out of the slime of the earth: into thy earthly members did I infuse a spirit: I vouchsafed to bestow vpon thee mine own Image: I placed thee among the delights of *Paradise*: but thou contemning the vitall efficacy of my Commandements, choosedst rather to listen to the *tempter*, then thy *God*. And when being expelled out of *Paradise* by reason of sin thou wert held in the chaines of death, I was inclosed in the Virgins wombe, I was layde in the cratch, I was wrapped in swathing cloathes, I endured the scorne of infancy & the grieve of manhood, that so being like vnto thee, I might make thee like vnto my selfe. I bore the buffetings & spittings of scorners, I dranke
 'vineger

'vineger mixed with gall, I was scourged with whippes, crowned with
 'thornes, nayled to the crosse, gored with a speare, & that thou mightest
 'be freed from death, in torments I parted with my life: Looke vpon
 'the print of the nayles, behold the skarres of my wounds: I took vpon
 'me thine infirmities, that I might impart vnto thee my glory. I vnder-
 'went the death due to thee, that thou mightst liue for euer. I was buried
 'in a sepulchre, that thou mightest raigne in Heauen. Why hast thou
 'wilfully lost that which I by my sufferings purchased for thee? Why
 'hast thou spurned at the gracious gift of thy Redemption. I complaine
 'not of my death, only render vnto me that life for which I gaue mine.
 'Render me that life which by the wounds of thy sinnes thou dayly
 'killest. Why hast thou polluted with more then beastly sensuality that
 'Temple which in thee I consecrated to my selfe? Why hast thou stain-
 'ned my body with filthy provocations? Why hast thou tormented
 'me with a more grievous crosse of thy sinnes, then that vpon which I
 'sometimes hung: for the crosse of thy sinnes is more grievous (in as
 'much as vnwillingly I hang vpon it) then that other which taking pi-
 'ty vpon thee, & to kill thy death I willingly mounted. I being impass-
 'ble in my selfe vouchsafed to suffer for thee: but thou hast despised
 'God in man, salvation in mine infirmity, pardon from thy Iudge, life
 'from my crosse, and wholesome medicine from my sufferings. Now
 what flinty or steely heart in the world could choose but resolute it selfe
 into reares of bloud vpon such an expostulation were it moistned with
 any drop of grace? But heere vnto might be added, that thou hast often
 joyned with his enemies against him, turned the deafe eare to the mini-
 stery of his Word, jested at his threatnings, neglected his gracious invi-
 tations, quenched his holy inspirations, abused his Sacraments & his
 patience, which being long abused at length is turned into fury. This
Lambe of God therefore shall then shew himselfe as a *Lyon*, he shall then
 put on righteousnesse for a brest-plate, & take true iudgment in steed of
 an helmet, then shal he put on the garments of vengeance for cloathing,
 & be clad with zeale as with a cloake; Then shall hee come in strength
 as a storme of haile, & as a whirlwinde breaking and throwing downe
 whatsoever standeth in his way, as a rage of many waters that flow and
 rush together. The mountaines shall melt & fly away at his presence, a
 burning fire shall run before him, and on euery side of him a violent
 tempest. And if *Felix* himselfe a *Iudge* trembled to heare *Paul* (who as a
 prisoner was arraigned before him) disputing of this Last Iudgment,
 how shall the guilty prisoners tremble before the face of this *Iudge*, be-
 ing both the *Iudge* and the party offended? If the *Iewes* who came to attach
 him fell backward at the hearing of his voyce in the dayes of his *humi-*
lity, how shal the wicked stand amazed & confounded at his presence
 when he comes to iudge them in glory & *Maiesty*? Surely for them to
 endure the fiercenes of his angry countenance wilbe intollerable, and
 yet to fly from it impossible, & the more intollerable will it be in regard
 of the nature and number of their accusers.

SECT. 3.

Of the nature and number of their accusers.

THe *Creatures* shall accuse them whom they have abused to vanity, to luxury, to drunkenness, to gluttony, to covetousness, to ambition, to revenge, and being then freed from their bondage, they shall freely complain of this unjust usurpation. *Good men* shall accuse them, as having bin most disdainfully scorned, wronged, oppressed, and troden vnder-foot by them. Their *Companions* shall accuse them, as having beene drawne into sin by their wicked intisements and examples. Their *Teachers* and *Gouernours* shall accuse them, as having beene irreverent toward their persons, & rebellious against their instructions and commands. Their *Children and Servants* shall accuse them, as having beene negligent in their education in vertue and piety. *The Prophets and Apostles* shall accuse them as having beene careless in the observation of their writings. *The good Angels* shall accuse them whose directions they have refused to follow. *The Devils* shall accuse them in that they have betrayed their Lord and Captaine to march vnder their banners. Their *owne Consciences* shall bitterly accuse & vpbraide them: the body shall accuse the soule as being the principall agent, and the soule the body as being a ready instrument: *The appetite* shall accuse reason as being too sensuall & indulgent, & *reason* the appetite, as being irregular & inordinate: all the *faculties* of the Soule, all the *senses & members* of the body shall accuse each others: nay which is worst of all, the *Iudge himselfe* shall be thy accuser, representing those transgressions to thy memory, & laying them close to thy charge which either thou hadst forgotten & cast behinde thee, or didst perchance not know, or not acknowledge to be finnes. *Sweet Iesus*, which way will the poore Sinner turne himselfe in the midst of all these accusers & accusations. To confesse the then will serue but to increase his shame; to deny them, but to aggravate his fault, & consequently his punishment: nay deny them hee cannot, being convinced by two evidences against which there can bee no exception, the booke of the *Law*, & the booke of his owne *Conscience*, the one shall shew him what he should haue done, & the other what hee hath done; against the booke of the *Law*; hee shall be able to speake nothing, his *Conscience* telling him that the commaundements of the Lord are pure and righteous altogether: and for the booke of *Conscience*, against that he cannot possibly except, it being alway in his owne keeping, so as it could not be falsified, & whatsoever shall then be found written therein, hee shall freely acknowledge to haue beene written with his owne hand: Silence then shall be his safest plea, and astonishment his best Apologic.

The rather, for that all these accusations shall be brought in and layde against him in the presence of the blessed Saints and glorious Angels which shall then be vnto him a terrible and feareful spectacle, aswel in regard of their infinite number, as their inresistable strength. We read of di-

verse holy men, who vpon the sight of an *Angell* haue beene cast into such pittifull fits, that their spirits haue fayled them, their breath hath forsaken them, their joynts haue bin loosed and for the time they haue bin as dead bodies without all appearance of sense or life. Now if holy men haue been so much moved with the sight of one *Angell* bringing them good tidings and conversing familiarly with them, into what inconceivable gulfes of horroure shall the reprobate be plunged vpon the sight of so many millions, all armed with indignation against them, and desire of the full and finall execution of their *Creators* will? If an army of men marching with banners displayed bee terrible to behold, how dreadfull shall those innumerable hostes of heavenly souldiers appeare to the face of their enemies? and if one of them slew foure score and five thousand in one night, what mortall weight shall conceiue any hope of standing before such multitudes, who as they are now sent forth to minister for their sakes that are heires of saluation: so then shall they separate the iust from the vnjust, and shall execute vengeance vpon them that shall be heires of damnation, casting them into a fornaice of fire, where shall be wayling and gnashing of teeth. So as they shall not be bare *Spectatours*, but principall *Actours* in that lamentable tragedie. We finde, that when but one of them descended to role away the stone from our Saviours Sepulchre, there was a great *Earthquake*, and for feare of him, the keepers of the Sepulchre were astonied, and became as dead men. Into what extremity then of confusion and perplexity shall the wicked be driven, when they shall perceiue such troupes of these mighty and glorious Creatures assembled, not only to be witnesses of their shame and iust condemnation, but agents in their execution? Besides all this, it shall be acted in the presence of those *blessed Saints* whom they alwayes held their greatest enemies, and what greater bitterness can be imagined, then to be layd open and reproached in the sight of a mans enemies, and to see them in the meane time advanced to honour, triumphing and insulting vpon his miseries, as the Saints then shall doe vpon impenitent sinners, admiring and applauding the iustice of their *Creator*, and as *assistants*, approving the equity of that sentence which he shall pronounce, and which the Condemned themselues likewise cannot but iustifie.

Inasmuch as then in an instant shall be represented vnto themselues, and discovered in the open view of the whole world, all the horrible, foule, bloody, crying, roaring finnes that ever they committed, together with all the circumstances of time, and place, and persons, and manner, and measure. Then shall they giue a particular strict account of all the *blessings*, of all the *gifts and graces* which God hath bestowed vpon them, of all the *faculties* of their soules, of all the *senses and members* of their bodies, as it were of so many talents committed to their charge, how they haue vsed, or rather abused them. Then shall they giue an account, how they haue profited by all those *wholsome lessons* they haue heard, and fatherly *chastisements* they haue beene corrected with, how they haue entertained those good *motions* that God hath put into their hearts, how they haue withstood the *Suggestions* of *Sathan*, & the temptations

tations of the world and the flesh. Then shall they giue an account, not only of their greivous haynous sinnes of *presumption* and *malice*, committed against the light of their *Conscience* wittingly, willingly, & willfully, with an high hand and striffe necke, but of filthy rotten *speeches*, prophane *writings*, vnflauory *jests*, nay of every idle word, nay of every loose and lewd *thought*; not only of outward, publique, notorious transgressions, but of secret practises, mischievous plots & projects, knowne only to God and their owne soules. Lastly, not only of sins of *Commission*, but of the *omission* of good duties, and of their pretious time mispent, passing the greatest part thereof in eating, and drinking, & sleeping, and dancing, and gaming, in haunting taverns, and play-houses, and dicing-houses, and brothell-houses, which should haue been spent in the workes of *Charity*, of *Piety*, or those of their *private calling*. Good God, what shall the poore sinner now say, what shall he doe for the levelling and cleering of these accounts? shall he call for mercy? he hath already shut that doore against himselfe. Shall he fly to his *Saviour*? hee is now become his Iudge. Shall he implore the intercession of the *Saints* and *Angells*? neither will they intercede if they might be heard, nor shall they be heard, though they would intercede. O hard distresse, sayth deuoute *Anselme*, on the one side will be his sinnes accusing him, on the other side *justice* terrifying him, vnder him the gulfe of hell gaping, about him the Iudge frowning, within him a *Conscience* stinging, without him the world burning. Finding no way then to releiue or excuse himselfe, hee shall seeke to hide himselfe in dens and among the clefts of the rockes, and shall say vnto the hills and mountaines, fall vpon me and cover me from the presence of him that sitteth vpon the Throne, and from the wrath of the Lambe, for the great day of his wrath is come, and who can stand? and if the righteous be hardly saved, where shall the impenitent sinner appeare? Yet no remedie, stand forth and appeare they must at the open barre or Gods justice, and there receiue their last doome, Depart from me yee Cursed, into everlasting fire prepared for the Devill and his Angells.

S E C T. 4.

Or lastly, the dreadfulness of the sentence which shall then be pronounced vpon them.

O Mercifull Lord, what a dolefull, what as dreadfull sentence is this? Depart from thee O *Christ*: why thou art all things, and therefore the losse of thee is an vniverfall losse of all things. Thou art the greatest good, and therefore to be deprived of thee is the greatest evill. Thou art the very Center and perfect rest of the soule, and therefore to bee pulled from thee is the most cruell separation that can be. It was the richest promise that thou couldst make to the penitent thee, and the sweetest voyce that he could heare, *This day thou shalt be with me in Paradise*. Lord whither shall we goe from thee, saith one of thine *Apostles*, and the other only wisheth to be dissolved, that he may be with thee. The *Wizards* of the East when they recovered

the sight of the starre that but led vnto thee, being yet in the state of infirmitie and humilitie, rejoyced with an exceeding great joy: and thy forerunner the *Baptist* at the voyce of thy blessed mother sprang for joy, being yet in the wombe; how then would they haue beene replenished and raviſhed with joy to haue ſeen thee in thy Kingdome of glory, and tormented with griefe to haue bin commaunded out of thy preſence? ſpecially conſidering, that *with thee is the well of life, in thy preſence is the fulnes of joy, and at thy right hand there are pleaſures for evermore.* By parting from thee then, wee part from the bliſfull viſion of the face of God, from the fruition of the happy fellowſhip of the holy *Angels* and ſociety of *Saints*, and conſequently from happineſſe it ſelfe. What remaines then, but that parting from happineſſe, wee ſhould indeede become moſt miſerable and accuſed Caitifs. Depart from me yee *Cursed*. Men ſometimes curſe where God bleſſes, and bleſſe where God curſes: They can only pronounce a man curſed, they cannot make him ſo: but heere it is otherwiſe: for with this powerfull and righteous Iudge, to pronounce is to make: when he curſed the figge tree, it inſtantly withered: And as theſe impenitent Sinners loved curſing, ſo ſhall it come vnto them, and as they loved not bleſſing, ſo ſhall it be farre from them. As they cloathed themſelues with curſing like a rayment, ſo ſhall it come into their bowels like water, and like oyle into their bones; it ſhall be vnto them as a garment to cover them, and for a girdle wherewith they ſhall be alway girded. *Cursed* ſhall be the day of their conception, & curſed the day of their birth: *Cursed* they ſhall be in their ſoules, and curſed in their bodies, *Cursed* in their thoughts, and curſed in their deſires, curſed in their ſpeeches, and curſed in their actions; *Cursed* in the haynouſines of their ſinne, and curſed in the grievouſneſſe of their puniſhment: curſed in their puniſhment of loſſe, for their averſion from the Creator, Depart from me; and curſed in their puniſhment of ſenſe, for their conuerſion to the Creature, Depart from me into everlaſting Fire. Of all the Creatures appointed by Almighty God, to be inſtruments for the execution of his vengeance, water and fire are noted to haue the leaſt mercy: And therefore with fire & brimſtone conſumed he the filthy *Sodomites*, a type of this helliſh fire, as *Sodom* was of hell it ſelfe. If creating an element heere for our comfort, I meane the fire, he made the ſame ſo inſufferable as it is, in ſuch ſort, as a man would not hold his onely hand therein one day to gaine a kingdome, what a fire thinke you hath he provided for hell, which is not created for comfort, but only for torment? Our fire hath many differences from that, and therefore is truly ſayd of the holy *Fathers*, to be but as a painted or ſained fire in reſpect of that. For firſt our fire was made to comfort, as I haue ſayd, and that only to afflict and torment: Our fire hath need to be fed continually with wood and ſewell, or elſe it goeth out, that burneth eternally without feeding, and is vnquenchable; for that *the breath of the Lords omne mouth doth blowe and nourish it.* Our fire worketh only vpon the body, immediatly vpon the ſoule being a ſpirit it cannot worke, that worketh vpon the ſoule ſeparated from the bodie, as it likewiſe doth vpon the *Apoſtate Angels*, and vpon both ſoule and bodie rejoynd. Our fire giveth light which of it ſelfe is comfortable,

comfortable, that admitteth none, but is full of dismall darkenesse. Our fire may be extinguished, or the rage of it abated with water, that cannot. Ours breedeth weeping, that not only weeping but gnashing of teeth, the ordinary effect of cold. Such a strange and incredible fire it is, that it implies contraries, and so terrible is this Iudge to his enemies, that he hath devised a wonderfull way, how to torment them with burning heate and chilling cold both at once. *Lastly*, our fire consumeth the food that is cast into it, and thereby in short space dispatcheth the paines, whereas that afflicteth & tormenteth, but consumeth not, to the end, the paines may be *Everlasting* as is the fire.

O deadly *life*, O immortall *death*, what shall I tearme thee? *Life*? and wherefore then dost thou kill? *Death*? and wherefore then dost thou endure? There is neither *Life* nor *Death* but hath something good in it. For in *life* there is some ease, and in *death* an end, but thou hast neither *ease* nor *end*: What shall I tearme thee? even the bitterness of both. For of *death* thou hast torment without any end, and of *life* the continuance without any ease, so long as *God* shall liue, so long shall the damned die, and when he shall cease to be happy, then shall they also cease to be miserable. A starre which is farre greater then the earth, appeareth to be a small spot in comparision of the heavens, much lesse shall the age of man seeme, yea much lesse the age and continuance of the whole world in regard of this perpetuity of paines. The least mōment of time if it be compared with tenne thousand millions of yeares, because both tearmes are finite, and the one a part of the other, beareth, although a very small, yet some proportion: but this or any other number of yeares in respect of endlesse eternity is nothing, lesse then just *nothing*: For all things that are *finite* may be compared together, but betweene that which is *finite*, and that which is *infinite*, there standeth no comparision. O sayth one holy *Father* in a godly meditation, if a sinner damned in hell did know that hee had to suffer those torments no more thousand yeares then there be sands in the sea or grasse leaues on the ground, or no more thousand millions of ages then there be Creatures in heaven, hell, and in earth, he would greatly rejoyce, for that he would comfort himselfe at the leastwise with this cogitation, that once yet the matter would haue an end: But now, sayth this good man, this word *never* breaketh his heart, considering that after an hundred thousand millions of worlds (if there might be so many) he hath as farre to his journeyes end, as hee had the first day of his entrance into those torments. And surely if a man that is sharply pinched with the goute, or the stone, or but with the toothach, and that they hold him but by firs, giving him some respite betweene-whiles, notwithstanding doe thinke one night exceeding long although he lie in a soft bed, well applied & cared for, how tedious doe wee thinke *eternity* will seeme to those that shall be *vniversally* in all their parts *continually* without intermission, *perpetually* without end or hope of end scorched in those hellish flames, which besides that they are everlasting, haue this likewise added, that they are prepared for the *Deuill* and his *Angells*:

Prepared, by whom? surely by the *Iudge* himselfe, who giues the sen-

tence. Now if but *mortall Iudges* should set and search their wits to devise & prepare a punishment for some notorious malefactor, what grievous tortures doe they often finde out? able to make a man tremble at the very mentioning of them, what kinde of punishment then shall wee conceive this to be which this *immortall King* of Heaven & Earth, this *Iudge* both of the quick & dead hath prepared? Surely his invention this way is as farre beyond the reach of all mortal wits (were they all vnited in one braine) as is his power. It must needs be then a torment insufferable, vn-speakable & incomprehensible which hee hath set himselfe to prepare: But for whom? for the *Diuell* and his *Angels*, that is, for the *Arch-traitour*, the chiefe rebell that stands out against him, & hath stood out against him since the first Creation of the World. How art thou fallen from heauen O *Lucifer sonne of the morning*! thou saydst in thine heart, I will exalt my throne aboue, beside the starres of God, & I will bee like vnto the most high: Therefore hath hee cast thee downe to the bottomlesse pit of hell, there to be imprisoned in everlasting chaines vnder darknesse to the iudgment of this great day of the generall assise, then & there shalt thou receiue thy compleat & finall sentence: and then shall those miscreants who haue chosen rather to hearken to thy intisements, to yeeld to thy temptations, to march vnder thy banner, and with thee & thine *Angels* to stand out in open rebellion against their Liege Lord, then to yeeld their due obedience to him, who by so many obligations might deservedly challenge it from them: Then I say, shall they who haue thus sinned with thee, suffer likewise with thee: & as thou labouredst by all means to make them like thy selfe in sin: so shalt thou then as earnestly labour to make them like thy selfe, as in the kinde, so likewise in the degree of thy punishment: that as the *Saints* shall resemble the blessed *Angels* in heauen, so they may in all respects resemble thee & thy *curst Angels* in hell. And thus haue wee in part heard the terror of this last day in regard of the obstinately wicked, Let vs now heare what Comforts the remembrance and meditation thereof may justly afford the *righteous*, that is, such as by Gods grace endeavour to liue a *vertuous and religious life*.

SECT. 5.

Secondly, the consideration of this day may serue for a speciall comfort to the godly, whether they meditate vpon the name and nature of the day it selfe in regard of them, or the assurance of Gods loue and fauour towards them, and the gracious promises made vnto them.

These Comforts then arise first from the name & nature of the day in regard of them: Secondly, from the assurance of Gods loue and fauour toward them, & from the gracious promises made vnto them: Thirdly, from the quality and condition of the Iudge by whom they are to

be tryed: and lastly, from the *sweetnes of the sentence*, which shalbe pronounced on their behalf. First then, this day howbeit it shalbe very terrible to *impenitent* sinners, yet to the Servants of God shall it be a day of *joy & triumph*, a day of *Liberty & exultation*, or as the Scriptures tearme it a day of *refreshing & redemption*: Neither ought this to seem strange, since the same *Sun* which melteth the wax, hardneth the clay, the same beams exhale both stinking vapours out of the dunghills & sweet favours out of flowres, the beame is every way the same which workes vpon them, only the difference of the subjects which it workes vpon, is it that thus diversifies the effects. When the *Iudges* in their *Affises* come to the bench or place of judgment apparelled in skarlet robes, invironed with holdbards, attended on with great troopes, assisted by the principall knights and gentlemen of the Country, all this is a pleasing sight to the innocent prisoner, because hee hopes that now his innocency shal appeare in the face of the Country, and that the day of his deliuerance is come: whereas to the guilty it is a dreadful sight, because he knowes that the day of his tryall, & consequently of his condemnation and execution cannot be farre off: in like manner when the gibbet or gallows is set vp, the ladder, the halter, the hangman & all in readines for the execution, this to the good subject & true man is a pleasing spectacle, because it is for their peace & safeguard: but a spectacle full of horreur to the condemned theefe or murderer who are there instantly to be executed. To such as are straitly besieged in a *Castle* or *City*, when a powerful Army is raised to rescue them, & draweth neere to the place, and is come within sight, the neighing and trampling of the horses, the glittering of the armour, the clashing of weapons, the beating of the drumme, the sounding of the trumpet, yea the roaring of the cannon to them are as sweet musick, because they know all this to be for their succour and reliefe: but to the besiegers the noyse is terrible, because they know it is to assault, remoue and vanquish them: & this surely shall be the difference betwixt the faithfull and the vnrighteous at the day of judgment. The *Majesty & Glory* of *Christ*, the traine of innumerable *Angels* attending on him, the shrill sound of the trumpet summoning all flesh to appeare before his *Tribunall* at this great & generall *Affises*, and all other solemnities belonging to the pomp & magnificence thereof, as it shall vtterly daunt and confound the one, in as much as they know themselves guilty of all those enormities and outrages wherewith they shall be charged, so shall it cheere vp the other, for that they are the fully to be cleared in the presence of men & *Angels* frō those vnjust aspersions & imputations which their enemies haue cast vpon them, they are to be freed from all those wrongs and oppressions they haue sustained, they are to be rescued from that narrow siege, that fierce assault, that long & strong battery which by *sinne*, the *world*, the *flesh*, & the *Diuell* hath beene laid to their soules, so as all those fearefull signes fore-running the last end, as the trembling of the earth, and the shaking of the powers of heauen, shall be vnto them as the *Earthquake* was to *Paul* and *Silas*, which serued to loose their fetters and manicles, and to open vnto them the prison doores and set them at liberty.

Neither can it in truth be otherwise, considering the loue & favour which *Almighty God* beares them. He hath redeemed them with the pretious Blood of his deare Sonne, he hath begotten them by the incorruptible seed of his word, hee hath illuminated and sanctified them with his Spirit, he hath sealed them by his Sacraments, he hath pacified their guilty Consciences with his grace, delivered them out of dangers, supported them in their temptations, relieved them in their distresses, resolved them in their doubts, made all things worke together for the best vnto them, and will he forsake them at this last tryall? no, no, herein he setteth out his loue toward them, seeing that while they were yet sinners, *Christ* died for them, much more being now justified by his Blood, shall they bee saved from wrath thorow him. For if when they were enemies they were reconciled to God by the death of his Sonne, much more being reconciled shall they bee saved by his life: if they were pardoned thorow his death when they were enemies, they shall much more be saved by his life now that they are friends. For how incredible is it, nay how impossible, that he who pardoneth an enemy should condemne a friend. He loued them whiles they yet bore the image of the Diuell, and will he not much more loue them now, since he hath in part repaired his owne Image in them. They were deare vnto him when there was in them no goodnesse, & can hee now abandon them being made partakers of that goodnes which himselfe hath wrought in them. Being then plucked out of the power of darknesse, let them neuer feare to be rejected by the Father of light, ha-ving the blessed *Angels* sent forth to minister for their sakes, let them neuer feare to be deliuered ouer vnto, or in the finall sentence to be joined with the Diuell and his *Angels*. What shall we then say to these things: if God be on our side who can be against vs, who spared not his owne Sonne, but gave him for vs all to death, how shall he not with him giue vs all things also? Who shal lay any thing to the charge of Gods chosen? it is God that iustificeth: who shall condemne? it is *Christ* which is dead, or rather which is risen againe. Who shall separate vs from the loue of *Christ*? shall tribulation or anguish, or persecution, or famine, or nakednesse, or perill, or sword? nay in all these things wee are more then conquerours thorow him that loued vs. And wee are perswaded that neither death, nor life, nor *Angels*, nor principalities, nor powers, nor things present, nor things to come, nor height, nor depth, nor any other creature shall be able to separate vs from the loue of God which is in *Christ Iesus* our Lord.

And as the loue and favour of God in *Christ* doth thus arme his children against the terrour of the day of iudgment, so doe likewise the gracious promises made vnto them, which imbolden them to say again with the blessed *Apostle*, I haue fought a good fight, I haue finished my course, I haue kept the faith, from henceforth it is laid up for me the Crowne of righteousness which the Lord the righteous Iudge shall giue me at that day, and not to me only, but vnto all them also that loue that his appearing. If I shall then receive a Crowne of righteousness I need not feare hell fire: if the righteous Iudge himselfe will giue it me, I need not stand in awe of his severity: if he shall giue it to all those who loue that his appearing, I need not tremble at the thought thereof, nay I haue rather great reason to be glad and reioyce thereof, and when I see those things come to passe,

to looke vp & lift vp mine head, as being well assured that my redemption draweth neere. And not only my redemption, but mine advancement to honour, euen in that very act of Iudgment: the bench rather then the barre being my place there, & my selfe being ordained not to stand forth as a prisoner, but to sit as a Iudge. *Verily I say vnto you, that when the Sonne of man shall sit in the Throne of his Maiesty, yee which followed me in the regeneration shall sit also vpon twelue thrones, and iudge the twelue tribes of Israell,* sayth Truth it selfe. Which priuiledge lest we should thinke to be restrained only to his *Apostles*, one of them by good warrant extends it to all the faithfull. *Doe ye not know* saith he, *that the Saints shall iudge the world?* that is, wicked men who haue oppressed vs: And againe, *Know ye not that we shall iudge the Angels?* that is, wicked spirits who haue tempted or assaulted vs. Now what folly is it to be a frayde of that iudgment where we our selues shall be Iudges, and that of our greatest enemies? nay what encouragement should it bee to receiue if need were, the sentence of death for *Christs* sake, since it is certaine that as *Christ* himselfe shall iudge *Pilate* before whom hee was arraigned, and by whom he was wrongfully condemned: so also shall we in some sort at leastwise as *Assessors* with him & approouers of his sentence, iudge our Iudges. For although *Christ* our Head principally and properly shall be the Iudge, yet wee that are his members shall haue a branch of his authority, and shall be as it were joyned in commission with him.

SECT. 6.

Or the quality and condition of the Iudge in respect of them by whom they are to be tryed: or lastly, the sweetnesse of the sentence which shall then be pronounced on their behalfe.

BUt setting this *Commission* aside, what a comfort will it bee to the Godly to be summoned, to be assembled, to be separated from the goates by the ministry of those very *Angels* who were appointed to be their guardians, to pitch their tents round about them, and to beare them vp with their hands that they might not dash their foote against a stone: nay what joy vnutterable, with their eyes to behold and looke vpon that *Saniour* of theirs (appearing in *Maiesty* as a *Iudge*) who redeemed them with his heart blood, and gaue his life as a ranlome for them, in whom they haue trusted, on whom they haue beleueed, to whom they haue prayed, for whom they haue suffered, with whom they shall be glorified: Their Father, their Husband, their Master, their Head, their Physitian, their Advocate and Intercessour: and can the father condemne the sonne, the husband the wife, the Master his faithfull seruant, the head his members, the Physitian his patient, the Advocate his Client? How happy is our case then, that hee must be our Iudge that was himselfe judged for vs, and our assurance is, that hee will not condemne vs, that hath already bene condemned for vs: No, he

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will

will be so farre from condemning vs, that then and there hee will fully acquit vs in the sight of the whole world, and pronounce that favourable sentence on our behalfe, *Come yee blessed of my Father, inherite a kingdom prepared for you from the foundation of the world.*

A iudiciall sentence shall I call it, or rather a brotherly & gracious invitation? *Come ye blessed of my Father: Come,* that where the husband is, there may the wife be; that where the father is, there may the sonnes be; that where the Master is, there may the servants be; that where the Captain is, there may the souldiers be; that where the king is, there may the subjects be; that where the head is, there may the members be. *Come,* it was thy voice sweet *Savior* whiles thou wert yet in the state of humility, *Come vnto me all ye that are weary & heavy laden & I will refresh you.* & dost thou still retaine the same sweetnes and familiarity, being now in glory, and that whiles thou art sitting vpon the throne of justice? *Good Lord,* how dost thou at the same instant shew thy selfe terrible as a *Lyon* to thine enemies, & yet gentle as a *Lamb* to thy friends? frowning vpon the one, and yet smiling on the other, commaunding the one out of thy presence with an *Ite, Goe,* and inviting the other to approach neere with a *Venite, Come.* *Come, come* my deare hearts, now is the time that you must rest from your labours, that your teares must be wip'd off, that your long expectatiō & longing hope must be turned into fruition: your race is at an end, you must now receiue the prize; your wrestling at an end, you must now receiue the garland, your combating at an end, you must now receiue the Crowne, *Come yee Blessed of my Father.* *Blessed* in your liues, and *blessed* in your deaths; *blessed* in your election, *blessed* in your vocation, *blessed* in your adoption, *blessed* in your justification, *blessed* in your sanctification, and now for accomplishment of all, most *blessed* in your glorification. And the fountaine of all this your blessednes, is none other then the very *Father of blessings*, my *Father* and your *Father*, mine by nature, yours by grace, mine by eternall generation, and yours by spirituall regeneration: And whom the *Father* blesses, the Son cannot but most lovingly and tenderly imbrace. *Come yee blessed of my Father.* what to doe? *to inherite a Kingdom.* Least my words should seeme to be but winde, least my promises should seeme to be vaine, and your patience and beleeuing vaine; *Come & receiue* that which I haue promised, and you haue beleued; *Come* and take actuall possession of it; yet not as a purchase of your owne, but as an *inheritance*; not as wages, but as a reward; not as bought by the value of your merits, but conferred vpon you by the vertue of my sufferings, and the benediction of my Father as the cause, and your sonne-shippe and obedience as the condition. Your title is good, your evidence faire, so as no exception can be taken to your right, nothing so much as pretended or pleaded to disinherit you. *Come* on then chearefully, make hast and enter vpon it, my selfe will leade you the way, follow me. But what may it bee gracious Lord that wee shall possesse? surely no lesse then a *Kingdome.* This reward is sometimes set forth vnto vs vnder the name of a pleasant garden or *Paradise* of delight; sometime of a stately magnificent palace; sometime of a large and beautifull Cittie: but here of a *Kingdome*, a glorious,

rious, a spacious, a secure, a durable *Kingdome*, whose King is the *Trinity*, whose Law is *Divinitie*, whose measure *aternity*, as farre beyond all the *kingdomes* of this world, and all the gilded pompe, the glittering power and riches of them, as the greatest earthly *Monarch* is beyond the King in a play. *Earthly Monarches* haue their secret pressures and pinches, they haue their feares, and cares, and griefes, and envy, and anger, and sickenes mixed with their joyes and contents, or at least by turnes succeeding them: Somewhat is ever wanting to their desires, and full of doubtcs and jealousies they are that their dominions may be either impaired or invaded: And if they were free from the possibility of all those, yet may they in a moment, and that by a thousand wayes be arrested by death, and then all their honour lies in the dust, all their thoughts perish: But now with them that inherit this heavenly *Kingdome* it is not so: they haue joy and content at full without the least intermission or diminutiō, without the least mixture of any feare, or care, or griefe, or envy, or anger, or any other troublefome passion whatsoever. They are out of all doubt & jealousie of loosing that which they possesse, either in whole or in part; they are confident and secure that neither this *Kingdome* can be taken from them by rebellion or invasion, nor they from it by death or deposition. And herein againe doth this *Kingdome* excell all other *kingdomes*, that it is of Gods speciall preparing. And such happinesse he hath prepared in it for them that shall possesse it, as eye hath not seene, care hath not heard, tongue cannot vtter, neither hath at any time entred into the heart of man. Such as his imagination cannot apprehend, nor his vnderstanding possibly conceiue. O my Lord, if thou for this vile body of ours hast given vs so great and innumerable benefits from the firmament, from the aire, from the earth, from the sea; by light, by darkenesse, by heate, by shadow, by dewes, by showers, by windes, by raines, by fishes, by beasts, by birds; by multitude of hearbes, and variety of plants, and by the ministry of all thy Creatures: O sweete Lord, what manner of things, how great, how good, and how innumerable are those which thou hast prepared for vs in our heavenly *Kingdome*, where we shall see thee face to face, and raigne with thee eternally? If thou doe so great things for vs in our prison, what wilt thou giue vs in our palace? If thou givest so many things in this world to good and euill men together, what hast thou layd vp for only good men in the world to come? If thine enemies and friends together are so well provided for in this life, what shall thy only friends receiue in the life to come? If there be so great solaces in these dayes of teares, what joy shall there be in that day of marriage? If our iayle and prison containe so great matters, what shall our *Kingdome* doe? O my Lord and God, thou art a great God, & great is the multitude of thy magnificence & sweetnes, and as there is none end of thy greatnes, nor number of thy mercies, nor bottome of thy wisdom, nor measure of thy beauty: So is there no end, number, or measure of thy rewards to them that loue & serue thee.

S E C T. 7.

Thirdly, the consideration of this day may
serue for admonition to all.

SEeing then that all these things must be dissolved, what manner persons ought we to be in holy conversation and godlines? looking for, and hasting vnto the comming of that day, in which we all shall appeare before the judgement seate of Christ, that every man may receive according to that hee hath done in his body, whether it be good or evill. Truly I know not (sayth S. Chrysostome) what others doe thinke of it, for my selfe, it makes mee often tremble when I consider it. And holy Hierome, whatsoever I am doing, saith he, whether I be eating, or drinking, or sleeping, or waking, or alone, or in company, or reading, or writing, me thinkes I ever heare the shrill sound of the Archangels trumpet, summoning all flesh to appeare, and crying aloud, *Surgite mortui & venite ad iudicium*, arise yee dead and come away to judgement. The remembrance hereof is like a bitter pill to purge out the malignitie of many wanton and vaine humours, or like a strainer, all our thoughts, and speeches, and actions which passe thorow it, are thereby cleansed and purified. As the bird guideth her bodie with her traine, and the shippe is steered with the rudder, so the course of a mans life is best directed with a continuall recourse vnto his last end. It is hard for a man to thinke of that and to thinke evill, or not to thinke of it and thinke well. Therefore when Salomon had spoken of all the vanities of men, at last he opposeth this memorandum as a counterpoise against them all, *Remember for all these things thou shalt come to judgement*: as if he should say, men would never speake as they speake, nor doe as they doe, if they did but thinke that these speeches & deedes of theirs should one day come to judgement. Whatsoever thou takest in hand then, remember the end, and that finall account which thou art to make, and thou shalt never doe amisse. S. Augustine I remember in the entrance of one of his sermons touching the day of Iudgement, makes a kind of Apologie for himselfe, that he treated in their hearing so often of that subject, telling them, that he did it for the discharge of his owne dutie, and for their good: it being better (sayth he) here to indure a little bitternes, and hereafter to enjoy eternall sweetnes, then here to be fedde with false joyes, and there to indure reall and eternall punishments: But hee might haue justly excused himselfe (had any excuse needed in such a case) by the example of our blessed Saviour, who in his Gospels; and his Apostles, who in their Epistles, beate vpon this point no one more frequently: The knowledge and publishing whereof to the world hath in all ages bene held so necessarie, that not the Prophets alone, whose writings are read in our assemblies at this day, plainly foretold it, but Enoch the seaventh from Adam prophesied thereof, nay Adam himselfe, if we may beleue Iosephus. And that no man might plead ignorance herein; the light of this truth (as hath already bene touched) shined among the very Gentiles before the incarnation of Christ.

A great shame were it then for vs *Christians* not to beleue it, but a greater shame to our selues, and to our profession, a disgrace, & a scandall to infidels, to professe that we beleue it, and yet to liue worse then *Infidels*. *Mahometans*, & *Iewes*, & *Pagans* shall rise in iudgements against a number of *Christians* and shall condemne them, for that standing vp in the *Congregation*, and with their mouths openly professing this article, that they beleue that *Christ* shall come againe to iudge both the quicke & dead; yet their thoughts, their desires, their passions, their actions, their words are such & so foule, as it euidently shewes they beleue not, or they vnderstand not, or they remember not what they professe. Shall I thinke that the common *drunkard* & *glutton* doth beleue and remember, that at this day he must giue an account of the abuse of *Gods Creatures*, of making his belly his *God*, his kitchin his *Chappell*, and his Cooke his *Priest*? Shall I thinke that the prophane *swearer* and *blasphemer* doth beleue & remember, that at this day he must giue an account of every idle word, much more then of his hellish oathes and damnable blasphemies, wherewith he teares in peeces the name of *God*, & infects the very aire he breaths in? Shall I thinke that the *Hypocrite*, who seekes to bleare the eyes of the world, doth beleue & remember, that at this day he must giue an account of his glozing & shifting, and that then his hypocrisie shall be vncafed & laid open to the view of the world? Shall I thinke that the *Parasite* doth beleue and remember, that at this day he must giue an account of preferring the fauour of men before the loue and service of *God*? Shall I thinke the *Slanderer* doth beleue and remember, that at this day he must giue an account of wounding and killing his brother in his good name by his tongue, or pen, or both? Shall I thinke the *Adulterer* doth beleue and remember, that at this day he must giue an account of giuing the reines to his vnbridled appetite without any checke or controll? Lastly, doth the *malicious man* beleue and remember, that at this day hee must giue an account of his bloody practises or plots; the *ambitious man*, of making his honour his *Idoll*; the *corvetous*, of his oppression and extortion? Let themselues a little consider of the matter, and they will easily grant it to be vnreasonable, that any man should beleue it to be a part of their beleife.

S E C T. 8.

As likewise for instruction

LEt vs then either strike it out of the articles of our *Creede*, or let vs so endeavour to liue, as it may appeare, that we doe not only professe it with our mouthes, but assuredly beleue it with our hearts. Let the *civill Magistrate* shew that he beleues it, by forbearing to make his will a law, & by a conscionable care in the governing of those who are committed to his charge, and providing that they may liue vnder him a quiet and peaceable life in all godlines and honesty. Let the *Divine*, the *Messenger of the Lord*, who preacheth it to others, shew that he beleues it himselfe, by forbearing base and indirect meanes to rise to

honour, (which he is most vncertaine how long, or with what content he shall hold) and by feeding the flocke of God which depends vpon him, caring for it, not by constraint, but willingly, not for filthy lucre, but of a ready minde, not as Lording it over Gods heritage, but as being a patterne to the flocke, and when that chiefe shepheard shall appeare, he shall receiue an incorruptible Crowne of glory; Let that severe call euer ring in his eares, Come giue an account of thy stewardship. There shall Andrew come in with Achasia by him converted, to the saving knowledge of the truth: John with Asia, Thomas with India, Peter with the Iewes, and Paul with the Gentiles; and what shall we then say for our selues, if wee cannot bring forth so much as one soule converted by vs in the whole course of our ministerie? Let the Counsellours shew that he beleeueth it by giuing counsell rather wholesome then pleasing, not for faction but for conscience, and by forbearing to make the good of the state the stalking horse of his private ends. For though he digge never so deepe, yet he who now searches and shall then judge his heart digs deeper. Let the Courtier shew hee beleeueth it by vsing his fauour to the countenancing and advancing of vertue and suppressing of vice, and by forbearing to varnish & guild over foule projects or smother honest motions with faire semblances, looking rather to the worths and necessities of petitioners, then to their purse and power. Let the militarie man shew that hee beleeueth it by forbearing to thinke, that a prophane oath is an ornament of speech, or that violence, rapine, and outrage, are the best Characters of a souldier; or that vnjust effusion of blood & Duells shall then passe for manhood, or that his stout lookes and braue resolution shall then any thing auaille him. Let the Nobility and Gentry shew that they beleue it, by forbearing to make marchandise of Church livings committed to their care only in trust, to strippe the backes of the poore, that they may apparell their wals, and to snatch their meate from their mouthes, that they may giue it to their hawkes and dogges. For if they shall stand among the goates on the left hand and heare that dolefull sentence, *Go ye cursed*, who cloathed not the naked and fed not the hungry, tell me what shall become of them, who by extortion and oppression, by vnconscionable racking of rents and wresting from them excessive fines, make them naked & hunger-starved; nay grinde the face of the poore, and eate their flesh to the bare bones? Let the Iudges shew that they beleue it, by forbearing to giue sentence for feare or fauour, much lesse for gold or gifts, as well knowing & remembering, that themselues must one day giue a strict account to this *supreame Iudge*, from whose sentence lyeth no appeale. Let the Lawyer shew that he beleueth it, by forbearing to spin out the suites of his Clients, to whip him about from Court to Court, and to set his tongue to sale for the bolstering out of vnjust causes, which his owne Conscience tells him to be such, least that cause which here perchance he gained to his Clients and got credit by, proue there to be his greatest shame and vtter ruine, where all his sophistrie & subtilie quirks will not serue his turne. Let the merchant shew that he beleueth it by forbearing to lie as well as oathes, by putting his confidence in God, not in his wedge of gold, and by often calling to minde, that

whither soever he trauell, or what bargain he make, Hee stands by him as a *witnes* who shall hereafter be his *Iudge*. And what folly were it for a theefe to steale in the presence of the *Iudge* before whom he must be arraigned? Let the *Farmer* and *Countryman* shew that he beleuees it by their just laying out of the Lords portions to his Ministers, as knowing that though they haply deceiue his Ministers, yet the Lord himself they cannot deceiue, & that the double damages the of their bodies & souls wilbe infinitely more grievous the their *treble damages* here. *Finally*, let all sorts make it appeare, that they indeed doe not professe it only but beleuee it by shewing that reverence & respect to the word, to the Sacraments, to the Ambassadors to the house, to the day, to the servants, to the members of him who then shall be the *reiuudge*, that they may with comfort & confidence appeare in his presence. The least good worke now done for his sake and to his honour, shall then steed vs more then the treasure of both the *Indies*, then all the *kingdomes of the world & the glory of them*. Then our indignation & revenge vpon our selues, our compunction and contrition for our sins committed against this *Iudge*, shall refresh vs and cheare vs. *For if we would iudge our selues we should not be iudged*. Then shall our resisting of alluring temptations, our patient induring bitter afflictions & chastisements, our sufferings, losses, disgraces, banishments for the Truths sake serue vnto vs as so many soveraigne and pretious *Cordials*: for when we are iudged we are chastened of the Lord, because we should not be condēned with the world. Let vs heare the end of all, *Feare God and keepe his commaundements, for this is the whole duty of man*: For God will bring every worke vnto iudgment with every secret thing, whether it be good or euill. *Euen so, come Lord Iesus, come quickly. How long Lord, how long, holy and true?*

*Not vnto vs, O Lord, not vnto vs,
but vnto thy name giue the glory.*

BOETHIUS lib. I metr. 7.

--Tu quoque si vis

*Lumine claro cernere verum,
Tramite recto carpere cælum
Gaudia pelle, pelle timorem,
Spemq; fugato, Nec dolor ad sis,
Nubila mens est, Vincæque frenis
Hac ubi regnant.*

If with cleare eye thou wilt see
Truth, and in the right way tread,
Ioy and hope chase farre from thee,
Banish sorrow, banish dread.

Cloudy, fettered fast with chaines,
Is the minde where passion raigne.

Whatsoever I haue written in this or any other booke,
I humbly submit to the censure of the Church of England.

FINIS.

[illegible]

but with the same good effect.

Booth's lib. 1. m. 7. 7.

1. The first of these is the fact that the
 2. second of these is the fact that the
 3. third of these is the fact that the
 4. fourth of these is the fact that the
 5. fifth of these is the fact that the
 6. sixth of these is the fact that the
 7. seventh of these is the fact that the
 8. eighth of these is the fact that the
 9. ninth of these is the fact that the
 10. tenth of these is the fact that the

Is the mind where passion reigns,
Clouds, scattered fast with chimes,
Hail to sorrow, banish dread,
Joy and hope chase fears from thee,
Truth, and in the right way mend,
If with clear eye thou wilt see.

I humbly submit to the reading of the Court of England, Whistler I have written in this or any other book.



A REVISE.

WHen my booke was almost past the presse, I met with one Iohannes Fredericus Laminus, a Netherlander, de extremo dei iudicio & Indorum vocatione, who lib. 2. cap. 19. indeavouring to proue the vicinity of the last iudgement by the worlds decay, makes this a maine argument thereof: *Constat (saith he) illos qui supra annos viginti prodierunt in lucem non pauciores habuisse dentes quam 32 cum iam in eis qui infra decennium nati sunt non nisi 20 aut 24 inueniantur.* A bold assertion of a graue divine, that man kind should so speedily decrease as in the compasse of tenne yeares, to loose 12 or 8 teeth of 32, and his booke being printed in the yeare 1567, had the like measure of decay gone on in proportion since that time, no man long before this day should haue had a tooth left in his head to chew his meate. But I wonder he durst so confidently publish that to the world which daily experience, and the writings of moderne Anatomists so evidently convince of falshood; and in truth I thinke there cannot lightly a better argument be brought for the confirmation of the contrary opinion against himselfe in that point, in asmuch as according to Hippocrates, *longævi plurimos dentes habent;* and Aristotle, *quibus pauciores & rariore, hi brevioris sunt viæ:* so that the full number being a signe of longævity, and that of naturall strength, if it appeare (as vndoubtedly it doth) that men now adayes haue ordinarily the same number of teeth as anciently they had; then must it consequently follow, that likewise ordinarily they are as strong and long-lived as anciently they were: yet heerein are we beholding to the same Author, that what he takes from the age and strength of men, he addes to their wits: *Sed quod humanorum corporum decedit conditionibus, hoc ingenijs accedit, quod de membrorum robore perit, hoc accumulatur intellectus acumine & sagacitate.*

Pag. 45. is a great mistake, about a pound of blood being printed, for almost halfe a pound of blood, notwithstanding which abatement yet is the proportion there mentioned altogether incredible, for if Galen vsually drew six pounds of blood, and we vsually stoppe at six ounces, as Sir Walter Rawley would haue it, and we allow for every pound twelue ounces, then in reason should men in Galens time, bee ordinarily twelue times as strong and tall as now they are, so that if men be now ordinarily siue foote high, they must then haue bin three score, and (allowing the like proportionable decrease since the Creation) in the like distance of time before Galen they must haue beene about seaven hundred foote high, and if we should thus rise vpward to the Creation it selfe, wee

must then measure men by miles and not by feet; which I wonder the great wit of Sir Walter Rawleigh foresaw not.

Pag. 47. In the Section of the revolution and circulation of all things in their times and turnes may properly be inserted these excellent verses of *Manilius*.

Lib. 4.

Percipe nunc etiam, quæ sunt Ecliptica Graio
 Nomine, quæ certos quasi delassata per annos
 Nonnunquam cessant sterili torpentia motu.
 Scilicet immenso nihil est aequale sub ævo,
 Perpetuosq; tenet flores, summq; colorem
 Tutatur: Sed cuncta diu variantur in orbe,
 Et secunda suis subsistunt frugibus arva;
 Continuosq; negant partus effata creando.
 Rursum quæ fuerant steriles ad semina terra,
 Post nova sufficiunt, nullo mandante, tributa.
 Concussit varijs tellus compagibus hærens,
 Subducitq; salum pedibus, nã rat orbi in ipso,
 Et vomit Oceanus pontum, sitiens quæ resorbet,
 Nec sese ipse capis, sic quondam mersas urbes,
 Humanæ generis cum solus constitit hæres,
 Deuocion, stuporq; orbem possedit in uno.
 Nec non cum patrias Phæton tentavit habenas,
 Arserunt gentes, timuitq; incendia cælum,
 Egeruntq; novæ ardentia sidera flammæ,
 Atq; uno timuit condi natura sepulchro:
 In tantum longa mutantur tempora cursu,
 Atq; iterum in semet redouit: sic tempora certo
 Signa quoq; amittunt vires, sumuntque receptas.

Pag. 163. *Vndevicesimo* is translated twenty one, whereas it should be *nineteene*, which makes more for my purpose, it being spoken of the wife of *Quintilian*, who by his owne testimony was not full *nineteene* when shee died, yet had shee then borne him two sonnes.

Pag. 170. I doubt mine information touching *prescriptions* is not sufficient, but my meaning is, that 60 yeares *ad minimum* are required to make a prescription good, which I conceived to haue bin law with vs and I thinke by the Civill Lawes, an interest may be gotten by sixty yeares quiet possession or lesse, howsoever the same space of yeares is now allotted which anciently was: And in the same place, that which I haue delivered touching a lease of three liues, compared with a lease of twenty one yeares, is not perchance clearely enough expressed in law tearmes, but so as a man may easily vnderstand what I intend.

Pag. 243. Speaking of *Grammarians*, I haue not sufficiently insisted vpon the exquisite helpe of *Dictionaries*, *Lexicons*, and *Grammars* in this latter age beyond the precedent, not only for the easier learning of the *Westerne* languages, *Latine*, *Italian*, *Spanish*, and *French*, but specially of the *Easterne*, the *Hebrew*, the *Chalde*, the *Syriake*, the *Arabique*, &c (which is worth the observing) of all the ancient fathers, so renowned for their singular learning, but only two, among the *Latins* *Saint Hierome*, and

Origen among the *Gracians*, are found to have excelled in the orientall languages, this last centenary having afforded more skilfull mē than way, then the other fiftene since *Christ*.

To *Grammar* may likewise bee referred the vscfull art of *Brachygraphie*, or writing by short markes, which though it were practised among the *Romans*, as appeares by that epigram of *Martiall*,

Currant verba licet manus est velocior illis,

Lib 14. epig.
208.

Nondum lingua suum, dextra peregit opus.

And another of *Insonius*,

Puer notarum prapetum

Epig. 138.

Solers minister aduola: &c.

Yet *Dio* referres the invention thereof to *Macanas*, and by *Manilius* it should seeme that in his time it was new:

Lib. 55.

Hic & Scriptor erit salix cui littera verbum est,

Lib. 4.

Quiq; notis linguam superet, cursumq; loquentis,

Excipiet longas noua per compendia voces.

So as we haue no certainty that either the *Gracians*, or the *Hebrewes*, or any of those Easterne Nations had before the *Romans* the vse or knowledge of it (whatsoever *Larinus* and *Raderus* out of those wordes of the *Psalmist*, *my tongue is the penne of a ready writer*; and those written on the wall which *Daniell* interpreted, pretend to the contrary) and besides, this invention of the *Romans* for ought we finde, was lost in succeeding ages, but in these latter recovered againe, or at leastwise somewhat æquivalent therevnto.

In Psal. 44.
Dan. 5. 25.

And to *Brachygraphie* may be added, the writing by *Zifers*, or *nota furtiva*, secret markes for the hiding of the writers minde from others saue him to whom he writes it: Now how farre latter ages haue excelled the former in this invention, shall appeare by the wordes of *Hermanus Hugo*, *Mire sibi gratulabantur veteres, insigni scilicet, ut ipsi putabant, invento, epistolarum osculte scribendarum per transpositas litteras, sed profecto id artificium facillime à quouis sagaciore deprehendi potest, ut non iniuria Iulius Scaliger Exercitat. 327. id vocet delirium, & imposturam. Referam tamen pauca ejus exempla veneratione solius antiquitatis. Recentiores omnes id genus technas relinquo apud Neapolitanum quarendas, lib. 1. De notis furtivis: quamquam Amplissimus consiliarius Puteanus epistola quadam ad Plowuerium de notis furtivis, rationem ostendit occultissimam scribendi per transpositionem, quam nec Oedipus divinare possit. De qua ita nunquam locutus fuisset Scaliger, ut de veterum facili commento. Iulius Cas. r, inquit, Dio, lib. 39 consueverat si quid secreti cuiquam per litteras significaret quarum semper elementum in scribendo, pro eo quod sumi debebat, sumere: ne obvia litterarum lectio cuiuis esset. Augustus autem (verba sunt Suetonij, cap. 88.) quoties per notam scribit, ponit B pro A. C. pro B, ac deinceps eadem ratione sequentes litteras, pro X autem duplex AA. And herein doth *Salmut* fully accord in opinion with him. Abzant igitur cum sua vetustate tam copiosa & frivola veterum commenta. Longe alios astus, longe aliam vafritiem etas hac videtur exposcere: in qua vel infantes cum balbutiunt adhuc, & quadam subdola mentis signa veluti primitia illius ingeruntur, quasi à nutricio uberibus simul cum lacte illam suxisse imò à matris utero contraxisse vide-*

De prima scribendi origine.
cap. 17.

Neither have the Ancients beene excelled by the modernes, only in the wittie invention of *Zifring* and secret characters, but also by the testimonie of *Pancirollus* in dezifring and discovering the most difficult: *Brixianus* quidam typis vulgaris modum quandam, quem intellectum credit impossibilem, nisi quis contra exemplar istius habeat. Quod tamen falsum est, quandoquidem scripturam istam ipsemet explicari audivi; & quod dici solet, quasi cum manu tetigi, nullas esse notas adeo difficiles & obscuras, quae non intelligantur ab ijs qui in hoc scribendi genere exercitati sunt: quorum multi Venetijs reperiuntur. Atque ipsemet domi mea habui Hieronymum Dn. Francisci Naxi, nobilis Veneti filium, iuvenem doctissimum, & artis huius imprimis gnarum: cui nullum Notarum genus, quam difficile etiam id esset, offerebatur, quin ab ipso intelligeretur.

Pag. 245. Among the late profitable inventions in the *mathematiques*, the *Mirificus Logarithmorum Canon* found out by the Lord *Neper* Baron of *Merchiston* in Scotland, may deservedly challenge a place, the booke so intituled he dedicates to his Majesty that now is, then Prince, and in his epistle dedicatorie giues this testimony of the invention: Cum nova hac Logarithmorum methodus omnem illam pristina matheeseos in calculo difficultatem penitus e medio tollat, & ad sublevandam memoria imbecillitatem ita se accommodet, ut illius adminiculo facile sit plures quaestiones mathematicas unius horae spacio, quam pristina & communiter recepta forma sinuum, tangentium, & secantium, vel integra die absolvere. But because this testimony may perchance by some be thought partiall touching an invention of his owne, I will therevnto adde the graue judgement of Master *Briggs*, professor in the *Mathematiques* at *Oxford*, who hath with great diligence much illustrated and enlarged it: Praesertim cum deo visum fuerit (post evangelij lucem, qua orbem hunc nostrum illustrari voluit) plurima humana visa utiliter inventa, quorum nullum utiq; apud antiquos extiterit vestigium, nobis communicare. Atq; in his ut artes Mathematicae primarium tenent locum, ita in illis Logarithmorum ratio ceteris partibus precellit, siue inventionis spectemus acumen, siue usus praestantiam.

Wherevnto may not improperly be annexed the invention of *Petiscus*, prefixed in these words in the front of his *Trigonometrie*. Inventio subcensae, tertiae vel quinae, vel cuiuscunque imparis partis alicujus arcus, ex data sola subtensa illius arcus, etiam per communem *Arithmetica*, & sine omni adminiculo *Algebrae*: Quae inventio haecenus credita fuit impossibilis. This invention by the helpe of *Algebra* was found out not long since; but those who are not skilled in *Algebra*, for the doing of it by common *Arithmetique*, are beholding to *Petiscus*.

In the same page, mention is made of *Scaligers* finding out of the quadrature of a circle, but since the writing thereof, I vnderstand that *Adrianus Romanus* hath written an apology for *Archimede* against *Scaliger*, wherein he labours to proue, that he hath not found out the conclusion he pretends, which is answered by *Scaliger*, and againe replied vpon by *Romanus*, but which of them hath the best, I referre to the determination of the professors in that facultie.

Epist. dedicat.
Carprin.

